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Ph.D Thesis

Pakistan-Japan Political and Economic Relations in Post Cold War Era:
Challenges & Responses

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that Mr.Khalil-ur-Rahman Shaikh S/O Muhamamd Bux Shaikh has carried out his research work on the topic entitled as “Pakistan-Japan Political and Economic Relations in Post Cold War Era: Challenges & Responses” under my supervision. His research work is original, distinct and his thesis is worthy of presentation to the University of Sindh for award of Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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Abstract

The post cold war era (1991 onwards) did not much influence the relations between Pakistan and Japan. However, nuclear explosions undertaken by two major countries of South Asia in May 1998 strained relations between Japan and Pakistan. The former imposed economic sanctions against India and Pakistan and severely condemned nuclear proliferation in the region however 9/11 incident and self moratorium by Pakistan compelled Japan to lift the sanctions. Japan held the problem of Kashmir as the main cause of tension between the two rival countries and offered to hold international conference.

The nuclear tests undertaken by India and Pakistan increased fear of Japan for likely breaking of nuclear war between the two countries. It held that problem of Kashmir is behind the nuclear tests.¹

Pakistan has been receiving bilateral and multilateral aid from Japan. Latter has been extending Official Development Assistance to Pakistan since 1960. It was extended due to Pakistan's political role in South West Asia, Islamic countries and maintenance of its traditional relations with Japan and its geo-strategic position. Pakistan is the beneficiary of General System Preferences (GSP) introduced by Japan. Although GSP is meant to encourage the imports but its conditions are strict on the commodities in which developing countries have competitive edge for example, textile and footwear but conditions are most lenient for the products in which developing countries are less competitive, such as machinery which limits

¹ June 4, 1999, Associated Press of Pakistan.

the significance of the GSP scheme. Thus, Pakistan could not take much benefit from the scheme as it ultimately contributed to Japan.

The cordial and warm relationship between Pakistan and Japan got new impetus when both joined U.S-led coalition on war on terror. Though, there were exclusive reasons which motivated both the countries to join the coalition but common factors also contributed in this regard. Emergence of new convergence in relations between Pakistan and Japan benefited the former. Latter withdrew its economic sanctions against Pakistan imposed in view of atomic explosions in May 1998, restored Official Development Assistance and rescheduled its loan.

The immediate objectives of war on terror were to uproot hide outs of Al-Qaeda and install democratic government in Afghanistan where as long term objectives are to destroy terrorist organizations of global reach and their networks including finances. The coalition on war on terror will have to go for indefinite period to combat terrorism. Thus, being partners of the coalition, Pakistan and Japan should evolve mutual long term strategy. Moreover, both the countries should develop common policy outside the coalition which must go beyond the status of Pakistan as a front line state.

Japan is pursuing India and Pakistan to sign the NPT and the CTBT. Both the countries have not turned down Japan's urge of signing of CTBT in clear terms. Pakistan should see its interest beyond India and link it with the United States. Signing the CTBT by India cannot extend defense shield to Pakistan as it

has received threats from terrorists and sympathizers of India. Pakistan wants to maintain minimum defense capability. Moreover, India has developed nuclear arsenals and Pakistan considers it as a threat to its very existence. Compelling by the situation, it had to go for option of acquiring nuclear technology and developing atomic bomb.

Japan is not in a position to pressurize India to such an extent that it may bow down to Japanese demand and sign NPT and CTBT. Moreover, it also seems impossible that Pakistan will accept Japanese pressure in this regard. However, it may be concluded that irritants like NPT and CTBT will not much influence Pakistan and Japan relations and political and economic ties between the two countries will grow stronger day- by- day.

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List of Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIF	Asian Integration Fund
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
BARC	Bhabha Atomic Research Centre
BOI	Board of Investment
CARs	Central Asian Republics
CBM	Confidence Building Measures
CDWD	Central Development Working Party
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CHASNUPP	Chashma Nuclear Power Plant
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
CSC	Changwang Sinyong Coproration
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DPRK	Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
EXIM	Export-Import Bank of Japan
EZ	Economic Zone
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
FEC	Far East Economic Commission
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FDI	Foreign Development Investment
FDP	Friends of Democratic Pakistan
FTA	Free Trade Area
GATT	General Agreement on Tariff and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSP	General System Preferences
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
I.T	Information Technology
ISI	Inter Services Intelligence

JBIC	Japan Bank of International Cooperation
JETRO	Japan External Trade Organization
J.I	Jamaat Islami
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JRA	Japanese Red Army
KANUPP	Karachi Nuclear Power Plant
KRL	Khan Research Laboratories
LAEs	Law Enforcement Agencies
LOC	Line of Control
MFN	Most Favored Nations
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MQM	Mutahida Qaumi Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBP	National Bank of Pakistan
NEWT	Nuclear Weapon Elimination Treaty
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIPO	National Industrial Park Organization
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation Development
OECF	Organization of Economic Cooperation Fund
OEF-OIM	Operation Freedom Enduring-Operation Interdict Maritime
PAEC	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
PCSIR	Pakistan Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
PDWD	Provincial Development Working Party
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PIA	Pakistan International Air Lines
PIMS	Pakistan Institute of Medical Sciences
PINSTECH	Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology
PJBF	Pakistan Japan Business Forum
PL	Public Law
PML (N)	Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)
PPP	Pakistan Peoples Party
PSA	Pakistan Students Association
RSIP	Research Institute for Peace Security
SAARC	South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation
SAP	Social Action Program
SDF	Self Defense Force

SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SGN	Saint-Gobian Techniques Nowelles
SIPRI	Stockholm Institute of Research
SUPARCO	Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Council
TDAP	Trade Development Authority of Pakistan
TIFR	Tata Institute of Fundamental Research
UCN	Yaltra Centrifuge Netherland
UJST	U.S-Japan Security Treaty
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
URENCO	Uranium Enrichment Centrifuge Consortium
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization
WTC	World Trade Centre
WTO	World Treaty Organization

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Chapter 1.Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Pakistan-Japan Relations

The disintegration of the Soviet Union, fall of Berlin Wall and end of the Warsaw Pact changed the international political scenario. The cold war rivalry came to an end in 1991. The balance of power tilted in favor of the United States and the world emerged as a unipolar world. This transformation of the world compelled the countries to redefine their bilateral relations and identify the regions and economic powers to secure their interests.

Pakistan and Japan were in the Western camp led by the United States, thus, they did not feel much change in their bilateral relations in the post-Cold War period. Though the disintegration of the Soviet Union left long lasting effects on South Asia and South East Asia but it did not transform the exposure of traditional rivalries between India and Pakistan. However, China bridged the vacuum of the Soviet Union in case of North Korea. Thus, Japan had to continue its anti-communist strategy, to some extent, in the Korean Peninsula.

The bilateral relations between Japan and Pakistan suffered a set back in 1998 when being compelled by the regional situation and to maintain balance of power in South Asia, Pakistan undertook atomic explosions. Japan imposed sanctions against Pakistan and India, however, humanitarian

aid continued. Japan realized that main reason behind tension between the two rival countries is the problem of Kashmir. It offered to hold the international conference on the issue but India denied. However, these sanctions began to be lifted in 2001.

The terrorist attacks on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre (WTC) New York on 11th September, 2001 virtually ended the post-Cold War era. The world realized that each country in the world is unsafe. Moreover, the international community received common enemy in shape of the terrorism irrespective of caste and creed. The countries had to redefine their security policies, prepare global strategy to combat terrorism and took steps to enforce strict laws for preventing terrorists to be entered.

Terrorism emerged as convergence in relations between Pakistan and Japan due to number of factors. Firstly, both were terrorist-hit countries. Secondly, being peaceful countries and responsible members of international community they joined hands together against the terrorism. Thirdly, the interests of both the countries were endangered. Fourthly, Pakistan became a front line and pivotal state in war against terrorism and international community including Japan realized that without its help war against terrorism cannot achieve its desired results. Fifthly, situation in Afghanistan and presence of the Afghan refugees worsened law and order condition in Pakistan and its security was at stake. Sixthly, economic factor obscured the political issues in the bilateral relations of any two countries. Lastly, deteriorating international security environment required all the countries to save the future generations to be vanished before their birth.

In the post-Cold War era, following are the traditional and non-traditional challenges being faced by Pakistan and Japan:

Traditional Challenges

1. Nuclear row in South Asia
2. Problem of Kashmir
3. Terrorism

Non Traditional Challenges

1. Environment
2. Poverty Alleviation
3. Development of Social Sector
4. Education
5. Health
6. Improving Life standard of Pakistanis
7. Increasing Indian influence amongst Japan and its people.
8. Indian influence on Japanese press.
9. Security
10. Ethnicity in Pakistan
11. Continuation of Democracy in Pakistan
12. Law and Order in Pakistan
13. Emerging influence of Economic interests which will obscure the importance of territorial and political conflicts.

14. Possible public pressure, due to bread and butter (as they will want smooth supply of bread and butter) which may compel a Government to have good relations with each other.
15. To explore market of Japan aimed at searching for introducing value added and non traditional commodities along with improving marketing for traditional commodities.
16. Language barrier.
17. Value conscious market.

1.2 Justification of the Study

The above challenges in relations of Pakistan and Japan requires serious attempt to analyze the situation. Latter must understand the compulsions of the former for launching nuclear program and undertaking nuclear tests in May, 1998. It should not treat India and Pakistan at par and increase pressure on Pakistan to discontinue its nuclear program as it is not defensive but offensive. It acquired capability of making atomic bomb in 1974 and did not stop its research but continued efforts to grasp advanced technology, where as Pakistan's nuclear program is Indian fear oriented and defensive. It exploded its nuclear devices in response to Indian nuclear tests aimed at leveling balance of power and thwarting sense of insecurity. Secondly, as Pakistan's nuclear program is defensive and only feels fear from Indian attack, it will not delay in signing of Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in case India comes forward. Being one of the biggest donors of aid and huge investor, Japan may increase pressure on India to sign the CTBT as it does not restrict advancement of nuclear program as provided in

Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT). In the changed situation, China cannot afford to attack India and lose one of the biggest consumer markets of its production.

Pakistan's stand on war on terrorism paved the way for its further closeness with Japan. The latter considers the former as front line country. Such status of Pakistan in Japanese eyes will remain unchanged unless availability of hideouts of terrorists and presence of Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan. The cooperation on terrorism between the two countries must not be restricted to situation in Afghanistan. Japan and Pakistan need to point out possibility of cooperation beyond Afghanistan.

Japan has expressed its concerns on political instability and fragile democratic process in Pakistan. Firmness in such concerns appeared after the end of Cold War. Strong democracy guarantees economic stability. Democratically strong Pakistan will be in better position to protect Japanese economic interests and its investment in the country. Moreover, in case democratic institutions fail to establish strong democracy in Pakistan, the condition may put future of the country in jeopardy. And disintegration of Pakistan may keep terrorists in position to take advantage of its nuclear technology and create threat for the entire world including Japan.

Moreover, Japan is required to differentiate between freedom movement and terrorism. Every one must condemn acts of terror committed by Kashmiris. Such elements are not sincere with Kashmir freedom movement launched inside Indian occupied Kashmir as it will bring negative

message to the world. Simultaneously, the Western world including Japan should not see the freedom movement in Indian perspective. Japan must condemn violation of human rights being committed in Kashmir and atrocities being perpetrated by Indian forces. Japan may play pivotal role in bringing disputing parties to table of talks and help them to find peaceful solution of the problem. Efforts have been made to analyze Japan's Kashmir approach in this study.

1.3 Research Methodology:-

While studying and collecting data available from the primary and secondary sources, the researcher has also conducted interviews with Pakistani and Japanese scholars and diplomats and other persons in different professions interested in Pakistan-Japan relations.

1.3.2 Conceptual FrameWork

The Research has applied Classical and Scientific theories for examining the evolution, nature, scope and future of the relations between Pakistan and Japan. The Classical theory or Traditional theory makes descriptive analysis of international relations. According to Hedley Bull the traditional approach is, “the approach to theorizing that derives from philosophy, history and law, and that is characterized above all by explicit reliance upon the exercise of the judgment and by the assumptions that if we

confine ourselves to strict standards by verification and proof there is very little of significance that can be said about international relations that general propositions cannot be accorded anything more than the tentative and inclusive status appropriate to their doubtful origin". Scientific Approach lays more emphasis on the methods of study rather than the subject matter.

The study has surveyed the history by giving reported facts and making assumptions based on the determinants of relations of Pakistan and Japan. Moreover, it has given analysis and explanatory prepositions (which means) international relations is like social activity (which involves people and can be analyzed) of the relations.

The research is aimed at probing two different aspects of nature of international relations after Cold War. It discusses the changes emerged in world political scenario and responses of Japan and Pakistan to such changes. Moreover, it surveys the historical development of the relations by describing facts and figures on the various issues. Further to add, the study has also discussed at length the trend which took place after Cold War and how it influenced Pak-Japan relations.

It is claimed that Pakistan received more attention in Japanese South Asia policy in the aftermath of the 9/11 events than any other South Asian country. Dr. Abul Kalam in his book entitled Japan -South Asian Relations in the New Millennium has stated that the terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon and the subsequent events surrounding Afghanistan largely shaped Japanese foreign policy thinking in South Asia.¹ The writer

¹ Abul Kalam, Japan South Asian Relations in the New Millennium, Sindh University Press, Hyderabad, 2004, P.75.

further states that Japan's "expansive diplomacy" in the aftermath of 9/11 involved an expanded aid program and an attempt to mitigate Pakistan-India disputes, including the tricky and highly sensitive issue of Kashmir. On the issue of possible Japanese intermediary role, though Pakistan has been receptive to the idea, it fell through because of India's attitude towards any kind of go between roles by outside powers.²

The researcher partly agrees with the above notion that 9/11 incident brought Pakistan as a major actor of Japanese foreign policy in South Asia. In fact, short episode from 1989 to May 1998 reflected less importance of Pakistan for Japan politically as the Soviet Union had withdrawn its forces. In December 1979, when the former communist superpower landed its forces in Afghanistan, Pakistan emerged as a front line state and major actor of protecting interests of Western countries including Japan in the region near to the Persian Gulf which is crucial for ensuring continuous oil supply to them. The nuclear explosions by India and Pakistan in 1998 compelled Japanese policy makers to concentrate their efforts on likely breaking of nuclear war. War on terror has brought both the countries closer to each other but it may not prove durable for long lasting relations. However, Japan's concern after May, 1998 atomic explosions in South Asia and its vehement urge to solve problem of Kashmir peacefully will keep it actively engaged in the political situation of the region.

There may be some section of people who can argue that small nuclear forces will not guarantee a nuclear peace on the sub-continent. Ghulam Umar in his article entitled "Future of Nuclear Non-Proliferation in

² Ibid.

South Asia” opines that the risk of actual use of nuclear weapons in a crisis is unacceptably high and that the only way out of the South Asian nuclear predicament is regional denuclearization.³ In this regard he suggests that India and Pakistan may propose the adoption of a Nuclear Weapons Elimination Treaty (NWET) binding all the countries to renounce, reject and destroy their existing nuclear weapons and stockpile of fissile materials in verifiable and time bound phased program. The future manufacture of all nuclear weapons and nuclear warheads is banned⁴.

The study is in consonance with the above proposal as it is near to Japan’s 3P nuclear doctrine of not possessing, permitting and producing nuclear weapon on its land. Japan has launched its nuclear program solely for achieving energy requirements. After 1998, Pakistan and India have proclaimed self-moratorium on further nuclear tests. Moreover, proposed though signed nuclear cooperation between India and the United States is far civil purposes. Further to add, nuclear catastrophe of Hiroshima on 6th and Nagasaki on 9th August, 1945 respectively wiped out all chances of use of atom as weapon. Such fact may be witnessed and is proved from example that no country has used atomic bomb since 1945. In other words, it may be presumed that all countries possessing nuclear weapons overtly or covertly are tacitly agreed that use of atom for destruction will ultimately retaliate to their security. Hence, it would be in fitness of things that Pakistan and India should initiate proposal of NWET which will muster support of Japan. Consequently, South Asia may emerge as piece of land in Japanese foreign

³ Ghulam Umar, The Future of Nuclear Non Proliferation in South Asia, The CTBT Controversy: Different Perceptions in South Asia (ed) Moonis Ahmar, Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, Karachi, 2000. p.100

⁴ Ibid.p.100.

policy to attract more economic support and strengthening of multilateral relations.

Dr.Takako Hirose has claimed in her article entitled “Pakistan in Japan’s Foreign Policy” that unfortunately Japan ignored South Asia for long. Until the late 1990s South Asia was hardly visible in the Japanese perception of “Asia” or “Asia-Pacific”⁵.The history of relations of Japan with Pakistan and India contradicts such notion. Pakistan’s support to Japan for getting membership of the United Nations, economic cooperation between Pakistan and Japan before the establishment of formal diplomatic relations in 1952, Japanese aid to Pakistan through aid to consortium since 1961, visit of Pakistan’s Premier , Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy to Japan and reciprocated visit of Japanese Prime Minister Kishi to Pakistan in 1957, Japan’s interest in peaceful settlement of Kashmir dispute and Japanese ODA aid to Pakistan etc clearly indicate that since its re-emergence from clutches of Allied forces, Japan is economically and politically engaged in South Asian affairs. South Asia emerged as volatile region in the foreign policy of Japan in 1974 when India undertook nuclear explosion and race of nuclear armament began in the region.

Regarding economic ties between Pakistan and Japan, Hisaya Oda, Japanese economic analyst, has stated that Japan’s FDI (Foreign

⁵ Takako Hirose, “Pakistan In Japan’s Foreign Policy” Proceedings of One Day International Seminar On Perspectives of Pakistan-Japan Cooperation:Security, Political And Economic, Area Study Centre, Far East & South East Asia, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, 2007,P.27.

Development Investment) to Pakistan is very limited.⁶ It was US \$37 million in 2006 and the share of Japan's FDI to Pakistan was just 1.2% of total FDI inflows to Pakistan.⁷ He has examined the causes of such negligible FDI contribution to Pakistan and stated that obstacles in doing business in Pakistan are (1) poor infrastructure (2) high cost of labor & low level of human capital, (3) institutional barriers (4) Shortage of supporting industries, (5) political instability/deteriorating law & order, (6) poor governance and (7) policy inconsistency.⁸ The Japanese researcher has correctly pointed out flaws existing in socio-economic-politico fabric of Pakistan which have slowed down the pace of development and reduced attraction for foreigners to make investment in the country. Balance of Trade is already in favor of Japan vis-à-vis Pakistan and such reduction in Japanese FDI may increase economic worries of Pakistan.

The background and review of 55 years of economic and political relations between Pakistan and Japan has also been covered by Ahmed Rashid Malik in his book entitled Pakistan- Japan Relations: Continuity and change in economic and security interests. Regarding effect of nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan on bilateral relations of both the countries he writes," The Japanese reaction to Pakistan's nuclear explosion came in the form of economic sanctions that badly affected the flow of trade between the two countries, suspension of economic assistance to Pakistan at once, lessening of investment and an overall down fall in economic and bilateral diplomatic

⁶ Hisaya Oda, "Exploration of Future Pakistan-Japan Economic Ties" Proceedings of One Day International Seminar on Perspectives of Pakistan-Japan Cooperation: Security, Political And Economic, Area Study Centre, Far East & South East Asia, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, 2007 P.96.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

relations.”⁹ He considers the incident of 9/11 as main reason behind restoration of normal relations and lifting of economic sanctions by Japan against Pakistan. While mentioning the factors behind full resumption of ODA he says, “first ODA will help improve economic infrastructure in the country, and second, ODA will be locomotive behind the acceleration of trade between the two countries...Moreover, ODA’s full resumption is a guarantee for the Japanese transnational companies not only to run their business with Pakistan but also to expand their business activities with Pakistan”.¹⁰

1.3.3 Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to cover the various aspects of relations between Pakistan and Japan which includes political, economic, nuclear and terrorism. It, on one side, will gather relevant material at one place and on the other side, create platform for further researchers to conduct more research on the subject.

1.3.4 Hypotheses

- 1) Pakistan-Japan relations will continue to grow at least for the foreseeable future in political and economic spheres.
- 2) Pakistan's nuclear program will always remain a constraint in Pakistan-Japan relations. Pakistan may accede to the

⁹ Ahmed Rashid Malik, Pakistan- Japan Relations: Continuity and Change in Economic and Security Interests, Routledge South Asian Series, New York, 2009, p.136

¹⁰ Ibid, p.160

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) if Japan convinces India to do so.

- 3) Japan seems reluctant to play a mediatory role between Pakistan and India on Kashmir issue, but, it may prove effective mediator if both the rivals accept it as a mediator.
- 4) It will pave the way for further strengthening of relations between the two countries in foreseeable future.

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

Besides detailed introduction, which helps providing proper understanding of the study, this research work has been divided into seven chapters including Introduction and conclusion. Pakistan-Japan Political Relations is the second chapter which depicts the changed patterns in the bilateral relations and suggests some proposals to strengthen the bonds of friendship. “Pakistan's Nuclear Program and Japan” is the third chapter of this research. The chapter surveys the circumstances which led Pakistan to launch its nuclear program vis-à-vis Indian nuclear program.

The Prime Minister of Japan sent his envoy, Seichiro Nobru with his message for Pakistani counterpart to restrain from conducting nuclear tests. The official of the Government of Japan told reporters on the sidelines of G-8 summit at Birmingham that the message being conveyed is that we would

not like to find ourselves in a position where we would have to do to Pakistan what we have had to do to India.¹¹

Pakistan found no choice but to go for nuclear tests. Japan without assessing the nature of the atomic explosions held Pakistan and India in same line. Japan reacted with the statement that Pakistan went ahead with the testing despite the strong criticism by the international community.

