CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion leads us to the conclusion that Japan's foreign policy in post-war Asia is primarily motivated by economic interests rather than political and strategic interests. The economic and technological backwardness of Asian nations provides an opportunity to Japan to expand her economic activities in the area. The far-sighted and shrewd leadership of Japan has been exploiting this opportunity consistently since 1952, and has eventually emerged as the most influential power in Asia. During the later years of 1960s Japan realized that Asian development affects her own welfare directly or indirectly. Thus, Japan began to follow such policies which could lead to peace and stability in the Asian continent. After emerging as an economic giant of the world, Japan started playing an increasing role in Asia, for most of the time since 1950s economically, but lately politically, as well. For historical, geographical, economic and at the same
time, political reasons it is also a fact that within the Asian continent, Japan has favoured more a particular region, South-east Asia, than the other regions. South Asia has occupied low priority in Japanese preferences. India, a part of the South Asian region, was accorded an insignificant place by the Japanese leadership in the postwar period. In a symposium held in New Delhi in 1981, Vishal Singh remarked, "I do not know how close we are in the economic field. My friend next to me has told me just now that we are coming close, well that is good. But I have a feeling that there is hardly any communication. The misunderstanding I think was very clearly indicated by what Mr. Subramaniam said and some do say that when Japan talks of Asia, this Asia ends somewhere near Manipur. It is East Asia, China, Japan, Korea, yes, they are Asia. So is the ASEAN territory. I think they also consider Indo-China as a part of Asia. This is my understanding of Japanese consciousness of Asia. I wonder whether it includes South Asia. So on this particular aspect we would expect more alignment from the Japanese scholars here and tells us whether this country is a party of Asian consciousness of
Japan.1 Inder Malhotra, a noted Indian Journalist, supported Vishal Singh's view and said, "I am delighted to be at this seminar because this is the second occasion which shows some tangible evidence of Japanese interest in India as fellow Asians. I think it is not at Manipur that the Japanese concept of Asia ends, but at Rangoon".2

But changing trends of global politics in the wake of detente between the two superpowers in the mid 1980s and the revolutionary growth of Japan's economic might have brought various changes in Japanese diplomacy in Asia. In the present situation when the world has transformed from bi-polarity into multi-polarity, Japan is bound to play an expanded role in Asia, in particular, and in international affairs, in general. The utmost priority of Japan in Asia is to maintain peace, and stability which ultimately would serve her own economic purposes. Thus, under the present scenario Japan is bound to take keen interest

2. Ibid., p. 28.
in the South Asian region.

Since India has already emerged as a super-power of South Asia by virtue of her large geographical area and huge population in this region. At the same time, India is undoubtedly far ahead in other aspects by its overall development in comparison to other nations of South Asian region. Therefore, Japan can't afford to ignore India, an important country of Asia which may contribute a lot to achieve Japanese target of maintaining peace and stability in the region. At a time when Japanese relations with its most favoured nation America and Western-powers have already suffered a setback on account of the latter's protectionist policies to browbeat Japan economically, India's vast market has certainly become a source of attraction to Japan. Thus, Japanese leadership is making sincere efforts to enhance its economic activities in the South Asian region particularly with India. As the Japanese Prime Minister Mr. Toshiki Kaifu stated, "One of the keys to vigorous economic development of South Asia will be the minimisation of government regulation, privatisation of state-owned corporation as well as improved industrial infrastructure and
stimulation of investment from inside and outside the country. As Japan is a major trade and investment partner of this region, the Government of Japan shall continue to improve and utilize industrial frameworks to realize a strengthened economic relationship in cooperation with governments of South Asia."

No doubt, improvement of Indo-Japanese relations have assumed crucial importance in the promotion of peace and stability in the Asian region. That is the reason that both India and Japan get themselves at loggerheads on the NPT issue, even there is strong will from both sides to widen the gamut of their relations. This was clearly indicated by Japanese Premier, Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa to his Indian counterpart Mr. Narsimha Rao, when he paid a visit to Tokyo in June 1992 that Japan is not at all willing to link its economic aid (to India) with NPT. Cordial ties between India and the land of rising sun are perhaps the key to the economic

future of India. Already, recent trends serve to highlight the crucial role of Japan in the development of the developing economies. Therefore, Japanese assurances are particularly valuable to India that Japan will continue to enhance its overall ties, despite the differences on NPT.

