

India and Japan: Nuclear Choices and International Security

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Why India and Japan?

- ▶ International Relations perspective
- ▶ My research is focused on the Japan-U.S. Security Alliance and the concept of deterrence in Japan's security policy
- ▶ Deepening of Indo-Japanese relations--> curious exploration
- ▶ Both nations located in tense neighborhoods
- ▶ Emerged on the opposite sides of the Cold War



Research Objective

- ▶ Compare India and Japan's path towards security vis-a-vis the (pursuit or contemplation of) the nuclear choice
 - ▶ The "nuclear choice" refers to nuclear weapons acquisition
 - ▶ Assumption that the possession of the bomb would increase their sense of security
- ▶ This question is motivated by two factors:
 - ▶ Self-Image/ or Identity
 - ▶ Perception of the international order and role in it

1. Self-Image/Identity

- ▶ Defining their identity, rooted in nationhood, survival
- ▶ Democratic institutions
- ▶ Foreign policy linked to ideology



Self Image/Identity

India

- ▶ Why the choice for **non-alignment**?
And what did that promise
- ▶ Newly independent, not aligning with either power blocs- the West or the East
- ▶ "Refrain from engaging in power politics" (?)
- ▶ Sought aid from the U.S. in 1962 and signed Treaty of Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union in 1971
- ▶ **Non-Alignment** in terms of foreign policy alignment, supportive of anti-colonial struggles, broader Afro-Asian unity

Japan

- ▶ Why the choice of alignment?
- ▶ Post U.S. Occupation, foreign and security policy linked to the U.S.
- ▶ Questions on use of military, as per Article 9 also impacted debates on nuclear possession
- ▶ "Nuclear Allergy" or Nuclear Aversion (**Pacifism**)
- ▶ **Neutrality** was used in the concept of use of military, "Unarmed Neutrality" represented the position of the Left in the 1960s

Contemplation or Pursuit of the Nuclear Choice

India

- ▶ Focus on civil nuclear energy (PM Nehru- Nuclear physicist Homi Bhabha)
- ▶ Questions about linking principles of non-alignment with pursuit of the bomb (its security benefits couldn't be denied)
- ▶ 1962 war with China and India's appeal to the U.S for help + China's nuclear test in 1964
- ▶ Jana Sangha Party, Swatantra Party called for India's development of weapons
- ▶ Private talks of a U.S security guarantee to India
- ▶ Debates over NPT: "haves vs. Have nots"
- ▶ New govt. Under Indira Gandhi, 1974 "PNE" was conducted

Japan

- ▶ Domestic groups: left vs. Right;
- ▶ Sophisticated civil nuclear energy program (plutonium reprocessing)
- ▶ Nuclear Latency or "Nuclear Hedging"
- ▶ Study undertaken in the 1970s
- ▶ Civilian nuclear tech+ receiving security guarantee from U.S-->3 non-nuclear principles
- ▶ 3 principles but 4 pillars

Perception of the International Order and Role In It

- ▶ Work In Progress
- ▶ International Orders and Nuclear Weapons
 - ▶ Bipolarity
 - ▶ Deterrence (non-proliferation) structures
 - ▶ Non-Proliferation Regimes that became a pillar of international security
- ▶ Role of regional geopolitics: South Asia and East Asia drove India and Japan's behaviour

Conclusion

- ▶ India and Japan, both,
 - ▶ Questioned each other's moral high-ground
 - ▶ India's choice to go nuclear: Despite being non-aligned, chose deterrence over disarmament
 - ▶ Japan's choice not to go nuclear: Convenient position, could advocate nuclear disarmament while relying under the protection of the U.S. nuclear umbrella
 - ▶ Narratives around ideology (non-alignment)= realism cushioned in idealism?
 - ▶ External events drove domestic debates:
 - ▶ 1970s: Sino-Indian war in 1962, China's nuclear test in 1964, debates on NPT signature
 - ▶ 1990s: India's decision to go nuclear in 1998 and Japan, another study in 1990s, before agreeing to permanently extend NPT
 - ▶ Threat Perceptions
 - ▶ In the search for new narratives, diversity of opinions, different cultural backgrounds, and unique historical trajectories are all nuclear choices about survival?

Thank You for your attention!