The Foreign Minister of Japan, Keio Obuchi called in the Charge D' Affairs of Pakistan in the evening of 30th May, 1998 and urged Pakistan to pay heed to the call of the international community for Pakistan to accede without condition to the NPT and CTBT. It reiterated its call on India and Pakistan not to commence dangerous nuclear arms race and to join Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty without condition.

But India went for the explosions and being compelled by the situation Pakistan had to undertake the nuclear tests. Consequently, the Government of Japan imposed sanctions against Pakistan in 1998 and discontinued loan. However, humanitarian and emergency aid remained unsuspended.

"Economic Ties between Japan and Pakistan" is the fourth chapter of this study. The economic relations between the two countries were initiated much before the establishment of full fledged diplomatic relations in 1952.

¹¹ DAWN, Karachi, 14.5.1998.

The recovery of Japan's economy and independence of Pakistan as a sovereign country were two major Asian developments that took place soon after the Second World War. The subsequent development and extension of trade between the two countries are but natural consequences of the interplay of economic forces and the complementary nature of the two countries.

Over the years, the economic bonds between Pakistan and Japan were strengthened because both the countries were closer to the American alliance system. Due to emergence of the interests, Pakistan was a net giver and benefited from Japan's assistance.

Japan joined Consortium to Aid to Pakistan in 1961. Since then, it has been extending substantial amount of aid to Pakistan. Japan extends non ODA commercial loans through JEXIM bank [now called Japan Bank for International Cooperation] in the Japanese Fund Recycling Program with interest of 5.8% to be paid within 18 years with 6 years grace period.

Japan was the fourth largest investment partner of Pakistan with cumulative investment of 385 million U.S dollars during the period of 1989-90 to 2003-2004, constituting 5% of the total in Pakistan. The big surge of investment observed in 1995-96 in Independent Power Products projects. The Japanese investment recovered and increased by 7% during the period of 2003-04 due to increase of the investment in the automobile sector.

The fifth chapter briefly describes evolution of historical background of the problem of Kashmir, its importance for Pakistan, role of the United Nations on the issue and Japan's stand on the conflict. Moreover, it describes

Japan's stand on violation of human rights in the valley of Kashmir and surveys possibilities of erupting war on this issue, approach of Japan-India connection to solve the problem and Japan's possible role of mediation between Pakistan and India on the issue.

The post-Cold War period witnessed different nature and shape of terrorism when the terrorists high jacked the U.S airliners and destroyed World Trade Centre and Pentagon. Such attacks left the entire world particularly the U.S unsafe. This has been discussed in chapter sixth entitled "Terrorism and Pakistan-Japan Relations".

During the Cold War, the terrorism was restricted within an enemy country. The world experienced some cases of high jacking of aeroplanes and hijackers freed the hostages after getting demands fulfilled. In few cases the hijackers surrendered to the authorities.

The post-Cold War era experienced different nature and type of terrorism when the terrorists left the invincible country, the United States, unsafe. The U.S, only super power of the world, saw terrorist attacks in shape of the airliners intruding in the private and public buildings. The situation demanded urgent action against the terrorists behind the attack. The United States formed international Coalition for war on Terror. It held Afghanistan as breeding country of terrorists and decided to destroy their hideouts in the country and capture Osama Bin Laden.

Afghanistan has common borders with Pakistan, Iran and China. The United States was not in a position to muster support of other countries except Pakistan to strike against the terrorists in Afghanistan. Thus, Pakistan acquired the position of front line state in war on terror. It joined international coalition. Japan appreciated Pakistan's decision which had already joined the war on terror.

One sad aspect of Pakistan's role and its sacrifices in war on terror is that India, some Western countries and a few circles inside the United States are adamant to get Pakistan declared as a terrorist country.

Since the terrorist attacks on the United States on 9th September, 2001, Pakistan has been under severe terrorist attacks. According to figures at least 102 people fall prey to terrorism in 2001 as compared to 84 people in 2000. 537 persons were killed in terrorist related incidents during the past three years by end of September 15, 2003. As many as 1,442 terrorist attacks, incidents of political violence and border clashes took place in 2007 leaving a record 3,448 dead and 5,353 injured. Out of 1,442 incidents, 1,306 were terrorist attacks. The President of the country survived two deadly terrorist attacks where as 7 attacks were foiled against him. A country facing such sharp wave of terrorist attacks cannot support terrorism.

Japan has lifted economic sanctions imposed against Pakistan in 1998 due to its role in war on terror as a front line state. Such closeness on the issue of terrorism between the two countries must not be restricted to demolition of hideouts of terrorists in Afghanistan and arrest of Osama Bin

Laden. Pakistan should frame its policy for war beyond Afghanistan and both the countries must knit durable and long lasting strategy against terrorism.

Chapter.2

Pakistan-Japan Political Relations (Since 1990)

The political relations between the two countries in post-Cold War period have been influenced by international scenario. The Soviet Union withdrew their forces from Afghanistan in 1989. In changed scenario, Pakistan was no longer needed by the U.S as an ally against the Soviet Union or as a conduit for supplies into Afghanistan.¹² Washington is no longer obsessed by the Communist threat and the need to contain a Soviet Union, a preoccupation that Pakistan was able to manipulate to its advantage.¹³ As a result Islamabad has lost an important source of influence over Washington, and the United States has less need to favor Pakistan diplomatically, militarily and economically.¹⁴

2.1 Historical Background

The relationship between Pakistan and Japan dates back to the era when latter began receiving spiritual lessons from Buddhism from the sub-continent. The centers of Buddhism in the areas of Pakistan including Moenj-Daro, Taxila, ButKada in Khyber Pakhtunkhuwa (formerly N.W.F.P) and Harpa-jo-Daro etc popularly known as Gandhara civilization, were frequently visited by the pilgrims from Japan.

¹² Mehrunisa Ali (ed), Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2001,p.431.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

This pre-independence foundation of relationship paved the way for strong and durable ties between Japan and Pakistan. Another important ground of these relations is geo-strategic location of Karachi. Japan used the city as repository of importing cotton which paved the way for industrialization and gave economic boost to Japan. Thirdly, the establishment of first mosque in city of Kobe by Maulana Abdul Aziz in 1935 created religious path for the Muslims to Japan. Fourthly, both the countries are adhered to the eastern values which propagate for durable relationship and knitting sincere friendship and support to each other. Fifthly, Urdu language, which is national language of Pakistan, is known to Japan for more than one hundred years. Tokyo School of Foreign Studies (now Tokyo University of Foreign Languages) started it as a course of studies in the school in 1908. Sixthly, Pakistan, since its joining of Colombo Plan in 1950, earned unofficial identification of ally of the United States. Japan was also under subjugation of the U.S which formally ended by signing Japan-U.S Security Treaty in 1952. Seventhly, Pakistan's desire of early end of the U.S occupation of Japan and its efforts at the international forums including Far Eastern Commission (FEC) brought both the countries closer to each other.¹⁵ Eighthly, Pakistan vehemently advocated and supported the case of Japan for U.N membership. Lastly, Pakistan's signing of San Francisco Treaty in 1952 which provided for settling the disputes between U.S and Japan strengthened closeness between the two countries. Consequently, both the countries established formal diplomatic relations in 1952 and the trade offices were upgraded to the level of embassies.

¹⁵ Mohammad-ul-Hassan "Pakistan-Japan Bilateral Political and Economic Relations: 1947-87", Thesis for the degree of Masters of Arts in International Relations, International University of Japan, 1988,p.42

The physical presence of the U.S in Japan and in its foreign policy formulation process, though partially, looked at Pakistan through Americanism (means to become sole super power, prevail capitalism as economy of the world and exploit all sources of the world for welfare of its allies in general and particularly its subjects). Simultaneously Japan used its wealth and designed economic policies for its development and prosperity. However, it had to follow the decisions of the U.S to large extent.

During war between Pakistan and India in 1965, the U.S suspended its aid to Pakistan and Japan also stopped.

In 1971, Japan again stopped its aid to Pakistan and India. Moreover, it recognized Bangladesh as an independent country on 10 February 1972.

The Soviet Union landed its forces in Afghanistan in December 1979 inertly with the objective of reaching warm waters of the Indian Ocean. It alarmed the western countries including Japan from political and economic point of view. The situation brought Pakistan as a main actor on the world stage from where the west could contain Soviet expansionism and compelled the Soviets to be retreated. Thus, new warmness in the relations between Pakistan and Japan was natural.

The Government of Japan announced 3 points program on 7 January 1980 to support the U.N Security Council Resolution demanding Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan. Besides, reviewing the exports of computers and other high technology items, the Japanese Premier, Ohira said that the

Government would suspend official dealings with Moscow.¹⁶ Yasue Katori, Deputy Foreign Minister of Japan described the situation around Pakistan as delicate and said it would affect whole of Asia including Japan.¹⁷ A number of high officials of Japan and leaders visited the refugee camps in Pakistan, extended aid and assured Pakistan of all help in managing the refugees. Japan significantly improved economic assistance to Pakistan over the past years and it was appreciated.¹⁸ After Geneva Accord signed between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan in 1988, the alien forces began to withdraw. The purpose was achieved, thus, the western countries including Japan began to turn their eyes from Pakistan.

2.2 Relations after 9/11

Japan also reduced warmness in its political relations with Pakistan though head of governments of both the countries visited each other. The Prime Ministers of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif and Benazir Bhutto visited Japan in December 1992 and March 1993 and again in January 1996 respectively. The Premier of Japan arrived in Pakistan in May 1990. Prince Akishino, the second son of the Japanese emperor, Akihito and his wife arrived on four days visit to Pakistan in November 1992. But these high level goodwill gestures limited to announcement of Joint Declarations and making statements. These visits did not contribute to boost up the relations between the two countries but maintained status quo.

¹⁶ Michael M Yoshitu, "Iran and Afghanistan in Japanese Perspective", *Asian Survey*, May 1981, Vol. XXI No.5, University of California Press, p.51.

¹⁷ *DAWN*, Karachi, 12.1.1980

¹⁸ *Morning News*, Karachi, 12.1.1983.

In the 1990s Japan was the biggest donor to Pakistan. That happened partly because the U.S supported Afghan Mujahideen fighters including those from Pakistan in Afghanistan. When the Soviet withdrawal took place, the US support vanished. The former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan told the author:

I heard my Pakistani friends complaining very bitterly their sense of having been abandoned. And it was against this background that our role in providing ODA aid to Pakistan. In this sense our role in Pakistan has become prominent through 1990s and that is some sort of direct relationship between Pakistan and Japan. But larger picture is bid more complicated. For example, after the Soviet withdrawal Afghanistan became anarchic. I talked to my Japanese friends feeling abandoned by the U.S or western powers prevalent in Pakistan.¹⁹

The United States imposed sanctions against Pakistan and Japan also accepted U.S action as its foreign policy towards the region of South Asia embraces influence of Uncle Sam.

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistan became non essential for American interests so it abandoned and imposed sanctions

¹⁹ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

against Pakistan. Close to hundred American embassy officers in charge to aid were leaving Pakistan like exodus of American experts. International society abandoned Pakistan twice, firstly, after cold war or collapse of East West confrontation and secondly, is nuclear explosions in 1998.²⁰

Additional compensation or supplemental assistance was not made to Pakistan. After Geneva Agreement in 1988, ratified by four related countries including Pakistan for the Soviet withdrawal, at that time they agreed to stop supply weapons to groups in Afghanistan.²¹ It was policy failure on part of the Western powers including Japan.

2.3 Pakistan-Japan Relations and U.S Factor

Japan is ally of the U.S and its foreign policy has dominating impression of the latter. Thus, its policy towards Pakistan has also US factor.

Regarding US factor in Japan's foreign policy towards Pakistan, Kunio Muraoka said,

U.S factor has to be taken into account while designing Japanese foreign policy to South Asia but we [Japan] have also our agenda and we have to devise to keep good relations with countries taking into view. U.S alliance for us [is necessary for survival of Japan] without which we will not be able to maintain independence.

²⁰ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²¹ Akira Mizutani, Professor, Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Main mission of Japan's embassy is to find good projects to help Pakistan. In that area American does not like Japan to be generous to Pakistan. When Japan wanted to advance its bilateral relations with Pakistan, U.S was always a factor to be considered.²² Perception may be right that Japan supports Pakistan also due to U.S factor. Independent Japanese assistance could improve situation either in Afghanistan or Pakistan [but] it could be indirect benefit to the U.S as well.²³ Japan designs its foreign policy to South Asia by keeping U.S interest in view to substantial extent.²⁴ Japan is big source of implementation of U.S policy [and] Japan's aid extended to Pakistan in the name of war on terror has certainly U.S factor.²⁵ There is also U.S factor behind Japan's policy towards Pakistan.²⁶

During the Cold War, Pakistan maintained good relations with the U.S and Japan felt comfortable with Pakistan. India maintained nonaligned and Japan was on easy to keep relations with India. This was main contrast. In post-Cold War era, the U.S showed interest towards India. In case of Pakistan, after 1998, its image deteriorated due to Afghanistan issue, terrorism, Taliban and death of Benazir Bhutto in 2007.²⁷

²² Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²³ Hirashima.S , Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Social Development, Nihon Fukushi University, Nagoya, Japan, Interview on 19th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁴ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁵ Irfan Siddiqui , Special Correspondent, Geo/daily Jang in Japan, Interview on 1st February, 2010 conducted in Kawasaki, Japan.

²⁶ Izuyama Marie Yoshioka, Senior Research Fellow, The National Institute of Defense Studies, Nakameguro, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁷ Horimoto Takenori Professor, Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

The Donors' Conference and conference of Friends of Democratic Pakistan were held in Japan due to U.S pressure. Prime Minister of Japan, Taro Aso went on visit to the U.S and he was pressurized to do some thing for war on terror. Consequently, these conferences were held in Japan.

Japan is now keeping good connection with Halbrook, U.S Assistant Secretary for Pakistan and Afghanistan. Japan's base line of diplomacy is how to cooperate with the U.S. There is every basic Japan's foreign policy making and in South Asia its foreign policy has some U.S influence.²⁸

2.4 Foundations of the Bilateral Relations

Despite U.S factor, the cordial and friendly relations between Pakistan and Japan thrived through out the Cold War period. The super power rivalry did not affect the relations of both the countries as two were in the Western camp. The traditional challenges like nuclear, missile armament and Kashmir continued as legacy of post-Cold War era where as non traditional items like human security, environmental pollution, sustainable development, democracy, development of social sector, poverty alleviation and improving life standard of people etc emerged as main challenges in post cold war period in the bilateral relations between the two countries. The challenges require adopting different strategies and responses to address them properly aimed at strengthening bilateral relations. Terrorism appeared

²⁸ Takeuchi Y Teddy, Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Japan, Interview on 28th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

as another convergence between the two countries. The responses include traditional and non traditional towards the challenges will help both the countries to lay the strong foundations of their relations in the post cold war period.

The main objectives/foundations of Pakistan and Japan relations are as under:

- i. To establish bilateral political relations;
- ii. To pursue nuclear program for energy purposes;
- iii. To secure communication lanes in the Indian Ocean particularly in the Gulfs of Oman and Hormuz;
- iv. To promote investment;
- v. To strengthen economy;
- vi. To increase bilateral trade;
- vii. U.S factor;
- viii. To address root causes of terrorism in Pakistan and Afghanistan;
- ix. To pursue security and defense objectives (traditional and non traditional);
- x. To create peace and harmony in the South Asia region securing economic interests;
- xi. Energy resources in Central Asia;
- xii. To develop social sectors for sustainable development and improving life standard of Asian community;
- xiii. To make efforts to ensure human security;

The incident of 9/11 ended post-Cold War era with emergence of invisible enemy. Now, each country is insecure and defense shield of the United States is ineffective. Japan also feels insecure though its defense is primarily the responsibility of the United States. It resets its defense priorities which may be witnessed from the fact that its forces targeted North Korean sub-marine in its territorial waters. First and abrupt strike, unless the U.S forces strike, by Japanese forces has created sense in Japan that they would have made arrangements other than knitted by the United States to defend their territory.

Pakistan has also started to decrease its dependence on defense aid and shield provided by the United States. Its experience of turning of eyes by the United States in critical hours particularly in 1965 and 1971 realized it that fair weather friend could not prove better defender to fulfill its commitments. Pakistan's support to U.S in war on terror is in its own interest to some extent. Anti-U.S terrorist incidents occurred due to its discriminatory policies and it along with its allies want to suppress terrorism. The war on terror has failed to protect Pakistan and has adversely affected it. Thus Pakistan is fighting for its survival against the enemies emerged due to war on terror.

2.5 Geo-strategic importance of Pakistan

The emergence of Pakistan as a moderate and modern Muslim country has a great importance for the entire world including Japan. Moreover,

Pakistan enjoys close and warm relations with China and endeavors to have friendly relations with India and solve outstanding problems with it peacefully. This is in proximity with Japan's Asian Policy. Its Asian Policy includes taking benefit from technology and institutions irrespective of country, to maintain peace with all the countries and live with peaceful existence with dwellers of Greater Asia.

The geo-strategic location of Pakistan has always attracted the world when ever Western countries viewed their interests in the region at stake. Moreover, even in peaceful times, its location holds prime importance from shipment of energy point of view. In addition to it, Pakistan's location will emerge as contact point between Indian Ocean and the interior of East Asia [in future].²⁹

There are strategic interests also for Japan where Pakistan is situated. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan has seen India and Pakistan together to call it South Asia for many years, but, Pakistan is part of Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East.³⁰

Pakistan is on trade and oil route on Indian Ocean from the Middle East. If there is any trouble then it will disturb Japan. Pakistan is extension to South East Asia. Japan has economic relations with Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries since 1950s. It wants to grow ASEAN facilities [cooperation against terrorism, to establish peace and

²⁹Takeuchi Y Teddy, Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Japan, Interview on 28th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

stability in the region, to deepen existing cooperation, to increase trade, to develop infrastructure and strengthen people to people contact by exchange of students and extending scholarships to Pakistanis and support community base programs] to Pakistan. Moreover, Gandhara art is also [important] as Japan has close identity with Pakistan and Afghanistan though they are Muslims. India has greater role in eastern Asia and Pakistan has in Central Asia and Middle East so India and Pakistan has different sitting role in international security.³¹

Stability and prosperity of Pakistan is very important to secure the sea routes between Middle East and Japan. Pakistan can play role in regional cooperation in South Asia including South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).³²

Regarding Japan's policy to Pakistan, Japanese journalist said,

Japan is different from the U.S and other countries as it has no military power out side. Japan's national interest is not based on military or power but purely economy. If we develop economic interest then we [Japan] need to keep the security of international society. Pakistan has important nuclear weapons and confronts with India. Also it is neighboring country of Afghanistan and Central Asian states. So Japan

³¹ Izuyama Marie Yoshioka, Senior Research Fellow, The Institute for Defense Studies, Nakameguro, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³² Seiji Kojima , former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan and currently Chief Protocol Officer, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 5th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

should think highly of Pakistan's position and needs to assess its economic growth.³³

Every one is energy deficient and wherever resources will be available countries are competing to get themselves efficient. Pakistan can play big role in the context of Central Asia. The main thing is export of energy resources to other parts of the world and there are two ways. Firstly, through pipeline which is expensive and secondly, through Afghanistan and Pakistan to sea lanes. This is one role how Pakistan can be helpful to Japan and entire world. In an ideal situation, if things are settled down in Afghanistan but not in Pakistan then the problem will be the same. Both countries need peace for energy resources for Central Asia.³⁴

Regarding future of Japan, Uchida Yuka told in an interview to the author,

We [Japan] have lot of interaction with Pakistan and India and especially fact that our [Japan's] future lies on Asia especially South Asia sort of consensus is growing. In South Asia especially on humanitarian issue because we [Japan] realize quite big gap in income of poor especially the amount of population indicate standard of poor. If we take site of friction with China both sides will be looser and South Asia and South East Asia and Asia as a whole also [will be] affected negatively from our tension.³⁵

³³ Takeuchi Y Teddy, Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Japan, Interview on 28th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁴ Asad Ali Ghilani Syed, Counsellor (Political), Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Interview on 25th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁵ Uchida Yuka, Manager, International Department, Democratic Party of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 5th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Pakistan is important country not only in the region but for the entire world as it has 7th largest population but comparing with India it is small country, however, Government of Japan does not take any biased attitude towards India or Pakistan. It [Pakistan] is important for Japan due to its geo-strategic position. It is poor in economic perspective and very rich in natural and human resources.³⁶

With the end of super power rivalry and independence of Central Asian Republics (CARs), Pakistan emerged as a gate way to the region. Central Asia attracts Japan in terms of natural resources especially Kazakhstan due to availability of uranium.³⁷ Pakistan is gate way to Central Asia for Japan because Pakistan is also pursuing in such direction.³⁸ Pakistan is gateway to Central Asia for Japan because it confirms certain important regions like Central Asia, Middle East and West Asia. The only draw back is that Pakistan is a front line state in war on terror and the investors are little care [full] for going there [Pakistan]. Japan is a country which relies on the resources and Pakistan has abundance natural and human resources.³⁹ Moreover, Japan prefers India due to its size and law and order situation but likes [also] Pakistan emotionally and culturally.⁴⁰

³⁶ Yasushi Nakagawa , South West Asia Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁷ Takako Hirose Professor , Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁸ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asia Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁹ Noor Muhammad Jadmani, Ambassador of Pakistan to Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 23rd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁴⁰ Hirashima.S Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Social Development, Nihon Fukushi University, Nagoya, Japan, Interview on 19th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Japan, India and China are important players on the stage of Asia and they can play vital role for unipolar Asia but U.S wants multi polar Asia. China wants unipolar Asia whereas India and Japan want multi polar world and multi polar Asia. One can determine position in unipolar Asia but Pakistan will definitely play role due to its geo-strategic position subject to restoration of peace in the region.⁴¹

There is strategic competition for controlling energy resources in Central Asia and war on terror might be due to this factor. Geo strategic in the sense that two main competitors are China and the U.S. Former has the advantage of proximity bordering with Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics. The U.S has lost Iran and the states that are supporting the U.S are small, vulnerable or controversial. Without the U.S decision, they [small countries] are going to pull out and leave as many regimes have serious problems so [it] means [the states are] artificially supporting. It is not just energy resources and geo-strategic but they are looking eyes [possible presence] of China. Importance of Pakistan is China connection and Indo-China enmity. Pakistan traditionally is quiet closer to China.⁴²

There is thinking that Japan will have to move closer to South East and East Asia because South East Asia would be the counter balance to Chinese domination and South East Asia needs Japan from economic point

⁴¹ Jan Alam Afridi, Press Counsellor, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁴² Omar Farouk Professor, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan, Interview on 24th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

of view. So Japan can play an important role in counter weighting to Chinese domination.⁴³

Japan is giving more importance to India due to its size of population, economy and location and generally speaking dominating three parts of the sub-continent and Japanese people are familiar to India due to Buddhism. Situation in Pakistan and Afghanistan will decide future course of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Japan.⁴⁴

Pakistan's geo strategic position is curse and blessing. Curse is what is happening [terrorist attacks] today in Pakistan and blessing if conditions improved that power corridor will flow through Pakistan. Japan is energy intensive country and it is going to have energy needs which are close to Pakistan.⁴⁵

Japan extends Aid to Pakistan as it is one of the largest Muslim countries (population wise). The natural resources of the country are not fully discovered to cater the burden of the rapidly expanding population. If poverty persists it will be temptation for anti-social elements to hire cheap human resources and contribute for destabilization of the region. It seems that Japan considers that strong Pakistan is necessary for stability in the world and particularly in Asian continent. Moreover, 9/11 terrorist attacks created geopolitical instability in South Asia which adversely affected

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Horimoto Takenori Professor , Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁴⁵ Rahman Hamid, Commercial Secretary, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Interview on 22nd January, 2010.