At the heart of these assurances is the Japanese assertion of its identity as an Asian country charged with the primary responsibility to maintain the peace and stability of the Asian continent. Japanese Vice-Minister for International Financial Affairs Mr. Tadao Chino said, "He proclaimed a strategy of Japan using its position in the ranks of the G-7 nations to "draw the world's attention to Asia. Asia has more potential power than other areas".

Declaring himself "pro/Asia", Chino said that "it is Japan's role to raise Asian economic power, and the improvement of the Asian area is important for Japan and the world". Another open attempt to project

Japanese identity as Asian one, was made through editorial writing in 1991, the daily, "Nihon Keizai" said that, "Japan will push policy coordination between Asia and the U.S. - this is Japan's task in the Asia Pacific region." More recently, the then Prime Minister of Japan Mr. Kiichi Miyazawa showed keen interest in taking part in any multilateral security forum for Asia. "Miyazawa's announced willingness to participate in a multilateral security forum for Asia modelled on the Conference on Security and cooperation in Europe is a sharp departure from Japan's declaratory policy. Prior to 1992, Japan's leaders had maintained that the geographical diversity of the Asia-Pacific region militated against the creation of a multi-lateral security architecture for the region." In effect, Japan is increasingly changing her perception of the way the Asian people regard themselves and their pace in the world.

Undoubtedly, India on the other hand has been pursuing a policy of non-alignment since her independence, which is nothing but a policy that has been crying for the development and progress of Third World countries.

5. Ibid., p. 548.
6. Ibid., p. 551.
India has been expressing since her independence that India's foreign policy will gave priority to the nations of Asia. The architect of India's foreign policy, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, off repeatedly stated that India gives utmost priority and emphasis to improve its ties with all the nations of Asia and India's efforts will be continued to establish peace and stability in this region. Since then, no change has been observed in India's foreign policy and still Indian government keeps Asia's peace and stability at the top in India's foreign policy. It may also be because of India's interest lies in the maintenance of peace and stability in this region after achieving considerable improvement in the field of agriculture, industry, science and technology. Thus India, on her part is bound to welcome any move which is directed towards the maintenance of peace and stability in the Asian region.

One does not have to be a genius to understand that a common interest is deeply involved for both the countries India and Japan in maintaining peace and stability in the Asian continent.
Both the countries are ready to play a constructive role in creating an environment conducive for mutual cooperation and coordination efforts rather than getting into unnecessary and senseless confrontations and conflicts among the Asian nations. The Governments and the people are eager to extend their whole hearted cooperation and extend their helping hands to achieve their common goal of achieving peace and stability in the region and seem to be striving in the right direction to further strengthen and cement friendly relations that already exist between Japan and India. Since some of the countries of the Asian region doubt the good intentions and the integrity of Japan because of her past expansionist and hegemonial policies during the second world war, Japan seems to have brought revolutionary changes in her thinking and perceptions and dealings which Japan has managed to prove with her deeds and the changing behaviour of its leadership. As Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu said, "peace and stability in Asia is a matter of great concern to Japan. Developments in pursuit of a new world order beyond East-West confrontation and the cold war mentality through dialogue and cooperation, must spread beyond Europe to this part of the world. The strategic environment and historical and cultural background of Asia differ
significantly from those of Europe. To improve mutual trust among nations in this region, ensure security for individual countries at a lower level of armament and international relations based on dialogue and cooperation, we must be engaged in multifaceted efforts that suit the realities of the region, while taking account of its characteristics." Having itself experienced the pains of modernization in the not so distant past, Japan fully appreciates how great the implications of the development issue would be, not only in the economic, but also in the social and even political aspects that is why India reposes its faith in Japan as a partner in its progress. The Japanese government appears to be firmly determined to respond seriously to India's expectations. So Japan has increased its development cooperation and has emerged as a major trade and investment partner of India.