Pakistan.⁴⁶ In addition to it, Japan wants to address Pakistan's socio-economic structural problems at the grass roots level.⁴⁷

Instability in Afghanistan, strong resistance of the Taliban against U.S led Allied forces and Karzai Government in Afghanistan has left the region in lurch. The region is facing political instability which ultimately destabilizes geographical location of the region. Location of China and India in Asia, which contains one-third population of the world, are important for maintenance of peace and prosperity of the world. Japan emphasizes on peace in the world and urges the world community to ensure security of the continent of Asia is one of the important flash points of Japan's security and peace in the 21st century. In this context Pakistan is inseparably linked to peace and stability in what of South Asia including India.⁴⁸

It will be important for Japan to carefully foster the amicable feelings towards Japan that are widely shared by Pakistanis.⁴⁹ Pakistan and Japan will have to adopt non traditional approach and reconsider its [Pakistan] foreign policy aimed at strengthening their bilateral relations in post-Cold War period.

2.5 Foreign Policy

Pakistan's foreign policy is based against the natural principle of bilateral and multilateral relations that there is no permanent friend and no

⁴⁶ Japan's Country Assistance Program for Pakistan, Official Development Assistance, Government of Japan, February, 2005, p.3.

⁴⁷ Ibid, pp.4-5

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.6

⁴⁹ Ibid.

permanent enemy but only permanent is national interest. Its foreign policy revolved around the United States through out the Cold War period. It got itself stuck up with Indian enmity. This trend adversely affected its stability, security and foreign relations. It could not build international pressure to compel India to solve their outstanding problems. Moreover, the U.S did not favor Pakistan vis-à-vis India and when its interests fulfilled, it turned away eyes from Pakistan. This trend continued from the early 1950s to the end of Cold War.

In post-Cold War and 9/11 international political and economic scenario, Pakistan is continued to play on the same pitch. It will leave far behind the competition for securing its political and economic interests in Asia, Europe, the U.S and other parts of the world. Its relations with Japan may also receive adverse repercussions. It must learn lesson from the U.S-Japan relations. There are two factors which are hurdles in development of Pakistan. Firstly, the U.S has been using Pakistan and giving assistance to it depends upon its needs and choices and never in terms of Pakistan and secondly, political fundamentalists.⁵⁰

Since signing of U.S-Japan Security Treaty (UJST) in 1952, Japan linked its foreign policy mainly in the context of the U.S. This trend continued till early 1970s when two incidents compelled Japan to rethink on its foreign relations and it slightly adopted independent pattern.

⁵⁰ Horimoto Takenori Professor, Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

China and Japan has territorial dispute and have deep rooted division from historical perspective. The U.S also had proxy war with China in ideological perspective. But differences between the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and China and latter's increasing influence in the region compelled the U.S to get start of developing good working relationship with China. Then U.S President, Richard Nixon sent his Foreign Minister, Henry Kissinger to China. Pakistan facilitated the trip. It worried Japan a lot. Secondly, due to famous Ramzan war in 1973 between Israel and the Muslim Arab countries, oil producing Muslim countries including Saudi Arab used oil as a weapon and imposed oil embargo on the Western countries including Japan. This new development caused set back to Japan as its economic might is based on oil. It disassociated itself from the U.S-Israel connection and sent its representative to Saudi Arabia and other Middle East countries for talks and changed its stand on Palestinian problem to large extent. Its national interest compelled it to have independence from the U.S shield.

Pakistan must begin thinking in global perspective as economic might will strengthen a country internally and externally. Japan and China have improved economic relations and latter is increasing its presence in former's markets day-by-day. No doubt, Japan has joined hands with India and the U.S and supports concept of East Asian community to counter rising influence of China, but, being resource less country and proximity, it has to allow opponent to export products to its markets. Japan thinks that India can be raised against China as it is not on good relations with China so it has gone to India. In Asia-Pacific nexus is U.S, Japan and India against China to

cater for its economic and military where as in the Muslim world it is India, U.S and Israel.⁵¹

Increasing India-Japan strategic and global partnership may not affect Pakistan a lot regionally due to their location in two separate regions but it may have some repercussions in global perspective.

The pace of international politics is changing very fast as after the end of the Cold War; the world is continuously in state of transformation. Thus, Pakistan will have to maintain seriousness in bilateral relations. Japan is ready to have sustainable dialogue with Pakistan but not every time but often [the dialogue is] canceled due to lack of preparation from Pakistani side. High level dialogues were scheduled to be held on 15th December 2009 but before two weeks of the date [of the dialogue] again Government of Pakistan approached Japan to postpone [dialogue].⁵²

Chronic lethargic attitude, keeping think tanks away from the process of foreign policy formulation, bureaucratic approach, U.S influence on its international relations, less participation of the representatives of the masses and ignoring popular opinion within the country on any international issue can damage the interests of Pakistan in the regional and global political and economic scenario after 1991.

⁵¹ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attahce, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁵² Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asia Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

There is lack of enhancing Pakistan's interaction with Japanese side like think tanks, officials and students to promote better understanding towards Pakistan in Japan. Pakistan's foreign policy should promote economic, cultural and tourism linkages. It needs to expand beyond Government-to-Government level to Japanese Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and volunteer organizations. Government to Government level relationship is backbone of bilateral relations but in Japan civil society is very important [and] these potential areas need to be addressed.⁵³

2.7 People-to-People Contact

Japan's foreign policy choices are determined not by international variables but by the domestic normative context.⁵⁴ Domestic policy, economic interests being represented by the private sector and bilateral relations with the countries are some factors contributing formation of Japan's foreign policy.⁵⁵ The popular opinion of the Japanese people influences the thinking of foreign policy of the country.

To create better understanding between Pakistan and Japan and promote its status, standing, credibility and case in Japan's dealing with outside world from Pakistan perspective; it should strengthen people-to-

⁵³ Asad Ali Gilani Syed, Counsellor (Political), embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 25th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁵⁴ Selig Harrison S. (ed), Japan's Nuclear Future: The Plutonium Debate and East Asian Security, A Carnegie Endowment Boo, Washington, 1996, p- 6.

⁵⁵ Akira Mizutani , Professor, Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

people contact. This area was bitterly ignored by Pakistan during the Cold War period.

In order to enhance people-to-people contact, Pakistan and Japan will have to work on the following three levels.

- i. Pakistanis and Japanese communities residing in respective countries.
- ii. Pakistanis inside Pakistan.
- iii. Japanese inside Japan.

There were 810 Japanese living in Pakistan in October 2000.⁵⁶ They are mainly settled in Karachi and Islamabad and engaged in various businesses. They have good friendly relations with the locals. But they are not playing required role for enhancing people-to-people contact and promoting bilateral relations between the two countries.

The Pakistanis are also living in Japan since inception of bilateral relations between Pakistan and Japan. The first Pakistani citizen who came to Japan in 1952 was Mr. Shifta. First Pakistan Association was formed in 1961 and its first President was Dr. U.D. Khan.⁵⁷ Now, there are 9,221 registered Pakistanis residing in Japan in 47 prefectures across Japan as below:

⁵⁶ www.mofa.go.jp

⁵⁷ Hussain Khan, Ex-Coordinator, Japan Muslim Peace Federation, Japan, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Table 1: Pakistanis Living in Japan

S. No.	Prefecture	Pakistanis
1	Saitama	1639
2	Tokyo	1470
3	Kanagawa	1013
4	Aiichi	857
5	Chiba	741
6	Gunma	626
7	Ibaraki	497
8	Tochigi	366
9	Toyama	347
10	Shizuoka	270
11	Niigata	209
12	Osaka	170
13	Hyogo	133
14	Nagano	110
15	Gifu	106
16	Miyagi	77
17	Hokkaido	75
18	Mie	75
19	Fukuoka	74
20	Kyoto	66
21	Okayama	40
22	Fukushima	39
23	Kagoshima	37
24	Oita	32
25	Kagawa	25
26	Yamanashi	23
27	Iwate	22
28	Aomori	21
29	Nara	20
30	Tottori	19
31	Ishikawa	16
32	Okinawa	16
33	Sagawa	13
34	Kumamoto	11

35	Miyazaki	10
36	Shiga	9
37	Hiroshima	8
38	Yamagata	8
39	Yamaguchi	8
40	Kochi	8
41	Akita	7
42	Ehime	5
43	Fukui	4
44	Wakayama	4
45	Nagasaki	3
46	Shimane	2
47	Tokushima	1

Source: Ministry of Interior, Government of Japan (Dr. Imran-ul-Haq, Coordinator, Japan Muslim Peace Federation, Japan, Interview on 23rd January, 2010 conducted in Tsukuba, Japan)

These Pakistanis are engaged in different business activities including export of used vehicles, import of carpets, surgical equipments, companies and teaching etc. Overwhelming majority of these people is doing business of export of used vehicles to the Middle East, Australia and Newzealand.

Japanese who are doing business in Pakistan have better image about Pakistan.⁵⁸ In Japan Pakistani community is productive rather than parasitical meaning [it means] that community has become parasites of the society [but not Pakistanis in Japan]. They are doing business of used cars so they are helping Japan. Pakistani community will have to project themselves for promotion of their image in foreign country. Newspapers and media have developed image of Pakistan in Japan. Japanese press is much dominated by

⁵⁸ Habibur Rahman , former Secretary General, Pakistan-Japan Association (Regd), Interview on 7th February, 2010 conducted in Yashio, Japan.

the West and their main stream ideas are Western view point. There is no original analysis in the articles.⁵⁹

It is noteworthy that the Indian lobby is very strong in Japan. When any incident happens with Pakistanis in Japan, Indians highlight [the incident] again and again to malign Pakistan. When Mumbai incident happened, India highlighted that Pakistan is involved [in the incident] and when such news appeared in Japanese press, the Japanese businessmen cancelled their scheduled trips to Pakistan and consequently thousands of Japanese industries have been established in India.⁶⁰

Indian influence is increasing in Japan. When Mumbai attacks happened, India tried to persuade Japan to issue statement against Pakistan but Japan did not do that. Both the countries have signed agreement according to which 25,000 Indians will go to Japan for employment in Information Technology (I.T) sector. Moreover, 1000 Japanese language institutes have been established in India. Increasing relations between the two countries does not provide guarantee that Japan will not issue any statement if not did today. Moreover, Japan's aid may also be affected.⁶¹. Indian community is very organized and they have established 4 schools (two in Tokyo and two in Yokohama).⁶²

⁵⁹Oamr Farouk Professor, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan, Interview on 24th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁶⁰ Nasir Nakagawa , Chief Editor, www.urdunetjpn.com, Interview on 15th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁶¹ Irfan Siddiqui, Special Correspondent, Geo/daily Jang, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 1st February, 2010 conducted in Kawasaki, Japan.

⁶² Muhammad Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Chairman, International Muslim Centre, Japan, Interview on 15th January, 2010, conducted in Tokyo.

In the beginning visa was free for Pakistanis to go Japan but when Pakistanis began staying over, the Government of Japan imposed restrictions. Consciously, Pakistani community does not do any thing to have interaction with the Japanese people .Embassy of Pakistan in Japan has never guided the community to work on country level. Conference on 100 years of Urdu in Japan was held in Tokyo University. India sent many professors but Pakistan did not do so. Pakistani community invited three professors on its [own] expenses. The embassy could not do needful due to shortage of funds.⁶³

Many Pakistanis have married with Japanese women but they do not often go to their parents. Moreover, cultural program was not held to increase interaction with the Japanese people.⁶⁴

Before visit of former Premier Hussian Shaheed Suhrawardhy, Mr. Muhammad Ali Bogra visited Japan and in that period Pakistan Student Association (PSA) and Muslim Student Association came into existence in Japan.⁶⁵

Due to differences among the Pakistani community, following three associations were established:⁶⁶

- (i) Pakistan Association, Japan (Regd);

⁶³ Hussain Khan , Ex-Coordinator, Japan Muslim Peace Federation, Japan, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁶⁴ Habib-ur-Rahman Malik, former Secretary General, Pakistan-Japan Association, Interview on 7th February, 2010 conducted in Yashio, Japan.

⁶⁵ Muhammad Abdur Rahman Siddiqui , Chairman, International Muslim Centre, Japan, Interview on 15th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁶⁶ Imran-ul -Haq, Coordinator, Japan Muslim Peace Federation, Interview on 23rd January, 2010 conducted in Tsukuba, Japan.

- (ii) Elected Pakistan Association, Japan;
- (iii) Pakistan Association, Japan.

The Embassy of Pakistan in Japan also indulged in internal politics of Pakistani community and supported one group to establish the Association to counterweight the other Association that staged protest in front of the embassy. It was in fact departure of embassy from its prime duty.

There is also Japan Association in Pakistan. Most of its members are Japanese. Pakistani may also become a member but only two or three Pakistanis have registered as a member. It consists of 600 to 700 Japanese through out the country.⁶⁷

Some Pakistanis in Japan have established Friends of Pakistan (FOP) and its inaugural meeting was held on 23rd February 2010 in Koshigaya city, Japan. Till that 100 Pakistanis had been registered as members. It is a social and cultural organization having no political motives. But it by default lacks requisite characteristics of an organization. Its name may be changed as Pakistan Club or some other as all members are Pakistanis and they are sons of Pakistan and cannot become its friends.

Moreover, there are branches of various Pakistani Political Parties including Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League (N) (PML-N), Jamaat Islami (JI) and Mutahida Quami Movement (MQM) etc. Their

⁶⁷ Nasir Nakagawa , Chief Editor, www.urdunetjpn.com, Interview on 15th January, 2010, conducted in Tokyo.

political affiliations have also paved the way for disunity among the Pakistani community.

Moreover, professional jealousy have also degraded the image of Pakistani community and caused loss to its common cause. Further to add, Pakistani community while living in Japan are following and obeying the laws of the country in letter and spirit but culture of hatred and superiority brought from Pakistan have hindered their unification as a community.

Some time ago, the Government of Pakistan issued instructions that every Ambassador will hold monthly meeting with Pakistani community in the Embassy. In Japan some meetings were held in Embassy of Pakistan and 80% time of the meeting was spent on complains against Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) and National Bank of Pakistan (NBP), Tokyo branch, Japan. One representative of PSA told the then Ambassador in a meeting to increase number of scholarships and invite Pakistani students in a dinner or meeting with the Japanese companies to have interaction between the two. Ambassador said that students have come here for study and why they want to reside here. He did not know whether students have come either on the expenses of Government of Pakistan or Japan.⁶⁸

During Dr. Atta-ur-Rahman's tenure, as Federal Minister for Education, there was plan to open Japanese University in Pakistan and teachers were to be appointed from Japan. Students of the University would have been awarded degrees from Japanese universities. But the project was

⁶⁸ Imran-ulHaq, Coordinator, Japan Muslim Peace Federation, Interview on 23rd January, 2010.

suspended and if this project is restarted it will be great success in education. Moreover, University of Karachi has offered Japan that they would construct a building and Japan may establish institute or campus in that building but there is lack of implementation and follow up.⁶⁹

2.7 Security Dialogue

In the post-Cold War period, Japan and Pakistan felt necessary to have security dialogue for addressing traditional and non traditional issues including nuclear non-proliferation, disarmament, missile race and terrorism. Such cooperation will help them to understand their respective security concerns and means to cope with security challenges. This was main shift from pre to post cold war bilateral relations. Formal first round of Security dialogue was held in 2003 and so far three rounds have taken place where as round scheduled in December, 2009 was postponed on the request of Pakistan. Security dialogue between the two countries was started due to following reasons:

- (i) To promote understanding between the two countries on terrorism and enable Pakistan to fight and support it morally and politically;
- (ii) Japan and India security relations increased after 2001 when Prime Minister Junichiro Kouzimi visited India. Japan also felt that its relations with Pakistan must not go behind in case of increasing relations between both the countries so it started security dialogues. There might be cooperation on maritime

⁶⁹ Irfan Siddiqui, Special Correspondent, Geo/daily Jang, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 1st February, 2010.

security and Japan does not want to threaten Pakistan but Pakistan feels threat from India.⁷⁰

- (iii) Pakistan wanted more aid from Japan so security dialogue started. Japan also expressed its interest in the security dialogues to show its presence in war on terror and strengthen internal security of Pakistan.⁷¹

However, the security dialogue between Pakistan and Japan started in the early 1990s. The former ambassador of Japan to Pakistan said,

We [Japan] held a kind of security dialogue in 1993-94 to discuss natural development program by Pakistan and we want [ed] to be convinced at that time that Pakistan is not going towards making nuclear weapons in order for us [Japan] to be able to continue our aid programs.⁷²

Regarding initiation of security dialogue between Pakistan and Japan, Kunio Muraoka told the author in an interview;

When I was there [Pakistan] I think we [Japan] held every year this dialogue. Mission comes from Japan, talk with Pakistani people; give national assessment that Pakistan is not building the nuclear weapons. That was one way to by pass the U.S intervention. U.S applied us [Japan] a big

⁷⁰ Izuyama Marie Yoshioka, Senior Research Fellow, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Nakameguro, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁷¹ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁷² Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

pressure to stop giving aid to nuclear developing countries.⁷³

Japan has image of soft power, hard power and smart power. Soft power in terms of approach to global issues, smart power in terms of technology and hard power from equipments point of view. Japan can use soft power and has been playing role in developing and developed countries.⁷⁴

There was a concept in the 1990s, that security is to be approached in realistic way and cannot rely only on military. If one succeeds it will be temporary as the sustainable security is human security. Having shifted from traditional national security to human security Japan has created space to become more assertive to pursue foreign policy objectives and it can be expected that Japan will play role to enhance Human Security Commission of U.N to ensure human security in South Asia and all over the world. From Japan's perspective there is whole world but from the perspective of Pakistan it depends upon efficient partnership. In areas of environment, protection and sustainable development, if Pakistan adopts creative approach it will be in position to convince Japan to help. Sustainable development is not in physical terms but in terms of sustaining life style which will be viable for harmony. Pakistan-Japan relations focused on traditional political items and did not consider non traditional like human security, environmental pollution and economic sustainability because in political arena these are more constraints for Japan. For Japan to be sustainable, it

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Noor Muhamamd Jadmani, Ambassador of Pakistan to Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

will have to allow expert workers to work because otherwise there is a problem of a sliding population which can shrink its economy. Japan can take benefit from human and natural resources of Pakistan.⁷⁵

Security situation in Pakistan has created hindrances in improving Pakistan's bilateral political relations with other countries. Regarding Japan, Air Commodore, Asim Anwar, Defense Attache told the author in an interview:

Due to security concerns, high level exchange of delegations between Pakistan and Japan has virtually stopped. Japan wanted to go to Pakistan but they did not [go] due to unrest there [Pakistan]. When Musharraf enforced emergency in November 2007, it was divergent and Japan went to India. Then Malabar naval exercises were held between Japan, India, U.S, Australia and Thailand in 2007. In 2008, Japan did not participate in the exercises due to China. Indian Chief of Naval Staff went to China to participate in International exhibition just to give message that they are also going to China and Japan. Then Japan and the U.S participated [in the naval exercises]. Japan also participated in Oman 09 multi nation naval exercise hosted by Pakistan. Japan sent two ships in the exercises as it wanted to go to Pakistan with limited forces.

Security agreements between Japan and Pakistan are very elaborative indicating sectors for cooperation. Main sector is navy to navy cooperation which is aimed at securing sea lanes of communication. India has capability to secure Japan's sea lanes of communication in Strait of

⁷⁵ Omar Farouk Professor, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan, Interview on 24th January, 2010, conducted in Tokyo.

Malacca and Indian Ocean. Japan's holding of naval exercises is leading it to expansionism but they do not consider that it is violation of the constitution because when it wants to hold naval exercises, approval is granted by the Diet. Japan's defense budget was 9.5 billion U.S dollars in 2009. Hatayoma supports East Asian community which consists of ASEAN+Australia, Newzealand, India, Japan, China and South Korea. In future, Pakistan-Japan relations will be on lower level. Indian forces are in position to provide security to Japan where as Pakistan's navy is not although it is engaged in Command Task Force 150 and have sent their ships towards gulf of Andaman to fight against Anti-Piracy operations⁷⁶

Japan has not so much importance of security dialogues with Pakistan like other countries such as India and Australia etc. If the U.S, China, Russian Federation and Japan persuade India and Pakistan then there is chance to bring both countries closer to each other. If India wants to be a global player it will have to resolve the conflicts with Pakistan including small neighboring countries. If India cannot do so, its internal security situation will be the worst.⁷⁷

2.8 **Democracy in Pakistan**

In its 63 years of age, Pakistan remained under military rulers for more than 33years. When General Pervez Musharraf overpowered elected civilian government in 1999, Japan expressed its concerns. Japan protested

⁷⁶ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁷⁷ Toru Ito , Associate Professor, National Defense Academy of Japan, Yokoshuka-shi, Kanagawa, Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

against General Musharraf rule. Probably Japan's tone against suspension of democracy was not as harsh as of the West.⁷⁸

After General Musharraf's coup d'etat in 1999 and atomic explosions in 1998 image of Pakistan went down. Pakistan-Japan relations cannot only be bilateral but should be put in global perspective so Japan arranged Donors' Conference.⁷⁹

General Zia-ul-Haq and General Musharraf were received warmly in Japan as they were allies of U.S where as President Asif Ali Zardari was also given warm reception due to fact that democracy was restored in Pakistan. However, Japanese do not like martial law but they felt compelled to support generals due to U.S factor.⁸⁰

Beyond 1991 and under Musharraf government Japan has miserable vast experience with military rule. Thus, it is not in favor of military government but performance of civil government is worse than the military government. Japan does not have specific political and military interests in Pakistan and other developing countries.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁷⁹ Izuyama Marie Yoshioka, Senior Research Fellow, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Nakameguro, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁸⁰ Chaudhry Shahid Raza, President, Japan International Press, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th February, 2010 conducted in New Chiba, Japan.

⁸¹ Hirashima.S , Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Social Development, Nihon Fukushi University, Nagoya, Japan, Interview on 19th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Regarding performance of civilian government in Pakistan, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Kunio Muraoka told the author in an interview:⁸²

Due to unfavorable work of Nawaz Sharif to Japan it mounted my work and I started to favor change of government and contact with Peoples Party persons and diplomatic circles. When Nawaz Sharif government was dismissed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan I had a great relief. I was happy actually. It was my personal [work] and not support of government of Japan.

In case of next coupdete, Pakistan cannot be able to receive any assistance from international community.⁸³

Stable and united Pakistan is in the interest of every body including India and disintegrated Pakistan will be more dangerous for world peace including Japan. It [Japan] does not want Pakistan to be disintegrated or deteriorated.⁸⁴

Before nuclear explosions, Japanese including girls felt proud to have a photograph with any Pakistani but due to deterioration of situation in

⁸² KunioMuraoka , former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁸³ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asia Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁸⁴ Takako Hirose Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Pakistan, imposition of martial law and western media's propaganda against Pakistan and Islam they dislike Pakistan.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Cahudhry Shahid Raza, President, Japan International Press, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th February, 2010 conducted in New Chiba, Japan.

Chapter.3

Pakistan's Nuclear Program and Japan.

The South Asia is a region of seven countries which is important for having two nuclear countries i.e, India and Pakistan. It is only region of the world where the two neighboring countries are declared nuclear states. Being economically weak and unending political problems, both the countries possess nuclear warheads which are vulnerable for international peace. Breaking of war between the two countries will be a nuclear war which may put peace of the entire world in jeopardy.

The region is vulnerable for the entire world including Japan in the sense that due to semi cordial and friendly relations between Pakistan and India, war may be erupted. Moreover, both countries have deep rooted mistrust. In addition to it; extremists in India and Pakistan do not want cordial relations between the two countries. It may add fuel to injury. If once war begins any country may use nuclear weapons as a last resort which may affect the entire world.

Japan has always asked both the countries to restrain from nuclear tests, horizontally and vertically and sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The Government of Pakistan was persuaded to sign the CTBT which it found

how to do in absence of India.⁸⁶ But, both the countries are reluctant to respond positively to the call of Japan.

Japanese should keep saying that Pakistan should come to sign CTBT and NPT but it is like a dream as they understand the importance of security position on side of Pakistan. Japan is also pursuing India to sign both the treaties. However, nuclear problem will not be a big matter in future relations between India and Pakistan.⁸⁷ If India signs CTBT Pakistan may not do so as it might want equal status with India.⁸⁸

Every country should be justified in developing nuclear weapons because NPT is unfair treaty as five countries are admitted as nuclearized excluding others. They never tried to abolish nuclear weapons and if they try to abolish some thing in this regard then it will be alright. Pakistan and India do not sign treaty due to domestic problems. The Prime Minister Hataoyama of Japan during his visit to India asked the host country to sign CTBT but [Indian Premier] replied that U.S and China are not ratifying treaty so Professor Hiromoto Takenori thinks that without their ratification India will not sign the treaty.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁸⁷ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁸⁸ Takako Hirose Professor , Associate Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁸⁹ HiromotoTakenori Professor, Shobi University Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Pakistan wants nuclear free world in an ideal scenario but ground realities are that it is not a nuclear state by choice but by compulsions because of its own national security interests. Japan keeps reiterating its ideal version that it is nuclear free but it is for domestic audience as well as for national stature and policy so it continues to pursue that.⁹⁰

Regarding reactionary trend of nuclear development in the sub-continent, Takeuchi Y.Teddy told the author:

The nuclear weaponization is a result of chain reaction. China exploded nuclear device in 1964 which was followed by India in 1974 and 1998 and then Pakistan entered in the scenario in 1998. Future repercussions of chain reaction may be economic. China is No. 2 in the world and emerging as major market where as India is coming forward. The economic development of these two countries in terms of population and GDP [has changed their importance] so priority has been changing for these two countries. Secondly, political means it is highly related to first factor, particularly for Pakistan is big factor how to do [deal] with extremists and terrorists. Relatively security priority for Pakistan has been changing though India is number one concern for Pakistan. Thirdly, international pressure. These three factors are different from the past. Some structure of competition of these nuclear out lets among these three countries is there but factors of reactionary trend are changing.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Asad Ali Gilani Syed, Counsellor (Political), Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, 25th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁹¹ Takeuchi Y Teddy , Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 9th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Japan knows that Pakistan's nuclear program is reactionary one and Indian [nuclear program] also.⁹² The Government of Japan and Japanese people do not know the background of Pakistan's nuclear program and understand that India conducted explosion in 1974 and then Pakistan started its nuclear program and accept that it was forced to do that.⁹³ When we talk about people that can be interpreted as chain reaction but Japanese people cannot accept. If we can justify with chain reaction theory so Japan will also justify for Japanese nuclear arm so that is unacceptable to Japanese people.⁹⁴

Japan has expressed concerns on the atomic program of both the countries. When India and Pakistan conducted nuclear explosions in May 1998 Japan without assessing the nature of the explosions held both the countries in one line and imposed economic sanctions. It is a fact beyond any doubt that Pakistan was compelled to explode nuclear device after Indian tests in 1998 and in view of failure of international commitments of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons in South Asia. Moreover, it is also fact that Pakistan launched its atomic program due to constraints of nuclear energy and its increasing demand in future. But when, it observed that India is embarked on acquiring of nuclear weapons, it had to move in Indian footings.

⁹² Takako Hirose Professor, Associate Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁹³ Jan Alam Afridi , Press Counsellor, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo .

⁹⁴ Akira Mizutani , Professor, Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, Japan,, Interview on 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Nuclear programs of India and Pakistan is almost at par about the same size. If it continues as it is now, then the economic strength will show it by making big progress in case of India and Pakistan find very difficult to collect all its resources for the program.⁹⁵ Pakistan should abandon its nuclear program unilaterally which will create positive image of Pakistan at least towards the Japanese people.⁹⁶

3.1 Pakistan's Nuclear Program

Pakistan launched its nuclear program with the establishment of Pakistan Atomic Energy Committee in 1955. It was upgraded as Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in 1956. The program got momentum in the 1960s in reaction of Indian efforts to acquire nuclear bomb. Pakistan's response in this regard was two fold. On the one side, it tried to convince the countries supplying India with expertise and equipment to stop doing so. Pakistan failed to achieve the desired results. For example, efforts to convince Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, to stop helping India were of no avail. On the other hand, it made efforts to get its own bomb.

It is common notion that Pakistan launched its nuclear program after atomic tests undertaken by India in 1974. The first elected Prime Minister of Pakistan; Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had set his mind much earlier for developing nuclear capability as deterrent in South Asia region. He summarized his

⁹⁵ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁹⁶ Akira Mizutani, Professor, Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

nuclear ideas in his book entitled The Myth of Independence, which was published in 1969. He rejected the idea of limiting nuclear weapons to only five countries (permanent members of U.N Security Council).⁹⁷ He considered nuclear technology vital for Pakistan and held that in case Pakistan gives up or suspends its nuclear program, India will be in position to blackmail Pakistan with its nuclear advantage.⁹⁸ He went to extent for building atomic bomb for Pakistan that he along with his nation was ready to eat grass or leaves.⁹⁹

The defeat in war of 1971 on the hands of India proved catalyst for Pakistan to move fast to acquire nuclear technology. It did to Bhutto what India's defeat in 1962 had done to Nehru and what the Israeli obliteration of the Osirak reactor at Tuwaitta in 1981 did to former Iraqi President Saddam Hussain.

Z. A. Bhutto became the first elected President of Pakistan in 1971. The country began taking brisk walk towards acquiring atomic energy. The construction of Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP) with the help of the Canadian General Electric Company in 1972 and signing of contract with Saint-Gobian Techniques Nowelles (SGN) in March 1973 for processing plant at Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science and Technology (PINSTECH) and beginning of its construction on 18th October 1974 were the land marks of Bhutto's regime.

⁹⁷ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, The Myth of Independence, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1969,p.26

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Ibid

The contract of PINSTECH unveiled the face of the United States that how much it was sincere and real friend of Pakistan. Though, its friendship with its ally country through South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) had been tested in Indo-Pak war when East Pakistan became Bangladesh, this incident brought real face of the United States.

This contract deeply upset the United States and dispatched Henry Kissinger who asked Bhutto to abandon the project otherwise economic and military aid would be cutoff. Kissinger specifically said that the Pentagon would supply Pakistan with more than 100 A-7 Corsair II fighter bombers and other military hardware. Bhutto refused to give up nuclear program.

Kissinger made efforts to convince other party of the contract Valery Giscard d'Estaing, the French President, who decided that his country would prolong in honoring the terms of the Chashma contract with hope that Pakistan would bring contract to an end. But, Pakistan did not take any step. Ultimately, France unilaterally abrogated the contract.

On the abrogation of the contract by France the Director of SGN Francois Xavier Poincet told the journalists:

Its' devilish you know. The Americans are backward in reprocessing. They cannot bear to see the world market taken over by another country before they are ready. They believe they have a God-Given right to tell others what

to do, but their real God is American business.
Its' absolutely devilish.¹⁰⁰

It was a time when Dr Abdul Qadeer Khan joined Pakistan's nuclear program. Physical Dynamics Research Laboratory in Amsterdam employed him from 1972 to 1975. It was a sub-contractor to Ultra-Centrifuge Netherland (UCN) located in Almelo, Netherlands and partner of the tri-national European Uranium Enrichment Centrifuge Consortium (URENCO) made up of Britain, Germany and the Netherlands.

On the request of Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the nuclear scientist Dr. A.Q.Khan joined Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) headed by Munir Ahmed Khan. His main contribution was foundation of the Engineering Research Laboratories on 31st July, 1976. His task was to build indigenous Uranium Enrichment Plant. In recognition of his contributions, then President of Pakistan, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq renamed ERL as Khan Research Laboratories (KRL).

Pakistan conducted first cold test of a weapon (test of the implosion using inert natural uranium instead of highly enriched uranium) in the tunnels of the Kirana Hills, Balochistan on 11th March 1983.

The KRL had independently carried out its own cold tests near Kahuta in March 1981. In the same year, Pakistan announced of having capability of producing low enriched uranium.

¹⁰⁰ William Burrows & Robert Windram, Critical Mass The Dangerous Race for Super Powers in Fragmenting World, Simon & Schuster Limited, New York, 1994,p.43

The production of nuclear device was the policy of the civilian government in Pakistan but it remained under the supervision of the generals of the military. The non- military rulers of Pakistan were kept unaware of day-to-day development of the nuclear efforts. This shows the extent of involvement of army in civilian matters of national importance. The myth that the Premiers of Pakistan did not possess any influence over it proved reality when South Asia specialist for the U.S Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Peter Galbraith during meeting with Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto briefed her about Pakistan's nuclear activities. She was surprised on the information. Later on, the U.S Ambassador to Pakistan, Robert Oakley met her and informed that his country was unable to certify Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto made extensive efforts for getting briefing on the program but all in vain. She contacted the then President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and told him that she tried to convene a meeting of the Committee running nuclear program but each time the President demurred. Her stand and insistence deprived her from government and she was removed on 5th August 1990. The removal of the elected government of Benazir Bhutto is known as a "nuclear coup".

France canceled contract establishing nuclear power plant at Chashma under the pressure of the U.S. However, it was resumed with the Chinese assistance under the safeguards of International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Chashma Nuclear Power Plant (CHASNUPP) was completed in

1995 and went operational in 1999. It was connected to the power grid on 14th June 2000.

However, France-Pakistan row over the nuclear reactor was settled down when Pakistan's Prime Minister disclosed that both the countries had settled 13 year old financial dispute over the cancellation of nuclear deal by Paris and France agreed to pay 600 million Francs (about 118 million dollars) as compensation.¹⁰¹

It is also alleged that economy of Pakistan was so poor that it could not pay price of North Korean missiles in shape of money. Consequently, it had to share nuclear technology with North Korea. Quoting South Korean intelligence sources, the *Mainichi Shimbun*, leading Japanese newspaper, wrote that North Korean engineers visited Pakistan in 1999 to study uranium enrichment technology. The purpose of the visit was to study how to prevent radio active damage in the process of uranium enrichment.¹⁰²

The *Mainichi Shimbun* in its another edition wrote that North Korea launched a uranium based weapon program in 1996 under a deal with Pakistan which was concluded during a month long visit by North Korean envoy Howang Jang-yop, former Secretary in charge of international affairs in Korea's Workers Party.¹⁰³

Pakistan denied any help extended to North Korea on nuclear issue. When North Korea claimed that it has undertaken atomic explosion in 2006,

¹⁰¹ *The Pakistan Times*, Islamabad, 14th January, 1992

¹⁰² *DAWN*, Karachi, 2nd January, 2004

¹⁰³ *DAWN*, Karachi, 9th February, 2004

spokesperson of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that North Korean nuclear program is plutonium based whereas Pakistan's on uranium which clearly defused the allegation.

Pakistan's nuclear technology is to be considered only for the security and not for weapons because they [weapons] are due to the reason of India.¹⁰⁴

3.2 Security of Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons

Due to prevalent security conditions in the West Asia region, political turmoil and lack of good governance, ethnicity, extremism and law and order situation in Pakistan, and alleged connection between al-Qaeda/Taliban and security agencies of the country, the world has fear that nuclear weapons of Pakistan may fall in the hands of the terrorists. Japan is really concerned about the future of Pakistan and if it can help it would like to do so.¹⁰⁵ [Japan] has concern about relationship between the sitting Government of Pakistan and army and nuclear control regime. If Taliban over control Pakistan that will be the worst scenario for international community including Japan. The Future of Pakistan is not good especially due to security position.¹⁰⁶ The United States is not going to sign civil

¹⁰⁴ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁰⁵ Takako Hirose Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁰⁶ Toru Ito, Associate Professor, National Defense Academy of Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

nuclear agreement to Pakistan due to A.Q. Khan. It has greatest concern to save Pakistan's nuclear weapons to be fallen in the hands of the terrorists.¹⁰⁷

The concern of the Western countries including Japan is outcome of propaganda of opponents of Pakistan's nuclear program. It is baseless on the following grounds:

- (i) Pakistan has established Command and Control Authority headed by its Prime Minister. The Chief of Army Staff is also its member. The authority holds its meetings regularly to review the safety of strategic instruments and other issues. In presence of this authority it has remote chances that nuclear weapons may fall in the hands of the terrorists;
- (ii) The country has developed well efficient Command and Control System for safety of the nuclear weapons. The system has important representation from the military;
- (iii) Regular reviews are held to analyze the security issues of the atomic nukes and steps are taken if any gap is identified;
- (iv) The safety of the nukes is guarantee to existence of Pakistan. The nuclear deterrent in the sub-continent has indirectly contributed towards up keeping of the atomic weapons safely;
- (v) The terrorists do not have support of the people of Pakistan. They mustered soft corner of a few but more than majority of population of the country hate them and their activities. Their

¹⁰⁷ Horimoto Takenori Professor, Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo .

such hatred will not allow pro terrorists political party to capture the Government of the country;

- (vi) It has been alleged that the terrorists enjoy support of some circles from the Pakistan army. The Government of Pakistan has always dealt such types, when ever identified, with iron hand and improved intelligence network;
- (vii) The recent successful military operations against the terrorists in Swat valley and North Waziristan clearly indicate that the terrorists are unable to get any big success in their designs. It shows that they are running from pillar to post for their survival and have shattered strength.

The Government of Pakistan has assured the international community that its nuclear weapons are secure and in safe hands. Japan believes that Pakistan's weapons are strongly guarded by its government¹⁰⁸ and are very secure.

3.3 Japan's Nuclear Policy

Japan's nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation policy consists of the following three pillars:

- (1) The Atomic Energy Basic Laws, 1955 which restricts Japan's nuclear use exclusively to peaceful purposes. The law represents

¹⁰⁸ Horimoto Takenori , Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

principle of Japan's right to pursue research, development and use of nuclear energy strictly for peaceful purposes. It promotes research, development and use of nuclear energy to secure energy resources in future as well as to pursue the progress in science and industries.

- (2) Three Non-Nuclear Principles were adopted by the Japanese Parliament, Diet in 1968. The principles are not preparing, possessing or permitting nuclear weapons on soil of Japan.
- (3) Tokyo's accession to NPT and its active participation in strengthening the efforts of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

When NPT was opened for signature, Japan signed it in 1970 but did not ratify it for next six years. It objected the discriminatory nature of the treaty as it restricted acquisition of nuclear weapons to five countries of the nuclear club. At that time Japan was pursuing for acquiring fossil fuel resources and the United States created hindrances in this regard. When the U.S promised non interference in Tokyo's pursuit of reprocessing capabilities in its civilian nuclear program,¹⁰⁹ consequently, Tokyo ratified the treaty in 1976. It announced its intention of forsaking nuclear armament and declared the same as its fundamental policy.¹¹⁰

Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan restrains the country from going nuclear for non-civilian purposes. Moreover, some Japanese laws have also banned Japan to possess nuclear weapons on its soil. In addition to it, such

¹⁰⁹ Japan's Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

action is against the national interest of Japan due to following four reasons:¹¹¹

- (1) After World War-II, Japan made efforts to earn image of peace loving country. It wanted to have good relations with neighbors and other countries of the East Asia. It adopted policy of defense instead of offence. Consequently, Japan succeeded in winning a confidence of the region where it is located. Japan may not afford to defame its reputation as peace loving country by developing atomic arsenals.
- (2) In case Japan develops nuclear weapons, its security condition would be worsened. Because, it may pave the way for arms race in East Asia. South Korea and Taiwan may also begin their efforts for the acquisition of atomic arsenal.
- (3) Japan is under the U.S defense umbrella and it will never allow its ally to emerge as nuclear power.
- (4) Japan is making all out efforts to become permanent member of the U.N Security Council. It's [Japan] such wish is based on two reasons. Firstly, it is playing major economic role in world economy. Secondly, it is proud on its nonnuclear status. Japan would not like to break its dream at the cost of atomic weapons which is not allowed even in its Constitution.

However, Japan's nuclear pursuit would not be new efforts if it decides to do so. In 1940, Japanese army concluded that constructing an

¹¹¹ Mataka Kamiya , Japan's Nuclear Weapons and the US-Japan Alliance, Paper presented at Washington Conference on US-Japan Relations, May 2, 1996,p.45.

atomic bomb was feasible. Under the direction of Yoshia Nishina, the project was assigned to the Institute of Physical and Chemical Research or Rikken. The Japanese navy under the head of Bunsaku Arakatsu began working on the creation of super bomb under a project dubbed F-GO which began in Kyoto in 1942. The adequate military resources were not supplied to the project. Consequently, efforts of making atomic bomb received little progress by the end of World War-II. Japan's nuclear efforts were disrupted in April 1945 when B-29 raid damaged Nishina's thermal diffusion separation apparatus.

Major Meezo, who fought the Second World War, of Research Institute for Peace and Security (RISP), a think tank of Japan, replied to a question about Japan's going to nuclear, said no [that Japan is not going nuclear], a meaningful no. Japan has 17 full fledged power plants working with 100% efficiency, but, probably public is very sensitive towards nuclear issue and would not allow Japan going that way.¹¹²

3.4 Japan's Reaction on Pakistan's Nuclear Tests

The nuclear tests in the Sub-Continent in May 1998 received reaction from Japan on public and official levels:

¹¹² Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

3.4.1 Reaction from Japanese People

Japanese are allergic from any type of explosions and not ready to accept justification that if India exploded Pakistan went for it also.

They do not know about nature of relationship between India and Pakistan. Japan says that when North Korea undertook nuclear blast it did not go for that so they do not accept Pakistan's plea that it responded to Indian action. It does not see that Japan has U.S defense shield and Pakistan is without it.¹¹³

3.4.2 Reaction from Government of Japan

Soon after the Indian nuclear test, Seichiro Noboru, a special envoy of the Japanese Prime Minister arrived Islamabad in 1998 with a written message from Hashimoto for Pakistan's Prime Minister. While talking to foreign correspondents, he told that Japan was providing aid worth 500 million dollars a year to Pakistan and it was likely to be stopped immediately if Pakistan carried out the test.¹¹⁴ Japanese Government official told reporters on the sidelines of G-8 summit at Birmingham in 1998:

The message being conveyed is that we would not like to find ourselves in a position where we would have to do to Pakistan what we have had to do to India.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Muhammad Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Chairman, International Muslim Centre, Japan, Interview on 115th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹¹⁴ DAWN, Karachi, 18.5.1998

¹¹⁵ DAWN, Karachi, 16.5.1998

Japan was restraining Pakistan from conducting nuclear tests as it has experience of nuclear horrors. It still feels effects of the atomic explosions. Japan is not against the use of atom for energy as it had its own reactors which produces power and meets the necessities of energy.