Thus, we find that there are good prospects of cooperation and fresh thinking on relations between

7. Policy speech delivered by the Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, op.cit.
India and Japan. Earlier, Japan and India might have attached low priority to each other for their own reasons or they could not mature enough in their ties beyond economic and commercial ones but the recent incredible changes in the last few years at the global level have compelled both the countries to adopt various strong measures to come closer for a closer cooperation and stronger ties between the two nations for their mutual benefit. To make the going easier and smoother for better understanding and more cooperation the visit of Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu to New Delhi 1990 and the recent visit of the Indian Prime Minister Narsimha Rao to Tokyo in June 1992 proved to be a landmark in the history of Indo-Japanese relations. The visits gave an opportunity to impress upon each other that both the nations are upholding the policy of peace and stability in the Asian region and are too willing to improve their bilateral relations in each and every field for their mutual benefit. In fact, Japan has already realised the importance of India in achieving her longfelt purpose and is constantly making sincere efforts to provide economic and technological assistance which is badly needed by India. Japan most certainly does seem to be eager and keen to enlarge and widen the gamut
of her relations with India, India and Japan both, are, therefore, too eager to see that the bilateral ties are not confined to economic spheres only. As Toshiku Kaifu said in Delhi, "I shall positively implement the following concrete measures in order to give further depth and breadth of Japan's relations with South Asian countries. These are namely the promotion of political and economic dialogue, the expansion of development assistance and the promotion of cultural exchange and cooperation." 8

No doubt, both India and Japan are inclined to have better economic and political relations because of the prevailing trends in international relations. Therefore, India needs to utilize all possible opportunities to take advantage of the situation. As far as the trade relations are concerned India has yet to rationalize its imports and to make its presence felt in the Japanese market. The imports from Japan will accelerate the economic growth and will enhance India's capability to compete in the world market, and Indian exporters can widen their exports base in Japanese market, which is the need of

8. Ibid.
the hour. Although the government has already taken several measures to attract Japanese investors for Indian market through liberalisation of economic policies and providing a favourable atmosphere for them but they don't seem to be good enough to instill confidence in the hearts of the Japanese business community. More confidence-building measures are urgently needed to assure the Japanese government in general and the potential investors the business community in particular that Narsimha Rao government has good and effective control over here in India and the environment in the country is peaceful and worth investing with no instability at all and that they need not doubt the good intentions of the government of India. It can very well be seen that Narsimha Rao government has managed to restore complete law and order in the country after the incredible wide-spread violence and communal flare-ups which had engulfed the whole nation after the historic Babri Masjid was demolished on 6th December 1992 by the Fascist fanatics, after which the whole country was in flames. The world has amply seen the capability of the Government of India to deal with any situation with a firm hand. And the efforts made by India to promote peace, tranquility and universal brotherhood (Udar Charitanam Tuvasudhaiva Kutumbakam) have been widely appreciated
at all levels. The Japanese leadership did give a clear indication about this when Narsimha Rao visited Japan in June 1992. Thus the ties between the two countries are consolidating day by day as they are fast coming closer, closer more than ever before.

The above analysis leads to an optimistic assessment of the possibilities of improving the mutual cooperation between India and Japan. Our observation of the situation goes to show that the mutual cooperation is the basic necessity of both India and Japan. Some pleasant and fruitful results are already visible and it seems the right efforts are being made in the right direction by both the countries.

First: Japan's ambition to re-emerge as an international actor which has repeatedly been aired by Nakasone and other Prime Ministers of Japan that internationalization of Japan is the need of the hour. It goes to show that the Japanese leadership has the ambition of emerging as an international actor to play a larger role in the world affairs. Takashita, the then
Prime Minister of Japan, who had repeatedly reiterated and emphasised that Japan must revive and widen its trading ties with other nations rather than remain confined to western world and the U.S.A. His declaration on 5th May, 1988 during his tour of Europe that Japan wished to adopt a high global profile in order to maintain peace in the world and to secure the prosperity of the international community. The recent utterances of Kaifu and Miyazawa are not different from their predecessors and seem to be only the extension of the same.

Second: Japan's growing friction with the U.S.A. and the European community on matters of trade, tariffs and investments pose a serious threat to Japan's economic status. In this strange situation Japan would have to naturally and obviously, look for and explore new markets for its goods and investments. For this obvious reason the
the size and potential of India's market is likely to be most attractive to Japan.

**Third:** After achieving certain level of progress in the fields of agriculture, industry and technology India has been making all out efforts to derive the utmost benefit out of the Japanese economic and technological assistance, so the expansion of collaboration with Japan is an step in the right direction.

**Finally:** Both India and Japan have very well realized the imperatives of their economic interdependence. Both of them have also felt the urgency of making whole hearted efforts to further strengthen the bilateral ties. The rapidly changing global scenario is proving to be helpful to them in coming closer. So the *future* appears to hold bright prospects for better and closer
Indo-Japanese relations, Particularly in the economic field and more particularly in reaching some sort of political understanding eventually on major politico-strategic issues facing the Asia-Pacific region.