Despite outside pressure Pakistan decided to go for nuclear explosions that took place on 28th May 1998. The first test received protest from Japan. The Japanese press deplored the situation. *Asahi Shimbun* wrote in its edition dated 29th May 1998, “We cannot dispense of efforts to improve insufficiencies in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) which is unfair toward countries without nuclear capabilities”. It also wrote that a multinational Security Council is needed to provide an opportunity for dialogue between India and Pakistan. The *Yomiuri Shimbun* stressed on urgent need to create framework to bring about peace between India and Pakistan and wrote that there are signs that the Pakistani government swayed between domestic public opinion calling for nuclear tests and international public opinion to abandon the tests.”¹¹⁶ The *Mainichi Shimbun* wrote that it is not too late for India and Pakistan to abandon their nuclear weapons development”.¹¹⁷

According to the Director General of Science and Technology Agency of Japan, Sadakazu Tanigaki, the nuclear tests undertaken by India and Pakistan were against the aspirations of the Japanese people and want ultimate ban on nuclear weapons.¹¹⁸ Masayoshi Takemura, leader of New

¹¹⁶ *Yomiuri Shimbun*, Tokyo, 29.5.1998

¹¹⁷ *Mainichi Shimbun*, Tokyo, 29.5.1998

¹¹⁸ *The Chugoku Shimbun* Tokyo, 29th May, 1998

Party Sakigake submitted protest letter to Embassy of Pakistan in Tokyo which stated,

We could never accept Pakistan's testing since it was a violent act conducted while ignoring repeated urges from the international community including Japan to refrain from testing¹¹⁹

Nagasaki Mayor, Itcho Ito also delivered a letter of protest and photographs of horrors depicting the horrors of atomic bombing in Nagasaki. Ito wrote, "I conveyed the message through our experience, we cannot coexist with nuclear weapons. I do not think the horror of nuclear weapons can be conveyed by writing alone, so I brought pictures that show the miseries nuclear weapons bring about".¹²⁰ Hiroshima Mayor, Takashi Hiraoka also sent a protest letter to Pakistan's Charge d' Affairs in Japan which stated, "Pakistan ignored global requests to refrain from conducting nuclear tests. I fear that the country's outrageous act will heat up tensions in Southwest Asia"¹²¹

Tokyo Governor, Yukio Aoshima, Osaka Governor, Knock Yokoyama, Osaka Mayor, Takafumi Isomura, Sapporo Mayor, Nobuo Katsura, Asahikawa Mayor Koichi Sugawara and Nagoya municipal assembly sent similar letters of protest. Members of Greenpeace Japan submitted a letter to the Pakistani Embassy urging Pakistan not to conduct further nuclear tests and to sign and ratify the CTBT.¹²²

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Ibid

After two days, Pakistan undertook two more tests on 30th May, 1998. Both the tests created criticism against Pakistan all over the world.

The Japanese Ambassador to Pakistan, Minoru Kaboto called on then Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif. The envoy told the Prime Minister that he was going home for the consultation and before leaving he wanted to take this opportunity to ascertain first hand perception of the Prime Minister regarding regional situation following the nuclear tests.¹²³ The Prime Minister of Japan, Ryutaro Hashimoto told reporters that tests undertaken by Pakistan defied the CTBT and were not acceptable.¹²⁴ He further said that his country would take appropriate action against Pakistan.¹²⁵

The Consul General of Japan, Masao Ihikawa in a meeting with Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry condemned the nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan and India saying Japan had sympathy for Pakistan as it realizes the fact that Pakistan was compelled to do so and is relatively a smaller country.¹²⁶

The Government of Japan called in Pakistan Charge d' Affaires in Tokyo and urged Pakistan to stop further tests.¹²⁷ It called on both nuclear countries of South Asia to restrain from nuclear arms race and affiliate to two international nuclear treaties without conditions.¹²⁸

¹²³ The Muslim , Islamabad, 4.6.1998

¹²⁴ DAWN, Karachi 30.5.1998.

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ DAWN, Karachi, 4.6.1998

¹²⁷ Press Conference by Press Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, 29.5.1998.

¹²⁸ Ibid

In response to nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan, the Government of Japan decided the following measures against Pakistan:¹²⁹

- (1) to freeze grant aid for new projects except emergency and humanitarian aid and Grant Assistance for Grass Roots Projects;
- (2) to freeze yen loan for new projects; and
- (3) to cautiously examine the loan programs to Pakistan by international financial institutions.

Japan had to reconsider its decision of the sanctions in new emerging political scenario after 9/11 and discontinued the sanctions imposed against Pakistan in 1998.

3.4.3 Pakistan-North Korea Nuclear Connection: Japan's Reaction

It is an undeniable fact that nuclear exchange has taken place between Pakistan and North Korea and other countries. However, it is uncertain to say that whether such cooperation got patronage of the officials of the Government of Pakistan. But, it is undeniable also to say that nuclear scientists who worked under extensive security can independently make transactions with other countries. Proliferation cannot occur without either collusion by the security agencies or instructions from the state leadership.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Comments by the Chief Cabinet Secretary, Government of Japan, May 29, 1998

¹³⁰ .M.A Niazi, "The Gordian Knot", The Nation, Lahore 23.1.2004.

If any proliferation has taken place, the best persons to debrief are Vice Chief of Army Staff ® K.M.Arif, Lieutenant General ® Rifaqat Syed, Director Generals of Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), Lieutenant General ® Hamid Gul, Asad Durrani, Jehangri Qazi and Ziauddin Khuwaja.¹³¹ “He [A.Q.Khan] was just one of the cogs in a machine. He was a very important player but he was not the only player. The confession [made by A.Q.Khan for proliferation of nuclear technology in 2004] is part of a compromise that will allow Khan and any one in the armed forces who approved his actions to suffer limited consequences”.¹³²

While commenting on control on nuclear program of Pakistan, Kunio Muraoka told the author:

Nuclear scheme of Pakistan is very tightly controlled by the military. Benazir Bhutto did not know any thing and Nawaz Sharif was blind on nuclear development as she was but he was closer to the military than her. Ghulam Isahq Khan was exception and he knew every thing. As Finance Minister, Ghulam Ishaq Khan was to finance nuclear program so he was taken to very close circles at very early stage. According to a biography of A.Q.Khan written by his friend, Benazir Bhutto was shown a small mechanism to size of a football and was told that this is a bomb you have and apparent I [Kunio Muraoka] think military is in control.¹³³

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² The Nation 6.2.2004, Lahore

¹³³ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Pakistan is competing India [and] it has nuclear weapons so in that process Mr. A.Q. Khan sold nuclear materials to North Korea. Government and army of Pakistan are also involved. If Mr. Khan is private issue then what is the role of Government of Pakistan or its army, may be most of Japanese are thinking in such way.¹³⁴

A.Q. Khan net work worked under patronage of Government of Pakistan and other corners especially General Pervez Musharraf endorsed as per news reported in English newspapers of Pakistan.¹³⁵

The former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto once claimed that she purchased blue prints of nuclear technology from North Korea during her reign.¹³⁶ However, she denied any violation of international law and said,

We had given a commitment to the international community that we would not export the nuclear technology but we had not given any commitment nor were asked to give any that we would make imports to develop our indigenous technology.¹³⁷

In an interview to Voice of America, she told that people do not believe that what was asked DR.A.Q.Khan did so (confession) aimed at

¹³⁴ Toru Ito, Professor, National Defense Academy of Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹³⁵ Horimoto Takenori Professor, Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹³⁶ The Nation, Lahore, 12.2.2004

¹³⁷ Ibid.

covering up those involve.¹³⁸ She revealed that then Minister for Commerce under the Government of General Musharraf took upon advertisement in the year 2000 inviting tenders for the nuclear export.¹³⁹ While addressing press conference in Washington, D.C, Benazir Bhutto said, “Dr.A.Q.Khan did not take any money, he did not export any nuclear technology and he is not a traitor”.¹⁴⁰ She pointed out that since its inception, Z.A.Bhutto always kept check on Khan Research Laboratories (KRL) and money routed through a committee of which expenditure was properly monitored.¹⁴¹ She revealed that “I undertook the official visit to Pyongyang in December, 1993 but did not swap any technologies but we bought the missile technology for cash”.¹⁴² Regarding her visit to North Korea, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan told in an interview to author:

I started from the episode in 1993 when Benazir Bhutto decided to go first overseas tour to China obviously it was o.k as it was good neighbor and very intimate friend of Pakistan. But later in December, 1993, it was suddenly announced that she will go to North Korea. We became very dubious. We knew the facts that in Islamabad we started to see many North Koreans and relations between Pakistan and North Korea getting closer. I asked A.Q.Khan, when he came to see me one day, that what are you dealing with North Korea. He answered me directly that he some how hinted at doing the short range shoulder carried anti aircraft missiles. He said very fast imported and improved on it and made a better product than original one.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

I questioned it was Chinese or North Korean made that some how blocked [A.Q.Khan]. He did not say any thing when I asked directly if you are not thinking of negotiating with North Korea to get their program. He said we do not.

I asked him what you are doing in your laboratory uranium enrichment. He again did not make direct answer. He almost denied doing any thing nuclear there.

But when it became apparent what he did and confessed. He came to see me and at that occasion he mentioned that a department of technological institute near the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) border is going to be named as Ghulam Isahq Khan Institute of Technology and asked for cooperation to it.

Of course we knew at that time that Pakistan is doing nuclear weapons and question is how many nuclear weapons Pakistan has already built at that time. My best guess was that Pakistan held its first experiment of cold test in 1987 and 1988 so by that time when I arrived Pakistan must have built about 2 to 3.

Before visit of Benazir Bhutto to North Korea in 1993, there was a talk of missile coming from North Korea to Pakistan that was exactly the copy of Nodong Pakistan has. When Nodong was brought to Pakistan then that was the time when A.Q.Khan started to cooperate with North Korea. I think his trips started to North Korea in very early 1990s as far as I have heard.¹⁴³

The nuclear cooperation between the two countries was further confirmed from a statement made by spokesman of Ministry of Foreign

¹⁴³ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Affairs of Pakistan who said that C-130 military air craft flying to North Korea in 2002 carried shoulder to shoulder fired SA-16 missiles.¹⁴⁴ Such statement came in view of U.S officials' claim that satellites spotted Pakistani military transport planes in North Korea.¹⁴⁵

It is also alleged that economy of Pakistan was so poor that it could not pay price of North Korean missiles in shape of money. Consequently, it had to share nuclear technology with North Korea. Quoting South Korean intelligence sources, the *Mainchi Shimbun*, a leading Japanese newspaper wrote that North Korean engineers visited Pakistan in 1999 to study uranium enrichment technology. The purpose of the visit was to study how to prevent radioactive damage in the process of uranium enrichment.¹⁴⁶ The *Shimbun* newspaper in its another edition wrote that under a deal concluded with Pakistan at the time of visit of Howang Jang Yop, former Secretary incharge of International Affairs of Korea's Workers Party, North Korea initiated weapon program in 1996 based on uranium. Pakistan denied any help extended to North Korea on nuclear issue. When North Korea claimed that it has undertaken atomic explosion in 2006, spokesperson of Pakistan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that North Korean nuclear program is plutonium based whereas Pakistan's on uranium which clearly defused the allegation.

Japanese asked questions about nuclear proliferation from every delegation of Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) visiting Japan and they

¹⁴⁴ The NEWS, Karachi, 9.2.2004

¹⁴⁵ The Nation, Lahore, 6.2.2004

¹⁴⁶ DAWN, Karachi, 2nd January, 2004

[members of the delegation] replied [that proliferation has not taken place] but Japanese believe that nuclear proliferation has taken place through A.Q.Khan and facilities have been extended to it that is why they have gone nuclear. Even proof is provided to them that Pakistan is not involved [but] they are not convinced.¹⁴⁷

On the eruption of news of nuclear proliferation, Government of Pakistan started debriefing session of the alleged nuclear scientists including Dr. Khan. He told the investigators that then Chief of Army Staff knew about the scientists who were assisting nuclear program of Iran and three other supreme commanders of Pakistan Army including General Pervez Musharraf granted approval for his efforts on behalf of Pyongyang.¹⁴⁸

The U.S Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage and Assistant Secretary for South Asia, Christina Roca told then President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf in a meeting held on 6th October, 2003 that Pakistan's failure of taking action would put Pakistan's relations with the U.S in jeopardy. They claimed that nuclear proliferation had taken place either in shape of individual or collective as a country and world should know that it was an action of some individuals.¹⁴⁹

In November, 2002, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) investigated the Iranian nuclear program and it was claimed that centrifuges used in the program resembled with those used in nuclear program of

¹⁴⁷ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁴⁸ Rediff.com, 3.2.2004, India.

¹⁴⁹ [The NEWS](http://TheNEWS.com), Karachi, 8.2.2004

Pakistan. Then IAEA wrote a letter to Pakistan and wanted to have themselves some information against some people.¹⁵⁰ “Consequently, the Government of Pakistan initiated inquiry and process of debriefing of scientists”.¹⁵¹

In late 2003, a ship named BBC China was seized in the Mediterranean Sea carrying sensitive centrifuge components from Malaysia to Libya. The facility in Malaysia also turned out to have links to A.Q.Khan. Libya named Pakistan as its source for technology and centrifuges.¹⁵² In late 2002, during official talks between the U.S and Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK), the Koreans disclosed that they had even more sophisticated technology (perhaps implying enrichment technology) of which the United States was unaware. The United States took this as a hint about centrifuge technology from Pakistan.¹⁵³

It is alleged that Pakistan had acquired Nodong ballistic missiles and their TEL vehicles.¹⁵⁴ Such acquisition also included technical support i.e. missile launch and technology crews. At the head of emergence of news in U.S media about Pakistan-North Korea cooperation in missile technology, Pakistan’s President Pervez Musharraf made statement of ending such cooperation between the two countries.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ The Nation, Lahore, 23.01.2004

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Musharraf Pervez , In the Line of Fire: A Memoir, Free Press A Division of Simon & Schuster Inc, New York, 2006, p.291.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p.290.

¹⁵⁴ Bermudez Joseph S. A History of Ballistic Missile Development in DPRK, Occasional paper No.2, Centre for Nonproliferation Studies, <http://www.cns/pubs/opapers/ops2/index.htm>

¹⁵⁵ “Pakistan Denies aiding North Korea:Pyongyang’s nuke plans”, DAWN, Karachi, 7.11.2003

The military relationship between the two countries emerged during the 1970s when then Premier of Pakistan Zulfikar Ali Bhutto paid special attention on establishing bilateral ties with Pyongyang¹⁵⁶. This connection eventually gave birth to nuclear ties. After 20 years, his daughter and then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto visited Pyongyang which gave boost to the relations.¹⁵⁷ Such visit was aimed at discussing the purchase of ballistic missiles for which agreement was signed in 1995.¹⁵⁸ Changwang Sinyong Corporation (CSC) gave delivery of missiles in 1996 to Pakistan. It was claimed that DPRK Foreign Minister, Yong-nam visited Pakistan and discussed a number of issues including missile cooperation and sales of Hwasong and possibly Nodong missiles.¹⁵⁹ Such assistance enabled Pakistan to establish a project for purchasing Nodong missiles.¹⁶⁰

North Korea had exported 24 to 50 Nodong missiles to Iran, Pakistan and Libya.¹⁶¹ In return Pyongyang acquired advanced missile technologies and parts through Egypt and Pakistan.¹⁶² It is estimated that Shehab-4 in Iran and Pakistan's Ghaznavi are the same model as North Korea's TD-1 and Iran's Shehab identical to TD-2.¹⁶³ Thus, it can be said that North Korea is pushing forward with the development of long range missiles hand in hand with Pakistan, Iran and Egypt.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁶ John E. Carbaugh, Jr, Pakistan-North Korea Connection Creates Huge dilemma for US, Pakistan-Facts.com, retrieved on May 7, 2006.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Bermudez J, pp.22-23.

¹⁶² Young Kim (ed) North Korea's Weapons of Mass Destruction Problems & Prospects, Hollym International Corp, New Jersey USA, 2004, p.135.

¹⁶³ Ibid

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

Cooperation between KRL and CSC paved the way for the imposition of the U.S sanctions against them in March, 2003.¹⁶⁵ While giving reasons of such sanctions, U.S State Department stated that it was due to DPRK's involvement in providing Missile technology to a country which did not possess such technology earlier.¹⁶⁶

Japan questioned Pakistan about alleged nuclear proliferation. Japan's such reaction was mainly due to two reasons. Firstly, being only victim of nuclear catastrophe, it opposes nuclear proliferation. Secondly, Japan enjoys strained relations with North Korea due to variety of reasons. It considers North Korea's nuclear and missile armament as threat to its security and dangerous for peace on North Korean peninsula. India's nuclear proliferation record is quite clean but Pakistan's is not ideal and nuclear issue is sensitive for Japan.¹⁶⁷

Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, Fujasaki, during his visit to Pakistan in 2004,¹⁶⁸ discussed the issue with the President of the host country. The President promised that Pakistan would share information along with other countries concerned.

Japan has always expressed its grave concern on missile testing by Pakistan. It held the missile race in South Asia as dangerous for peace and stability in the region. It is of the opinion that unchecked missile testing by

¹⁶⁵ Imposition of Missile Proliferation Sanctions Against a North Korean Entity, Federal Register, 2 April 2003, Vol.68, No.63;in Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe 2 April, 2003.

¹⁶⁶ State Department Regular Briefing, Federal News Service, 31 March, 2003 in Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe, April 2, 2003.

¹⁶⁷ Takako Hirose Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010.

¹⁶⁸ Press Conference by Press Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan,17.2.2004.

two powerful countries of the region might derail the dialogue under the Lahore Declaration.¹⁶⁹ It expressed hope that the test firing would not pave the way for intensification of atomic and missile armament in the region.¹⁷⁰ When Pakistan test fired ballistic missile on March 9, 2004, Japan said that the test would not affect ongoing positive developments and improving the relations between the two countries.¹⁷¹ It urged Pakistan to strengthen the international community in their efforts for restricting proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles.¹⁷²

During her visit to Pakistan, Japanese Foreign Minister, Ms. Kawaguchi urged the host country to sign CTBT and NPT.¹⁷³ However, she expressed satisfaction over the information provided by Pakistan to Japan about the nuclear proliferation of Dr.A.Q Khan's network.¹⁷⁴ Pakistan will never be involved in illegal nuclear proliferation.¹⁷⁵

Professor Takako Hirose told the author in an interview:

We have discussed the matter in Japan and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan asked about my impression on the issue because I am working on Pakistan. I said,
What kind of technology North Korea has acquired? If we know then we will know what

¹⁶⁹ Statement by Press Secretary, Government of Japan, 14.4.1999.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Statement by Press Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, in 9.3.2004.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ghulam Murtaza Khoso," Non_Proliferation in Japan Relations, Forecasting the Future" , Proceedings of One Day International Semina- on Perspectives of Pakistan-Japan Cooperation, Security, Political and Economic, Area Study centre, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, 2007,pp.113-114.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Pakistan has given to North Korea because what Pakistan can give it is limited. If North Korea has developed different type of technology then Pakistan has nothing to do with it. However, Japan is not satisfied with Pakistan on its stand on the issue and still we are concerned about nuclear proliferation.¹⁷⁶

Objectively, Dr. A.Q.Khan's behavior is quite natural. Suppose he may be spreading nuclear technology clandestinely he by doing so got some thing inevitable from other countries.¹⁷⁷

3.5 **Proliferation is not Restricted to Pakistan**

Pakistan is not the only country involved in nuclear proliferation. European countries including Germany etc also committed proliferation of nuclear technology. On the occasion of the moot of World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, then President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf told in an interview with Cable News Network (CNN) that some countries, individuals and international black markets were involved in nuclear proliferation and expressed that media was creating a perception that "Pakistan is the only culprit around the world. This is not the case".¹⁷⁸ UN Disarmament Commissioner, Therese Delpech said, "naturally, it is not the Pakistani state that is going directly sell this information. Private proliferation is often a front for public proliferation. In reality, these private

¹⁷⁶Takako Hirose Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁷⁷ Hiramoto Takenori Professor, Shobi University Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁷⁸ The Frontier Post, Peshawar, 24.1.2004

networks allow states to hide”.¹⁷⁹ Some Japanese companies are also involved in nuclear proliferation and they have provided equipments to North Korea and Government of Japan has verified it. The Government is taking action against them but it is not highlighted.¹⁸⁰

Nusrat Mirza in his article entitled, “Pakistan Bashing” drew the map of involvement of Holland, Germany, Soviet Union, France, India and other countries in nuclear technology as follows,

Centrifugal nuclear technology was very commonly used by Holland, Germany, Soviet Union and France and other countries. It was not a secret one. Its basic design was published in Zipp report in 1960. German design was published by Stockholm Institute of Research (SIPRI). One can say that the design, which Pakistan had adopted, was available in the advertisement. Germany, France, India, South Africa and Russia and other countries have supplied nuclear material to different countries such as North Korea, Israel, Iran and Iraq. Taiwan customs seized 1000 tons of North Korea bound aluminum oxide manufactured by India used in making shelves for nuclear device purposes. Americans charged India in December 2003 for supplying important nuclear components to North Korea. India also supplied chemical, biological and uranium to Syria in 1992. Thirty tons of tri-methyl phosphate was supplied by United Phosphorus Ltd of India to Iran in 1993 and in early 1992. India also supplied Iran thidieglycol and other chemicals. As per report published in international media, Germans constructed Iran’s

¹⁷⁹ The NEWS, Karachi, 26.1.2004

¹⁸⁰ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Busher atomic plant and Russian supplied highly enriched uranium. Not only this, other countries like France transferred technology to Israel enabling it to construct 100 kg uranium plant. In 1976, a news item became the flash point when a ship loaded with 200 ton yellow cake (uranium ore) was found missing. That ship was supposedly landed on the shore of Israel.¹⁸¹

The official statement of the United Kingdom revealed that the U.S and U.K undertook massive proliferation in the Weapons of Mutual Destruction (WMD) fields. Their involvement in nuclear trafficking is clear breach of their international treaty obligations at the level of the state itself. The report contained admittance of Dutch Government that sensitive nuclear technology developed by a Dutch company might have been transferred to DPRK, Iran and Libya.¹⁸²

3.6 Nuclear Issue as Divergence Between Pakistan and Japan

The internal, regional and international pressures and behavior on the situation arose in May 1998 compelled Pakistan to tit for tat. Probably, Japan failed to understand Pakistan's stand and logic behind it.

Though, Japan has appreciated self-moratorium imposed by Pakistan on further nuclear development, it will remain alive as divergent in the relations of the two countries. Its strategic, security and defense interests will not allow Pakistan to roll back its nuclear program or keep it alive for energy purposes. Unless and until India does not give up its nuclear program which seems was in reaction of the Chinese nuclear program, Pakistan will be

¹⁸¹ Nusrat Mirza , "Pakistan Bashing", The Nation, Lahore, 26.1.2004

¹⁸² Shirin M Mazari, "WMD Proliferation:the European-US Trail", The NEWS, Karachi, 28.1.2004

going on the same footings. It has now become compulsion for India to keep up the program to meet with its global aspirations.

3.7 Kashmir and Nuclear Issue

It would be naïve and rash to link Kashmir with the nuclear issue, although temporarily one could use the current interest in South Asia for drawing the world attention to Kashmir problem.¹⁸³ Japan has expressed its apprehension that Kashmir is flash point of South Asia. And if war begins between two rival countries of South Asia on the issue, it will not remain restricted to conventional weapons. Either country may use nuclear option as a last resort to defend itself. The eruption of nuclear war may affect the entire world due to its long ranging consequences. In this situation, Japan will have to cut traditional options of normalization of the relations such as holding of international conference, urging both the countries to solve their issues through dialogue, building one sided pressure on Pakistan to solve the issue in the light of Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration etc. It will have to come out from diplomacy based on self interest. Its interests in South Asia do not allow it to put pressure on India for sitting around the table sincerely and explore the likely avenues/options for resolving the issue.

Japan should treat Pakistan at par with India at least in Kashmir context. First, it must evaluate and analyze the stands of the two countries on the issue and build up its firm opinion about justified and unjustified without considering its interests in the region. Then, it should move sincerely for

¹⁸³ Akhtar Ali , Nuclear Politics and the Challenges of Governance, Royal Book Company, Karachi, 1999, p.35.

convincing the disputing parties to develop unanimous solution and road map for ending the problem.

3.8 **Current status on Nuclear Proliferation**

The information shared with Japan, establishment of Command and Control Authority on nuclear assets by Pakistan and steps taken by the Government of Pakistan for uprooting of nuclear proliferation network have convinced the Government of Japan about its sincerity. Japan is worried about political instability in Pakistan which may lead falling of strategic assets in the hands of the terrorists. However, it is satisfied with the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. Japan restricted its reaction on nuclear proliferation to expression of grave concern and condemned arms race in the sub-continent. The issue failed to be focused in bilateral talks on the level of heads of either government or state. Moreover, Japan did not take any stern action as taken in view of nuclear tests in May 1998.

No doubt, Pakistan's nuclear and missile programs may remain divergence in the relations between the two countries till Pakistan's accession to NPT or CTBT. But it will not create tension to such an extent that cordial and amicable relation will suffer setback.

Pakistan and India should be involved in Confidence Building Measures (CBMs).¹⁸⁴ If India does not have nuclear weapons Pakistan has

¹⁸⁴ Toru Ito Professor, National Defense Academy of Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

never been. India will never join CTBT and NPT if it may be after joining of U.S and China.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

Chapter.4

Economic Ties Between Japan and Pakistan

Pakistan is rich in energy and human resources but it lacks proper and efficient planning and management to exploit them fully and utilize for its development and progress. Moreover, socio-economic evils and deep rooted structural problems have also contributed minimizing the mobilization of resources for becoming economic giant. It seems Japan wants to share its experience of the mobilization of the human resources with Pakistan to move towards socio-economic development. It will pave the way for stable Pakistan which is common goal of donors including Japan and supporters of Pakistan.

4.1 Background of Economic Relations

Japan started trade with the sub-continent before independence of Pakistan and India in August 1947. Trade began with importing of cotton by Japan. The various companies established its branches in Pakistan before its independence. Nichimen in 1918 and Kanematsu-Ghoso laid foundation of their respective branches in Karachi.¹⁸⁶

The recovery of Japan's economy and independence of Pakistan as a sovereign country were two major Asian developments that took place soon

¹⁸⁶ Ahmed Rashid Malik, Pakistan-Japan Relations: Continuity and Change in Economic Relations and Security Interests, Routledge, New York, 2009, p.18

after the Second World War. The subsequent development and extension of trade between the two countries are but natural consequences of the interplay of economic forces and the complementary nature of the two countries.

Two conditions operated in post -World War II scenario to reduce the problem of raw material supply for Japan. Firstly, the post- World War II economic systems guaranteed free trade and access to the raw materials fairly well. Therefore, the Japanese could survive by processing imported raw materials and exporting the product to gain money with which to import more raw materials. Secondly, the volume of raw materials that Japanese needed was small and could be obtained by one means or another. Moreover, Japan focused its concentration on economic development, as Accord between it and the United States did not allow the former to develop political ambitions. By the time, Pakistan gained independence; Japan was ready to develop gainful economic ties with the newly emerging developing societies.

Pakistan exported raw cotton to Japan and it processed the cotton into yarn and cloth and then exported these to Pakistan. This pattern shifted later on as Japan began to export spinning machinery to Pakistan and then textile yarn and fabrics formed the largest component of Pakistani exports to Japan.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Muhammad Ayoob Shaikh Dr. & Kanasro Hakim Ali, "A Pak-Japan Trade Relations," Pakistan & Gulf Economist, Issue-6,2002,<http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/issue/2002/issue.6/html>

In August 1947 it was presumed that Pakistan and India would be interdependent economically. Though India frequently assured Pakistan at the Inter Dominion Conferences for the supply of essential goods but never delivered. This situation compelled Pakistan to adopt a policy of the diversification and found Japan as a country that could meet its needs and became important consumer of the raw materials as produced in Pakistan. Consequently, Japan emerged as one of the first countries with which Pakistan concluded bilateral trade agreements to ensure exchange of the commodities on a balanced basis.

In 1947 and 1948, Pakistan's trade with Japan was negligible. Between 1948-1949 (April to March) exports to Japan were valued at Rs. 116, 337,04 as against imports from Japan valued at Rs. 991,334,9 giving Pakistan a favorable balance of Rs. 172,035,5. Position improved from April to September 1949 When Pakistan's total trade with Japan amounted to Rs. 7.76 crores against Rs. 2.15 crores for the twelve months from April 1948 to March 1949. During April-September 1949 exports to Japan were valued at Rs. 321, 485,9 and imports at Rs. 344,510,50 leaving Pakistan with a trade surplus of Rs. 876,380,9.

The trading ties between Pakistan and Japan were facilitated because of a series of trade agreements. Bilateral Agreement signed between Pakistan and Japan was ratified in 1949.

Pakistan launched policies of industrialization during 1960s. Japan assisted Pakistan in this regard. At the meeting of Aid to Consortium to

Pakistan held in June 1961, Japan offered a loan amounting to \$ 20 million. The Agreement was finally signed on 13th November 1961.

By December 1961, 16 experts and 64 training facilities were provided as part of the technical assistance program. The Japanese experts were sent to demonstrate the Japanese method of rice cultivation in Pakistan. The experts' advisory services were also received in the fields of mining, engineering and communications. Pakistan utilized training facilities offered by Japan in the fields of agriculture, pest control, cotton industry and ceramics etc. Equipments supplied by Japan mainly consisted of agricultural machinery and films on Japanese methods of rice cultivation, tools and implements for demonstration purposes.¹⁸⁸

During the 1950s and early 1960s the Japanese government exercised strict control over foreign trade and exchange dealings in order to protect Japanese manufacturers from competition in their home markets, and to strengthen their capacity to sell abroad. Japan's elaborate structure of trade restriction was dismantled under the pressure from her trading partners. Since the late 1960s Japan's import policies have been continuously liberalized. This does not mean that imports into Japan are free from artificial barriers. Although overt and formal quantitative restrictions are few, some individual sectors is heavily protected, agriculture being the most important example. Government regulations have a visible effect on agricultural products. Rice, wheat, sugar, beef and dairy products are among the most prominent. Although Japan's formal NTBs, or quantitative

¹⁸⁸ A Review of Foreign Economic Aid to Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan, 1962,p.161.

restrictions, are relatively few, but these formal NTBs still remain high in agriculture. The protection to the agricultural sector is provided by means of import restrictions and massive provision of direct and indirect subsidies. The imposition of these barriers is probably the largest single factor to negatively affect the market opportunities of Pakistan, as Pakistan is basically an agricultural country with a potential to export the agricultural products to Japan.”¹⁸⁹

Since the inception of the economic relations between the two countries, Pakistan focused on export of textile products, leather and yarn etc where as Japan kept changing in its manufactured products. Pakistan should have changed textile yarn with value added textile products with passage of time. By 1970s, situation changed as more countries including Bangladesh, China and Vietnam etc also started trade with Japan.¹⁹⁰ Consequently, after the 1970s balance of trade went in favor of Japan and it still continued.

Japan was the biggest importer in 1968-69 after the U.S with goods valued at Rs. 586 million. It was the fifth largest importer of Pakistan’s goods valued at Rs. 175 million.¹⁹¹

Japan and Pakistan exchanged notes in Islamabad on 11th March 1976 according to which Japan provided debt relief amounting to \$ 129 million. The reschedule debt was to be repaid with a grace period of 10 years over a

¹⁸⁹ Talat Afza Dr, “Pakistan-Japan Trade”, Pakistan & Gulf Economist, Issue- 48, 2000.<http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/issue2000/issue48/ie4/html>

¹⁹⁰ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁹¹ Pakistan Year Book, 1969, National Publishing House Limited, Karach,p.165.

period of 20 years in 41 semi installments and with interest rate of 2.5% per annum.¹⁹²

Pakistan had accrued debt relief from Japan during 1978-79 and 1979-80 on the basis of the agreements. This relief was 3.6 million U.S dollars in 1978-79 and 2.167 U.S dollars in 1979-80.¹⁹³

Japanese Economic Mission led by Jgoro Koyama arrived in Islamabad on 24th November 1984 and held meeting with the Foreign Minister of Pakistan which explored the opportunities of enlarging the canvas of economic cooperation between the two countries. A Memorandum was signed between Pakistan and Japan on 28th November 1984 to establish Committees for Liaison and Consultation between the business circles. The secretariats of these Committees would be located in the Federation of Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FPCCI) in Pakistan and Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) in Japan.

4.2 Economic Interests of Japan in Pakistan

Japan has, other than political, certain economic interests in Pakistan. The geo-strategic location of Pakistan is important for Japan to secure its communication sea lanes from the Middle East. Moreover, Pakistan's market of 170 million people is much attractive for Japan for its manufactured goods. Further to add, Japan may establish their industries in

¹⁹² Akhtar Rafique (ed) Pakistan Year Book, 1976, East & West Publishing Company Karachi, p.191.

¹⁹³ Economic Survey of Pakistan 1980-81, Finance Division, Government of Pakistan, p.160.

Pakistan and export its goods to neighboring countries up to the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia etc. Also Japan has attraction in sea ports of Gawadar and Karachi as both are located on very important sea routes. Market of South Asia is very huge.¹⁹⁴ The problems of Kashmir and nuclear will not matter in future relations of Pakistan and India and both should share their possibilities of good future as there is no other way of co-existence for them.

Japan sees things from economic or trade perspectives. It looks at Pakistan's stability and security to its own market potential which is possible in the region where Pakistan is located. Japan does not have clash of interests for influence (economic) in the region.¹⁹⁵

Japan initiated its economic assistance towards Pakistan with the provision of technical assistance in 1954; Japanese ODA loan aid in 1961 and grant in aid in 1970 which has continuously played an important role in the country's development. The aid continued in pre (1945 to 1991) and post (1991 till date) cold war period, except short interval from 1998 to 2001. However, aid on humanitarian grounds etc remained unsuspending.

Japan extends aid/grants to Pakistan bilaterally and multilaterally. The aid of former type is extended through the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) popularly known as World Bank,

¹⁹⁴ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asia Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁹⁵ Asad Ali Gilani Syed, Secretary (Political), Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 25th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Consortium to Aid to Pakistan and specialized agencies of the United Nations, like World Health Organization (WHO) etc.

4.3 Economic Relations after 1991

The end of Cold War and 9/11 have redirected the economic environment of the world. Now it is an era of economic competition and a country having better quality, variety of products, complete know how about the market to which product is exported, good service and reputation will be enabled to capture more markets locally, regionally and globally. World Trade Organization (WTO) replaced General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT) in 2005 which removed the quota system. Now every country is open to export its products in nook and corner of the world.

Unfortunately, Pakistan could not foresee the future economic scenario of the post-Cold War. There were some factors including Bureaucratic approach towards economic policies of the country, lethargy, lack of hard work, to earn more profit by investing less and lack of professional business qualities and research in the market to which products to be exported etc minimized the chances to take full advantage of changing economic world patterns. Moreover, politicians lack economic information and know how, thus, they could not play important role in the formulation of national economic policies. In addition to it, traditional way of preparing economic policies and national and provincial budgets also reduced the chances of the economic development of the country. Further to add, non persistency of economic policies and discontinuation in half way restricted

the country to take full advantage of the policies and caused loss to the national exchequer. Finally, the most important and pivotal cause is corruption which affected the economic managers at all levels. Thus, main markets of Pakistani products shifted from quality conscious countries to countries having less quality preference. Consequently, Pakistan lost the Japanese market.

Moreover, changing global scenario has minimized the importance of bilateral and multilateral disputes and preferred to secure economic interests. This fact may be witnessed from the trade relations between China and Japan, India and China and Japan and Russian Federation. Each country is engaged in territorial dispute with other but economic interests obscured the intensity of the problems. Though Japan is worried from increasing its role in the Japanese market and economic development but it has no more choice except to keep the economic relations continued. Japan has begun focusing on East Asia Market for its products but due to also proximity with China penetration of Japan in the market seems little bit difficult.

Two different perspectives stand out in the current debate on the future direction of Japan's policies: a traditional and pacific view which predicts that Japan will continue to adopt a minimalist approach and will thus become one of the rare examples of the state that wields gigantic economic and technological power without corresponding military might; and a revisionist Hobbesian view, which expects that Japan will inevitably unsheathe its sword once again. Taifu yu, for example contends that the end of the Cold War has created a political environment that renders any

substantial increase in defense spending simply less possible than before.¹⁹⁶ Thus, Pakistan will have to redirect its resources from defense to the development of economy. It will have to detach its foreign policy from India as it may not compare with its arch rival. Pakistan has attached it with huge structure (India) and cannot match with it.¹⁹⁷ It is also against the natural principle of bilateral and multilateral relations as only permanent interest is national interest.

Pakistan has not understood the requirement of post-Cold War and 9/11 incident and continues the old traditional policies. For example, India can be a big market for Pakistani products but being engaged in political disputes with India, it has not taken full advantage of available economic opportunities. Moreover, by developing economic relations, Pakistan can improve its soft image in Japan also as both the countries have strong economic relations. In addition to it Pakistan can stop supply of its products by India and other countries to the market of Japan. The things being exported by Pakistan, which were earlier sent to Japan, to China due to proximity are re-exported by China to Japan. Pakistan's high quality surgical goods are re-exported by Germany to Japan. India also re-exports Pakistan's rock salt to Japan. By making these things in house Pakistan's exports may

¹⁹⁶ Taewoo Kim, *Japanese Ambitions, US Constraints, And South Korea's Nuclear Future*, p.3

¹⁹⁷ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

be increased triple times.¹⁹⁸ But need is to improve professionalism in Pakistan businessmen dealing with the Japanese markets.

Moreover, nuclear explosions in 1998 and 9/11 incidents have also obscured the image of Pakistan as secure country for trade and investment. Due to security constraints, international businessmen including Japanese are reluctant to make investment in Pakistan. If Pakistan wants Government of Japan and Japanese private sector to invest [in Pakistan] it should prepare suitable atmosphere for investment.¹⁹⁹

The trend of the investment is related to economic growth of Pakistan. Its export to Japan is small because it related to the trade commodities. Pakistan's export is not fit with the demand of the Japanese market and demand and supply does not fill so gap occurs. There is need to conduct research of the requirements of Japanese market as Japanese consumer is quality conscious and focuses on quality not price.²⁰⁰ Japanese market is different from the U.S and European markets as Japanese consumer in general is quality conscious and prefers to have an extra quality products.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Hamid Rahman , Commercial Secretary, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

¹⁹⁹ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁰⁰ Takashi Miyata, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁰¹ Takashi Kurosaki Professor, The Institute of Economic Research, Tokyo, Interview on 12th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Japan is a resource less country and it has to import almost every thing. So Pakistan can export every thing, what it produces, to Japan. It can export every kind of fruit and vegetable but it will have to make efforts.²⁰²

4.4 Reasons of Decline of Pakistan's Export to Japan

The balance of trade between the two countries remained in favor of Japan. Imports from Japan dominated the exports from Pakistan to Japan. The exports of Pakistan to Japan declined due to the following main reasons:

4.4.1 Quota System: Exporters of Pakistan lost Japanese market in post quota regime and exports to Japan declined by 7%.²⁰³

4.4.2 Lack of R&D: Pakistan does not focus on research and development for exploring new markets for its commodities, evaluate status of currently available markets for its commodities, to know reasons of declining rate of exports and remove bottlenecks in this regard and adopt policies for increasing exports based on realities. Moreover, the export houses lack the capacity to meet the bulk orders. In addition to it, Pakistani commodities lack requirements of the customers in terms of fashion and design.

4.4.3 Un-competitive It is generally held that exporters of Pakistan are uncompetitive. They do not feel themselves bound to remain adhere to quality contract and schedule of delivery. They are unable to compete with China, Indian and Bangladesh in the international market.

²⁰² Katsunori Ashida, Deputy Director, Second Country Assistance Planning Division, International Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 3rd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁰³ DAWN, Karachi, 4.5.2007.

4.4.4 Anti-dumping Duties: Japan imposed anti dumping duties of 5.8% on bed linen export. Pakistan considered it as discriminatory.

4.4.5 Japanese Diplomacy to Increase Demand of its Products: Trade balance is one sided and in favor of Japan due to the fact that it extends ODA to improve living standard and give support to local economy. Consequently demand will be generated and naturally people will move to Japanese products.²⁰⁴

4.4.6 Distance: A ship carrying products/goods from Pakistan takes 25 days to reach Japan where as from China it spends 5 days. This distance is also a problem for discouraging Pakistani products in Japan. Due to proximity, Japan wants to import products from countries having less distance.

4.4.7 Competition: With entry of new countries in Japanese market, Pakistan has to face a tough competition to survive in the Japanese markets. There are many competitors of Pakistan including China, India, Srilanka and East Asian countries so it is big challenge for the country.²⁰⁵

4.4.8 Improvement of Living Standard of Japanese: Due to increase in living standard in Japan, they began to import products from France²⁰⁶ which reduced the ratio of products to be exported from the other countries.

²⁰⁴ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁰⁵ Seiji Kojima, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 5th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁰⁶ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

4.4.9 Posting of Staff on Source: The inherent culture of posting of officers in the Embassies of Pakistan has also reduced the ratio of export to the different countries. An uncompetitive and officer without experience and career cannot perceive the changing global commerce and trade environment and assess the products to be exported to other countries suitable to the environment. Thus, export of Pakistan will not be promoted in a better and competitive way.

4.4.10 Uneasiness of Pakistani Exporter: The exporter of Pakistan says that there is big hustle in Japan where as he [exporter] feels easy to sale things in the United States, Europe and Middle East etc.²⁰⁷ Moreover, Pakistani exporter do not want to take pains of quality maintenance as his products, with less quality and negligible faults, are consumed in the markets other than Japan.

4.4.11 Language Barrier: Japanese want to make transaction in Japanese language instead of English. Pakistani businessmen do not know Japanese language so interaction between them could not develop. It paved the way for turning of Japanese businessmen to those countries who could deal in their language.

4.4.12 Convincing Retailer Instead of Wholesaler: The most important impediment to Pakistani exports to Japan lies with our [Pakistanis] understanding of the Japanese market model itself. Japanese work under strict adherence to an age old trade house system where the retailer does not buy anything from an international exporter, but only

²⁰⁷ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

from a local Japanese wholesaler who in turn is affiliated with a Japanese trade house. Pakistani buyers fail to understand this subtle difference and waste time and energy trying to convince retailers to buy their goods, which eventually results in no orders being procured. This again is the western mentality in play when our businessmen come to Japan.²⁰⁸

4.4.13 **Lack of Quality Consciousness**: Everyone talks about the huge profit margins of the Japanese markets but fail to understand and comprehend that even though Japanese will pay highly for the products but in return they demand the best and highest quality in the world which Pakistani businessmen fail to understand and try to sell sub standard quality items which might work once or twice even but it causes not only Pakistan's reputation to falter but also of other potential Pakistani entrants to this market who could have otherwise been successful.²⁰⁹

4.4.14 **Lack of Governemnt Support** : In its Strategy Paper on Japan dated 18th May 2009 the Embassy of Pakistan in Japan wrote to Trade Development Authority of Pakistan (TDAP) that due to low government support Pakistani rock salt exporters are selling to Indian businessmen, which in turn are re-exporting to Japan under their own brand names.

4.4.15 **Narrow Base of Exports**: The exports of Pakistan are generally based on five categories i.e cotton, leather, rice, synthetic, textiles and

²⁰⁸ Strategy Paper on Japan dated 18th May, 2009, Commercial Section, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

sports goods, which account for 7.2% of the total exports.²¹⁰ The chart given below rates top 10 exports:

a. Made up textile articles	14.7%
b. Textile yarn_	12.9%
c. Cotton fabrics	11.7%
d. Man made fiber fabric	11.1%
e. Rice	5.8%
f. Knitted garments	5.7%
g. Headgear	5.1%
h. Men's outwear not knit	4.5%
i. Toys and sporting goods	2.3%
j. Leather	2.2%
Total	100%

4.5 Development of Karachi.

In order to achieve its economic interests, secure its investment and establish supply line for the entire country, Japan focuses on the development of Karachi as it is also its economic capital. However, Japan is extending aid/grants also for the uplift of other areas of the country such as construction of Kohat tunnel, Indus Highway, Pakistan Institute of Medical

²¹⁰ Daily Times, Karachi, 9.6.2007

Sciences (PIMS), Islamabad, rehabilitation of Taunsa barrage, PTV education channel etc. Japan's main focus is on irrigation, social sector, education, health, agriculture and infrastructure etc.²¹¹

While mentioning importance of Karachi, Professor Hirashima told the author:

Karachi is very important for Japan especially to buy cotton when it started sending its people overseas including London and New York. Revitalization of Karachi is very important for Japan due to three reasons. Firstly, to develop area from Karachi to Peshawar including Baluchistan as Karachi is a key to support development of that belt. Secondly, [is] to establish vertical economic relationship with the Punjab. Since independence and even in Mughal period, Karachi was the route of development to Indian side from Lahore except shipment of cotton and some material developed by the British in the Punjab. Before shifting of capital from Karachi to Islamabad vertical line was working but after shifting that line is very much weak and requires to be revitalized to strengthen vertical relations to the Punjab and then further to Peshawar. Thirdly, by revitalizing Karachi, it could have tremendous impact on the development of interior of Sindh. Karachi is very important for Japan especially to buy cotton when it started sending its people overseas including London and New York. Japan also focuses on development of Karachi. Moreover, to increase tax power of the city this will benefit whole the country. In addition to it, it is industrial and business centre and if centre is not strong country will not be stronger.²¹²

²¹¹ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²¹² Hirashima.S, visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Social Development, Nihon Fukushi, University, Nagoya, Japan, Interview on 19th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

4.5.1 Establishment of Economic Zone in Karachi

A Special Economic Zone (SEZ) is a geographical region that has economic laws that are more liberal than a country's typical economic laws.²¹³ The category SEZ covers a broad range of more specific zone types including Free Trade Zones (FTZ), Industrial Estate (IE), Free Ports, Urban Enterprise Zones and others.²¹⁴

Special Economic Zone for Japan in Pakistan will be implemented mainly on the basis of private sector participation.

In 2007, on the occasion of dinner hosted by Pakistan- Japan Business Forum (PJBF), the Prime Minister of Pakistan, was urged to establish exclusive Economic Zone (EZ) for Japan in Pakistan. But after change of the Government, the scheme went into cold storage. Now the scheme has been retaken and former Minister of Finance of Pakistan, Shaukat Tareen visited Japan twice and agreed to work on it as it is viable project. During his visit in February, 2009, Shaukat Tareen urged Japan to set exclusive zone in Karachi and Gawadar as Pakistan was interested in developing its agriculture, manufacturing and energy sectors with the assistance of Japan.²¹⁵

²¹³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special-Economic_Zone

²¹⁴ Ibid

²¹⁵ Geo Business, 6th February 2009.

The Government of Pakistan made formal announcement of establishing Japan Economic Zone (JEZ) in Karachi on 3rd May 2009. The Zone is established near Dhabeji, some 50 kilometers away from Karachi Airport. The Government of Sindh has allocated 2500 acres land for the project and federal government will pay cost of the land to the owner.

The Government of Pakistan has announced following package for investment in Economic Zone:²¹⁶

- Full exemption of Customs duties and Taxes strictly on import of capital equipment (plant, machinery, equipment and accessories) for projects in the Zone and for raw materials. (For export oriented goods only)
- Corporate Income Tax holiday for a period of five (5) years for Projects in the Zone. This shall also be available for Developers of the Zone. Moreover, existing Initial Depreciation Allowance of 50% shall be considered to be enhanced to 100%.
- The normal incentives for exports as available to projects established any where in the country shall be applicable to exports from the projects in the Zone.
- The Board of Investment (BOI) would provide one-window facility within the zone.
- Service delivery to complete required processing / procedures within the Zone at the doorstep of investors.

²¹⁶ Presentation by Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan given on November 2, 2009.

- Free facilitation service and guidance to investors by the Board of Investment.
- Establishment of Workers Training Centers in the Zone.
- Sea Port/Dry port facility in the Zone to facilitate imports and exports.
- Provincial Government would facilitate to acquire land for SEZs.
- Federal Government / agencies to provide gas, electricity and other utilities at the zero-point of the Zones. Captive power generation will also be allowed to Developers of the Zones.
- .Provincial Governments to construct approach roads upto zero point of the zone.

Pakistan tries to develop infrastructure through Japan Trading House so that Japanese companies will have confidence, if it is not done then National Industrial Park Organization (NIPO) will develop the infrastructure. It will emerge as Japan's village which will be close to Japanese culture and taste. The main objective of the Zone is that Japan should make Pakistan hub for export to Central Asia, Western China, the Middle East and African countries and local market. The Investor, making investment in the Zone, will be given attractive investment package and exempted from tax for five years if he brings machinery to Pakistan. He will be given 50% depreciation allowance which will start from the sixth year of the investment. Focus will be given on establishment of heavy industry,

automobile industry, car manufacturing industry, steel mill and non traditional sectors like solar energy, wind mill and coal energy etc.²¹⁷

The establishment of Japan Economic Zone near Port Qasim Karachi is very positive movement to enhance the investment.²¹⁸ By establishing, it shall create lot of job opportunities for Pakistan and it will be giving technology to Pakistan and will open new vista of trade and investment between the two countries.²¹⁹

To attract the investors to invest in the zone, two seminars have been organized in OSAKA and Tokyo with the cooperation of Industrialists from Japan and Pakistan to disseminate the related information about the zone. At least 50 Pakistanis attended seminar in Tokyo and many Japanese companies are also interested in the initiative.²²⁰

The efforts of establishment such zone has been given up and same has been renamed as International Special Economic Zone. Following are the main reasons in this regard:

- i. Lethargic attitude and redtapism in the public sector;
- ii. Lack of ownership of foreign investment by Pakistani side; and

²¹⁷ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²¹⁸ Katsunori Ashida , Deputy Director, Second Country Assistance Planning Division, International Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 3rd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²¹⁹ Imtiaz Ahmed , Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 16th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²²⁰ Yoshihiro Sekine, Director, South West Asia and Oceania International Trade Policy Bureau, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Government of Japan, Interview on 9th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

- iii. Poor law and order situation in the country particularly Karachi etc

4.6 Trade Between Pakistan and Japan

The early years of economic cooperation witnessed increase of Japan's importance in Pakistan's economy. In 1950-51, Pakistan's total export of cotton was worth Rs. 98.75 crores, against Rs.32 crores accounted for export to all the countries of Western Europe combined. In 1951-52, the total exports of cotton came down to Rs. 77.73 crores, out of which Japan's share was Rs.20.0 crores, as against share of Rs.21.0 crores of all the countries of Europe combined. Thus, Japan was No.1 purchaser of Pakistani cotton during the crucial phase of Pakistan's economy.

According to statistics issued by Ministry of Finance, Government of Japan foreign trade between Pakistan and Japan mainly remained as under:

Table.2: Export and Import: 1988-February 2010

Year	Unit (1,000 yen)	
	Export	Import
1988	143831613	70956955
1989	140943710	80610562
1990	145444111	77886279
1991	183337517	87540544
1992	164055171	67161269

1993	153202264	55830496
1994	87340500	56171269
1995	115400370	55744092
1996	125810288	62538201
1997	92273017	58879836
1998	855722147	40562448
1999	69771439	32802052
2000	65230375	27062661
2001	60862362	26827626
2002	89597472	18972018
2003	104386938	15586992
2004	133991209	18435735
2005	166877473	15696019
2006	207414224	24272119
2007	183200022	28982958
2008	150989639	45214636
2009	94664407	22037360
2010	115307322	30909911
May 2011	42087663	16450026

Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of Japan

Pakistan exports and imports the following main products/items to and from Japan:

Table.2.1: Exports to Japan by Pakistan

Value in ‘000’

Commodity	July-Jan 2010-		July-Janu2008-		Change	
	11 Export	%	09 Export	%	Value %	
Cotton yarn	1,198,088	9.13	893,682	8.29	304,406	24.06
Yarn other than Cotton Yarn	18,321	0.14	18,216	0.17	105	0.58
Cotton Fabrics	1,331,319	10.15	1008,618	9.35	322,701	31.99
Knitted/Croached Fabrics	51,249	0.39	38,585	0.36	12,664	32.82
Ready Made Garments	937,019	7.14	715,816	6.64	221,203	30.90
Knit Wear Hosiery	1,307,251	9.96	1,035,780	9.60	271,471	26.21
Bed Wear	1,161,770	8.85	1,001,824	9.29	159,946	15.97
Towels	407,038	3.10	383,262	3.55	23,776	6.20
Rice	1,205,424	9.19	1,160,511	10.76	44,913	3.87
Leather Tanned	243,180	1.85	164,888	1.53	78,292	47.48
Leather Garments	256,140	1.95	217,247	2.01	38,893	17.90
Leather Gloves	65,958	0.50	55,815	0.52	10,143	18.17
Foot Wear	56,805	0.43	58,073	0.54	1,232	2.12
Sports Goods	171,405	1.31	149,247	1.38	22,158	14.85
Carpets & Rugs	76,490	0.58	81,402	0.75	4,912	6.03
Fish & Fish Preparations	151,833	1.16	115,879	1.07	39,954	31.03
Fruits	182,214	1.39	157,644	1.46	24,570	15.59

Vegetables	82,040	0.63	51,108	0.47	30,932	60.52
Chemical & its Products	456,446	3.48	365,374	3.39	91,072	24.93
Engineering Goods	119,186	0.91	122,180	1.13	2,994	2.45
Cutlery	51,201	0.39	33,601	0.31	17,600	52.38
Marbles Onyx	22,689	0.17	16,504	0.15	6,185	37.48
Precious & Precious Stones	2,484	0.02	2,002	0.02	482	24.08
Jewellery	237,144	1.81	287,030	2.66	49,886	17.38
Meat & Meat Preparations	82,316	0.63	53,952	0.50	28,364	52.57
Furniture (EXCL) Bedding Mattress	3,917	0.03	4,617	0.40	700	15.16

Source: State Bank of Pakistan

Table.2.2: Import from Japan

US \$ Million

Year	IMPORTS FROM JAPAN	BALANCE OF TRADE
02-03	804.20	-662
03-04	936.26	-801
04-05	1449.1	-1285

05-06	1840.5	-1712
06-07	1739.6	-1646

Source: Vision 2030, Joint Study, Pakistan-Japan Business Forum, p-36

Pakistan can improve its balance of trade vis-à-vis Japan by exporting items in the following sectors:²²¹

- Value Added Fashion Designed Clothes, Bed sheets, Towels, Linen etc.
- Gems, Precious Stones & Jewellery.
- Mineral Salt & Leather Goods like Jackets & Ladies Chappals.
- Fruits and Vegetables – Mangoes, Watermelon, Apples, Grapes, etc.
- Fish, Other Sea Foods & Tinned Foods etc.

Graphite, marble & nephtha.

4.7 Aid by Japan

Japan is amongst the top countries that extend aid to Pakistan. Such aid is bilateral and multilateral in the various sectors.

4.7.1 Economic Aid

Pakistan has mainly been receiving foreign assistance since the commencement of Colombo Plan in 1950. The first assistance agreement

²²¹ Presentation by Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo on November 2, 2009.

was signed between Pakistan and the United States on 2nd February, 1951 and the first loan agreement was signed on March 27, 1951 for 27.2 million U.S dollars with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). Foreign Aid received by Pakistan may be divided into following four categories:

- (1) Project aid comprising mainly capital goods and other machinery for the implementation of development projects;
- (2) Technical assistance, which provides the services of the experts, consultants, training facilities for Pakistanis and equipment for training, demonstration and research purposes;
- (3) Non-Project or commodity aid comprising mainly raw materials, machinery and accessories for existing industries, chemical fertilizers and agricultural machinery, food grains including the well known Public Law (PL) 480 shipments from the US, other essential supplies and emergency aid in natural disasters;
- (4) Counterpart funds in rupees generated by the sale of Canadian commodities and the US, which are used to meet the rupee cost of agreed development projects.

The end of Cold War has taught many countries to prefer economic development throughout the world rather than prioritizing huge amount of military oriented production. Countries which were affiliated with Soviet bloc in the Cold War started to reform their economic system and decided to establish intense relationship with countries which implemented open market system.

The post-Cold War era paved the way for shifting of resources from armament and military build up to economic development. The countries belonging to Socialist bloc in the Cold War joined open market system. But Pakistan continued both trends even in post-Cold War era.

Japan gave priority for aid to Pakistan in the following areas:

- (1) **Social Sector**: Emphasizing support for the Social Action Program (SAP), which is aimed at strengthening approaches to problems in the social sector, assistance in the education field will place particular emphasis on raising the level of basic education and primary education for girls. Cooperation on human resources development that focuses on the health and medical fields, including such areas as population control and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) prevention, as well as the improvement of the living environment, given present conditions such as poor water and sewerage systems.
- (2) **Economic Infrastructure**: Promoting assistance to upgrade the economic infrastructure that is sending economic development in Pakistan Assistance includes the electrification of the farming villages and the improvement of the efficiency of electric power is surpassing the supply. Other situation is being provided for the building and repair of national and local roads, the facilities and vehicular repair in order to enhance the transportation network.
- (3) **Agriculture**: It is a key industry in Pakistan, accounting for approximately 25% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and

employing 50% of the total working population. However, agricultural population is very low and therefore boosting productivity and ensuring a flat food supply are matter of greatest urgency. Although approximately 80% Pakistan's arable land is irrigated and it has one of the highest levels of irrigation in the world, the irrigation facilities have become obsolete. Thus, Japan will provide assistance to upgrade, expand, maintain, manage and repair existing irrigation facilities in place where the agricultural infrastructure, including irrigation facilities, is underdeveloped to support agricultural research.

Pakistan received two types of assistance from Japan i.e grants of social sector such as health, energy, communication and transport and Kennedy Round-II grants aimed at improving food production. It provided 100% assistance in the projects of the social sector and under the latter Pakistan imported tractors, fertilizers and bulldozers.

Pakistan receives Non-ODA commercial loan through JEXIM bank in the name of Japanese Fund Recycling Program with interest of 5.8% to be paid within 18 years with 6 years grace period.

Till 1990, Pakistan received following commercial loans:

- (1) Energy Loan II with volume of 150 million US dollars as co financier in World Bank.

- (2) 100 million US dollars for Karachi Electric Supply Corporation (KESC) Vth Power Project.
- (3) 150 million US dollars for Private Sector Energy. World Bank was also co financier in this project.

Japan extends the project/commodity loans to Pakistan at an interest rate of 2.5% per annum with a repayment period of thirty years for project loans and 25 years for that of commodity.

In 1990-91, five separate agreements were signed between Pakistan and Japan making provision for an amount of Rs.807.43 million. Out of it, Rs 254 million was for second phase of second PTV channel devoted to educational programs. The second agreement worth of Rs.178.8 million for MIRAD phase-II aimed at increasing agricultural production and improving living conditions in rural areas of the federal capital. Further allocation was made for the construction of two small dams and three deep wells, rehabilitation of old wells and ponds for making water available for irrigation purposes in the area. For the modernization of Pakistan Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) laboratories, the third agreement provided Rs. 169.2 million. The Geological Survey of Pakistan received Rs.133.7 million through fourth assistance agreement for upgrading its capabilities. The fifth and last agreement provided financial help for exploitation of the ground water and providing sustainable irrigation water supplies to the neglected farming areas.

In the 1990s Japan was the biggest donor to Pakistan.²²² However, the early years of the 1990s witnessed some decline in Japanese assistance to Pakistan. This reduction was due to some causes. The Afghan imbroglio was over, the Soviet Union had disintegrated, the Cold War era came to an end and the Western countries' interests in West Asia region had been achieved. Now, Pakistan was no more a front line state against the Soviet Union and the United States had revived Pressler Amendment. It bound the United States aid to Pakistan with certificate to be issued by the U.S President certifying that Pakistan's nuclear program was not weaponized. The amendment had remained dormant till 1990 since the American President exercised waiver. But, now the times had changed and following the American policy, Japan also linked its aid to a country fulfilling the following conditions:²²³

- (1) The country should have a democratic political setup;
- (2) There should be free market economy;
- (3) Rule of law should prevail in the country;
- (4) Reduction in military expenditure; and
- (5) The nuclear program of the country.

Grant assistance agreements signed between Pakistan and Japan from 1960-61 to 2009-10 are indicated below:

²²²Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²²³Hidayatullah Soomro, "Japan as a Big Donor to Pakistan: A Critical Analysis (1983-93)", Asia Pacific, The Research Journal Far East and South East Asia Study Centre, Vol. 12, 1993, Jamshoro,p.54.

Table.3: Grant Assistance Agreements:1960-2010

Rs Million

1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67
0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.3
1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
0.5	0.6	0.2	0.6	0.2	-	-
1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
-	-	3.4	5.2	23.1	20.2	38.8
1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88
38.8	48.8	48.8	22.9	39.9	47.9	38.1
1988-89	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95
95.2	56.6	75.9	75.9	75.4	68.8	94.3
1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02
5.1	15.7	40.1	0.4	1.0	-	65.1
2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09

50.7	46.0	113.5	67.8	-	6.6	41.6
2009-10						
39.8						

Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan..

Total loans and contracts signed between Pakistan and the various countries including Japan from 1990 to 2010 are as under:

Table.4: Loans and Contracts signed Between Japan and Pakistan from 1990-91 to 2009-10

US \$ Million

90-91	91-92	92-93	93-94	94-95	95-96	96-97	97-98
300.0	310.2	142.3	730.7	676.4	537.7	388.5	250.0
98-99	99-00	2000-01	01-02	02-03	03-04	04-05	05-06
600.0	-	-	33	26	-	-	25
06-07	07-08	08-09	09-10				
198	460	-	249				

Source: Ministry of Finance, Government of Pakistan.

The Government of Pakistan has gained strong understanding in recent years of the need for protection of natural environment and pollution control and is taking steps including the establishment of the Environment Protection.

It is promoting assistance aimed at the prevention of industrial pollution and combating environmental problems such as erosion, flooding and

desertification, which are the result of increasing deforestation as well as the deterioration of urban environments.

The average annual development aid to Pakistan amounted around 55 million U.S dollars in 1970s, 246 million U.S dollars in 1980s and 412 million U.S dollars in 1990s.²²⁴

Pakistan has always hailed aid of Japan for economic development of the recipient country. Visiting delegation of Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) led by Osamar Watanbe met with President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf on 8th February, 2003. He appreciated Japan for its participation in the economic development projects of Pakistan.²²⁵

Pakistan and Japan signed agreement in Islamabad on 10th February, 2003 according to which latter agreed to provide 26 million U.S dollars loan to former as the first fresh lending since Tokyo lifted its sanctions in 2001²²⁶.

According to another agreement, Japan agreed to provide a debt relief grant amounting to 157.934 million yen with a view to strengthening friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and Pakistan. The agreement provided that the grant and its accrued interest would be used by Government of Pakistan for the purchase of commodities like electrical machines, transport equipments, scientific optical and medical instruments

²²⁴ Inayatullah, "Pak-Japanese Connection", The NEWS, Karachi, May 7th, 2002

²²⁵ "Pakistan and the World (Chronology: January-March 2003)", Pakistan Horizon, Vol.56 No.2, April, 2003 Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, p.175

²²⁶ Ibid

and apparatus and other commodities mutually agreed upon between the authorities concerned of the two governments.²²⁷

However, economic cooperation between the two countries was suspended due to nuclear tests in South Asia by Pakistan and India in May 1998. Japan announced following measures:²²⁸

- (1) Grant aid to India and Pakistan for new projects will be frozen, except emergency and humanitarian aid and Grant Assistance for Grassroots Projects;
- (2) Yen-loan to India and Pakistan for new projects will be frozen;
- (3) The Government will cautiously examine the loan programs to India and Pakistan by multinational development projects.

The economic sanctions imposed by Japan against Pakistan did not block the humanitarian aid. In 2000, a severe drought caused human and livestock loss in Sindh and Baluchistan provinces of Pakistan. According to one estimate, 140 people lost their lives, 2.2 million people were afflicted and crops and livestock suffered severe losses.

In June, 2000, Government of Japan extended an emergency grant aid of 41 million Yen to cope with the disaster in Pakistan. On October 3, the Government of Japan further decided to extend an emergency grant aid of 481 million Yen.

²²⁷ The Muslim, Islamabad dated 10.1.1991.

²²⁸ Announcement by Chief Cabinet Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, 29th May, 1998.

However, the war on terror after 9/11 incident by international coalition and Pakistan's pivotal role in the coalition compelled Japan to reconsider its sanctions in 1998. Japan highly valued India and Pakistan's efforts to contribute to strengthening the international coalition against terrorism.²²⁹ Japan considered it vitally important that Pakistan remained stable and cooperative with the international society in combating the terrorism and recognized from the medium to long-term point of view, a genuine need to support Pakistan particularly in view of its difficult domestic situation.²³⁰ Thus Japan decided to discontinue the measures on India and Pakistan taken in May 1998.

Japan rescheduled 536 billion yen (4.5 billion US dollars) in pursuant of agreed minutes of the Paris Club signed on 13th December 2001 between the two countries.²³¹ An agreement was signed to this effect between Pakistan and Japan. Moreover, Japan restored Official Development Assistance aid frozen due to nuclear tests conducted by Pakistan.²³²

4.7.2 General System of Preferences

Japan introduced the General System of Preferences (GSP) on August 1, 1971. The scheme was extended twice in 1981 and 1991 and still continues. The Japanese imports rose after the introduction of GSP. Currently 184 countries, including Pakistan, are the beneficiaries of Japan's

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ The Frontier Post, Peshawar, 29.3.2003

²³² The Frontier Post, Peshawar, 01.05.2005

GSP. Although GSP is meant to encourage the imports but its conditions are strict on the commodities in which developing countries have competitive edge for example, textile and footwear. In contrast, conditions are most lenient for the products in which developing countries are less competitive, such as machinery, which limits the significance of the GSP scheme. Moreover, there is a tendency for small groups of developing countries to monopolize the benefits. ASEAN countries are a good example as the Japan's trade with these countries is continuously on the rise.²³³

The system has contributed towards economic development of Pakistan. There is preferential tariff between Pakistan and Japan.²³⁴

4.7.3 Official Development Assistance

ODA is simply an aid given by the members of Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization of Economic Cooperation Development (OECD) to developing countries. Japan was herself one of the founding members of DAC.

ODA or economic resources is the only diplomacy means available for Japan since neither it possesses national resources nor nuclear people and Japanese people do not have language or diplomatic skills. Moreover, Japan is not even a permanent member of the U.N Security Council.

²³³Talat Afza Dr, "Pakistan-Japan Trade, Pakistan", Pakistan Economist & Gulf Economist, Issue 48, 2000, <http://www.pakistaneconomist.com/issue2000/issue48/ie4/html>

²³⁴ Yoshihiro Sekine, Director, South West Asia and Oceania International Trade Policy Bureau, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Government of Japan, Interview on 9th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

The Overseas Economic Cooperation Organization (OECD) conducted a survey (period: January to February, 1999) regarding effectiveness of ODA loans. According to methodology of survey, a questionnaire was mailed to one thousand students of 4 ASEAN countries i.e Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia. The results of the analysis were as under:

- i. Majority of the students held friendly feelings toward Japan and favorable relationship with their country;
- ii. They feel that ODA loans are useful and that continuing assistance is extremely important;
- iii. They think that human resources development, macro economic stability, industrial development, and infrastructure development are particularly important.²³⁵

JICA has been restructured and is now the sole provider of the country's Official Development Assistance. Previously, aid was also provided by the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC).

JICA is reputedly the world's largest bilateral development agency, with around US \$ 10.3 billion in financial resources. The leading concept in JICA's programs is "human security" which focuses on a "bottom up", grass roots approach giving focal citizens and communities a greater say and the role in education, health and economic projects which directly benefit them.

²³⁵ <http://www.jbic.go.jp/english/base/release/oecd/1999/0326-e.php> retrieved on 2nd July, 2007

JICA mainly deals with yen loan where as grants are dealt by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.²³⁶

Japan's ODA Charter was revised keeping in view changed domestic and international circumstances. JICA was given more autonomy in 2003 and Overseas Economic Fund and the Export-Import Bank of Japan (EXIM) merged into the JBIC in 1999.

ODA consist of Yen loan, grants and technical assistance. Till date (February, 2010), Japan has extended aid worth of 1.1 trillion yen to Pakistan and 70% loan consists of soft loan at the rate of 0.8% to 1.5 % for the duration of 30 to 40 years. Grant is 19% and rest is technical assistance. Japan's main focus is on irrigation, social sector, education, health, agriculture and infrastructure etc.²³⁷

Japan has been extending its Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Pakistan since the beginning of 1960. Japan's such help was for taking following grounds in account:

- (1) Pakistan plays an important political role in South West Asia and also among the Islamic countries and maintains traditionally friendly relations with Japan. Also Japan is Pakistan's largest trading partner;

²³⁶ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Interview on 22nd January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²³⁷ Ibid

- (2) While confronting difficult social and economic problems including high population growth rate, a low literacy rate, growing unemployment, energy shortages, persistent budget and trade deficit. Pakistan is actively pursuing domestic development and is, therefore, in great need of assistance.
- (3) Pakistan has been promoting various forms of deregulation including economic liberalization and privatization of state owned enterprises.

Through ODA diplomacy, Japan wants poverty reduction, to conform economic system of Pakistan and for cultural exchange.²³⁸

The total commitments of Japan under Official Development Assistance from 1961 to 2008 are shown as under:

Table.5: Official Development Assistance: 1961-2008

Japan Fiscal Year	Loan Aid (100mil. Yen)	Grant Aid (100mil. Yen)	Technical Cooperation (100mil. Yen)
1961	72.00	-	from 1956 to 1978 Total 28.9
1962	90.00	-	
1963	108.00	-	
1964	108.00	-	
1965	-	-	
1966	216.00	-	
1967	108.00	-	
1968	108.00	-	
1969	108.00	-	

²³⁸ Katsunori Ashida, Deputy Director, Second Country Assistance Planning Division, International Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 3rd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

1970	-	2.52	
1971	-	-	
1972	95.78	-	
1973	-	1.00	
1974	62.00	0.50	
1975	70.00	-	
1976	255.00	10.00	
1977	159.00	18.00	
1978	330.00	44.53	
1979	100.00	49.88	7.24
1980	210.00	88.61	8.99
1981	344.40	82.45	7.73
1982	280.00	90.43	7.99
1983	300.36	91.15	4.22
1984	-	94.04	6.60
1985	233.00	90.52	8.02
1986	-	84.56	9.76
1987	340.84	91.99	16.18
1988	938.38	108.73	14.16
1989	193.00	95.51	15.08
1990	416.33	75.41	8.64
1991	350.02	75.82	13.48
1992	122.47	71.53	11.03
1993	584.16	74.05	12.97
1994	348.18	63.52	15.17
1995	498.04	69.90	14.04
1996	296.51	61.07	16.84
1997	320.30	57.08	13.47
1998	-	5.66	11.13
1999	-	8.56	10.99
2000	-	20.42	8.65
2001	40.32	107.83	8.75
2002	31.49	75.90	14.18
2003	-	63.12	17.99
2004	-	48.63	17.32
2005	275.82	100.14	21.40
2006	231.57	51.96	25.30
2007	-	47.63	13.93
2008	479.43	N.A.	N.A.
ToTal	8,824.40	2,122.65	390.09

* Loan Aid: Loan Agreement Basis

Grant Aid: Exchange of Notes Basis
Technical Cooperation: JICA budget
expenditure basis

** The amounts of Grant Aid and Technical Cooperation in 2008 are
yet confirmed.

TOTAL=11337.14b YENS 11.37
TR.YENS/111.37
B \$

SOURCE: (a) Japan's ODA White Paper and Japan's ODA
Annual Report, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan; (b) JICA's
internal statistics

4.7.4 Aid Through Consortium

In 1960 the World Bank organized the Aid to Pakistan Consortium to facilitate coordination amongst the major providers of international assistance. The Consortium held 92% of Pakistan's outstanding disbursed debt at the end of June, 1991. The Consortium's members include the U.S, Japan, Canada, Britain, Germany, France and international organizations such as World Bank and Asian Development Bank (ADB).

Japan joined Consortium to Aid to Pakistan in 1961. Since then, it is extending substantial amount of aid to Pakistan.

During 1960s, Pakistan under General Ayub Khan, went for industrialization in a big way and it was immensely helped and assisted by Japan. At the Consortium meeting held in June, 1961, for example, Japan offered a credit amounting to 20 million U.S dollars repayable in 15 years including 5 years as grace period. The rate of interest was 6%. The

agreement was formally signed on November, 1961. The loan was to be utilized in the following projects:

(i) a. Chittagong Steel Mills (part cost)	\$ 3.00 million
b. East Pakistan Rayon Mills (Part cost)	\$ 2.00 million
(ii) Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan	\$ 5.00 million
(iii) PICIC	\$ 5.00 million
(iv) KPT (Self Propelled Floating 60 Ton crane)	\$ 0.9 million
(v) Ports and Telegraph Equipments	\$ 2.1 million
(vi) East Pakistan WAPDA Electric Machinery	\$ 2.00 million
Total	\$ 20.0 million

Source: A Review of Foreign Economic Aid to Pakistan, Ministry of Finance, Govt. of Pakistan, 1962, p.134

Pakistan had requested Consortium at their meeting held at Paris in June, 1979 for commitments of 800 million U.S dollars for 1978-79 consisting of 500 million U.S dollars of project aid, 90 million U.S dollars of food aid and 201 million U.S dollars for non-project aid. Pledges amounted at the meeting fell short of what Pakistan had requested. Japan reduced its pledges as compared to 1977-78.²³⁹

The members of Aid to Consortium to Pakistan agreed to provide debt relief of 6.5 million U.S dollars spread over a period of 4 years ending June 30, 1978 in annual installments of 175 million U.S dollars for the first three

²³⁹ Pakistan Economic Survey of 1979-80, Finance Division, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, p.155

years and 125 million U.S dollars for the fourth year.²⁴⁰ This all was made in accordance with the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed on 28th June, 1974. Japan was one of the members of Consortium.

4.7.5 Japan's Contribution to Five Year Plans of Pakistan

Japan began extending aid to Pakistan's First Five Year Plan (July 1955-March 1960). It received considerable financial assistance from Japan. Its total commitments to the Second Five Year plan were \$ 136.2 million. Out of it, 20% was on grant basis and the balance of eighty percent on loan basis. It was amongst the five top countries which provided economic assistance to Pakistan through Consortium for Third Five Year Plan (1965-70). Japan's aid for Pakistan's Five Year Plans are given as under:

Table.6: Japan's Commitments to Pakistan's Five Year Plans²⁴¹

			US \$ Million
S.No	Five Year Plan	Period	Commitment Contracted
1	First	1955-60	42.8
2	Second	1960-65	136.2
3	Third	1965-70	93.7
4	Fourth	1971-76	186.9
5	Fifth	1977-83	594.7
6	Sixth	1983-88	699.0
7	Seventh	1988-93	1476.8

²⁴⁰ Pakistan Year Book, 1981-82, East & West Publishing Company, Karachi, p.151

²⁴¹ Economic Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan.

8	Eighth	1993-98	2333.3
9	Ninth	1998-2003	659.0
10	Tenth	2003-2008	903.6
	Total		12478.3

During the five-year period (1986-90), Pakistan was the seventh largest recipient of bilateral aid from Japan. In 1988, Japanese aid to Pakistan observed fall vis-à-vis to 193 million dollars from 302 million U.S dollars. During the period, five top recipients were Indonesia 3,806 million U.S dollars, Bangladesh 1,668 million US dollars, China 3,278 million U.S dollars, Thailand 1,830 million U.S dollars and India was sixth with 1,054 million U.S dollars.²⁴² In 1990, the top recipients were Indonesia 867 million U.S dollars, China 723 million U.S dollars, China 723 million U.S dollars, the Philippines 647 million U.S dollars, Thailand 418 million U.S dollars and Bangladesh 373 U.S dollars.²⁴³

4.8 Investment by Japan

According to Board of Investment (BOI), Pakistan there is following five key areas to make investment in Pakistan:²⁴⁴

8.1. Geo-strategic Location: Located in the heart of Asia, Pakistan is the gateway to the energy rich

²⁴² The NEWS, Karachi, 27.8.1992

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ www.boi.gov.pk retrieved on 12th March, 2010.

Central Asian States, the financially liquid Gulf States and the economically advanced Far Eastern tigers. This strategic advantage alone makes Pakistan a marketplace teeming with possibilities.

8.2. Trained Workforce: A large part of the workforce is proficient in English, hardworking and intelligent. Pakistan possesses a large pool of trained and experienced engineers, bankers, lawyers and other professionals with many having substantial international experience.

8.3. Economic Outlook: Pakistan is one of the fastest growing economies of the world having touched a GDP growth rate of 8.4% in 2005. Today Pakistan has over 170 million consumers with an ever growing middle class. Foreign Direct investment has risen sharply from an average of \$300 million in the 1990s to over \$3.7 billion in 2008-09. Fiscal deficit has declined from an average 7% of GDP in the 1990s to around 3% in recent years. And FOREX reserves have increased from \$3.22 billion in 2000-01 to \$11.6 billion in June 2009.

8.4. Investment Policies: Current investment policies have been tailor made to suit investor needs. Pakistan's policy trends have been consistent, with

liberalization, de-regulation, privatization, and facilitation being its foremost cornerstones.

8.5. Financial Markets: The capital markets are being modernized, and reforms have resulted in development of improved infrastructure in the stock exchanges of the country. The Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan has improved the regulatory environment of the stock exchanges, corporate bond market and the leasing sector. Whilst the Federal Board of Revenue has facilitated structural reform in tax and tariffs and the State Bank of Pakistan has invigorated the banking sector into high returns on investment.

But these keys may not be favorable without removing chronic and other problems of Pakistan which have slowed down the speed of economic development and discourage the foreign investor to come and make investment in Pakistan.

Japan was the fourth largest investment partner of Pakistan with cumulative investment of 385.9 million US dollars during the period of 1989-90 to 2003-04, constituting 5% of the total in Pakistan. By March, 1992, Japanese investment to Pakistan amounted to 124 million U.S dollars for 60 ventures in the field of automobile, textile and pharmaceutical

industries. In 2007-08, Japanese companies made investment of 130 million U.S dollars.²⁴⁵ Thirty companies including automobile, energy and financial sectors are working in Pakistan successfully as it has cheap labor and raw material.

The big surge of investment observed in 1995-96 in Independent Power Products projects. The Japanese investment recovered and increased by 7% during the period of 2002-04 due to the increase of the investment in the automobile sector. During 2003-04, Japanese Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan amounted to 9.3 million U.S dollars.²⁴⁶ Major sectors of Japanese investment are joint venture projects mainly in automobiles for example Pak-Suzuki Motor (Suzuki), Indus Motor (Toyota), Honda Atlas, Gandhara Nissan Diesel (Nisan Diesel) and Hino Pak Motors (Hino). Other sector include leasing, investment bank and power projects. A paper mill based on Japanese technology for production of tissue paper from cotton waste has been established in the vicinity of the power plant by the Prestige Papers.

Pakistan's first world scale PVC manufacturing plant at Port Qasim with estimated 100,000 tons per annum launched in August, 1998. The project has been initiated under Engro-Asahi Polymer and Chemical Limited—a joint venture between Engro Chemical Pakistan limited and two Japanese companies Asahi Glass Company and Mitsubishi Corporation.

²⁴⁵ Iftikhar Hussain Babar Syed, Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan Tokyo, Interview on 22nd February 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁴⁶ Foreign Office Year Book 2004-05, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad. P.243

Foreign Direct Investment and Portfolio Investment by Japan in Pakistan from 1985 to 2009 is indicated in the following table:

Table.7: Foreign Direct and Portfolio Investment: 1985 to 2009

US \$ Million

Year	Direct Investment	Portfolio Investment	Total	Total Investment by all countries in a year
1985	6.7	-	6.7	93.7
1986	6.3		6.3	108.0
1987	9.4	20.3	29.7	129.0
1988	13.6	16.4	16.4	172.7
1989	16.7	-4.9	11.8	216.2
1990	16.1	-4.2	11.9	211.5
1991	26.2	-5.3	20.9	237.0
1992	17.7	-	17.7	553.6
1993	22.0	6.3	28.3	354.1
1994	29.7	0.8	30.5	642.7
1995	16.3	4.6	20.9	1,532.3
1996	82.1	13.1	95.2	1,306.9
1997	36.6	7.4	44.0	949.5
1998	1.2	1.3	2.5	822.6
1999	22.8	-	22.8	499.6
2000	28.6	-5.9	22.7	543.4
2001	9.1	-	9.1	182.0
2002	6.4	0.2	6.6	474.6
2003	14.1		14.1	820.1
2004	15.1	3.5	11.6	921.7
2005	45.2	-3.5	41.7	1,676.6
2006-07	64.4	3.9	68.4	6,960.0
2007-08	131.2	9.9	141.1	5,429.5

2008-09	74.3	-6.1	68.2	3,209.2
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Source: State Bank of Pakistan

Japan can make investment in Pakistan in the following important sectors:²⁴⁷

- Petroleum Sector
 - ✓ Offshore and Onshore Exploration
 - ✓ Refining
 - ✓ Pipelines
 - ✓ Storages
- Energy Sector
 - ✓ Hydel
 - ✓ Thermal
 - ✓ Coal
 - ✓ Solar
 - ✓ Wind
 - ✓ Blogas
- I.T Sector
 - ✓ Call Centers
 - ✓ Cell phone
 - ✓ E-Commerce
 - ✓ Software
 - ✓ I.T Parks
- Minerals
 - ✓ Coal

²⁴⁷ Presentation by Economic Minister, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo given on November 2, 2009

- ✓ Granite
- ✓ Marble
- ✓ Copper
- ✓ Rock Salt
- ✓ Semi precious stones
 - Communication
- ✓ Ports & Roads
- ✓ Urban Mass Transit
 - Entertainment
- ✓ Hotels
- ✓ Resorts
- ✓ Theme Parks
- ✓ Cultural tourism
- ✓ Entertainment Centers
 - Agriculture and Livestock
- ✓ Agro-Business
- ✓ Fruits & Vegetables
- ✓ Fisheries
- ✓ Cool Chains
- ✓ Corporate Farming
- ✓ Livestock & Dairy
- ✓ Seed Production
- ✓ Storages
 - Miscellaneous
- ✓ Leather
- ✓ Surgical goods
- ✓ Furniture

- ✓ Gemstones
- ✓ Jewellery
- ✓ Food Processing
- ✓ Value added goods
- ✓ Sports
- ✓ Infrastructure
- ✓ Real Estate
- ✓ Banking
- ✓ Pesticides
- ✓ Dyes
- ✓ Synthetic fiber
- ✓ Pharmaceuticals
- ✓ Petro chemical
- ✓ Light & Engineering
- ✓ Auto parts
- ✓ Steel Production
- ✓ Textile Machinery
- ✓ Golf city
- ✓ Water city
- ✓ Media City
- ✓ Residential Complexes
- ✓ Office apartments

4.9 Remittances by Pakistanis living in Japan

There are about 9,221 Pakistanis live in Japan. Moreover, the research scholars, time and again, visit Japan to conduct research in the various fields and sectors. They send a part of their earnings to Pakistan. The

remittances received in Pakistan from Japan since 1980 to 2009 are indicated as below:

Table.8: Pakistani Workers' Remittances from Japan to Pakistan: 1980 to 2009

US \$ Million

Year	From Japan	From all the countries	Grand Total	Remarks
1980	51.27	1,747.05		The grand total includes encashment and profit in Pak Rs. Of FEBCs & FCBCs
1981	75.09	2,115.93	-	
1982	97.11	2,224.89	-	
1983	99.27	2,885.45	-	
1984	50.11	2,737.43	-	
1985	31.65	2,445.92	-	
1986	10.57	2,595.31	-	
1987	3.16	2,278.56	-	
1988	2.71	2012.60	2,012.60	
1989	28.42	1,683.56	1896.99	
1990	35.84	1,667.36	1942.35	
1991	26.84	1,626.92	1,848.29	
1992	12.96	1,252.45	1,467.88	
1993	11.62	1,238.51	1,562.24	
1994	7.13	1,093.36	1,445.56	
1995	6.90	1,866.10		
1996	3.65	1,227.28	1,461.17	
1997	3.05	1,078.05	1,409.47	
1998	2.65	1,237.68	1,489.55	
1999	3.09	875.55	1,060.19	
2000	1.58	913.49	983.73	
2001	3.93	1,021.59	1,086.57	

2002	5.97	2,340.79	2,389.05	
2003	8.14	4,190.73	4,236.85	
2004	5.28	3,826.16	3,871.58	
2005	6.51	4,152.29	4,168.79	
2006	6.63	4,588.03	4,600.12	
2007	4.26	5,490.97	5,493.65	
2008	4.75	6,448.84	6,451.24	
2009	5.10	7,810.95	7,811.43	

Source: State Bank of Pakistan

While addressing a Press Conference in Islamabad, Chairman, Pakistan Association based in Tokyo said that the overseas Pakistanis, working in Japan, are remitting an average over Rs. 280 million in foreign exchange every month and thus helping the Government in maintaining foreign exchange reserve.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ DAWN, Karachi, 7.1.1990

Chapter.5

Japan and Kashmir Problem

Kashmir is constant source of trouble between Pakistan and India particularly for South Asia and adjacent areas in general. India and the United Kingdom were collided against Pakistan at the time of independence of the two countries. Then Governor General of the subcontinent, Lord Mountbatten gathered all available air crafts in the area and beyond to carry Indian troops to Kashmir to be airlifted, [except it] India could not have achieved it. Given the fact that 80% of Kashmir population is Muslim and principle on division of Indian Kashmir was on the basis of religion the Muslim majority area should become Pakistan. Present status of Kashmir is major violation.²⁴⁹

Since the emergence of the problem, the two belligerent countries have fought three wars (1948, 1965 and 1971) and high intensity localized conflict at Kargal in 1999.No any country took notice of the increasing danger and heightening of tension between Pakistan and India. In the beginning, the United Nations Security Council made deliberations on the issue and passed the various resolutions. But, a country that approached the

²⁴⁹ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

world body declined to honor the resolutions. The United States failed to take practical steps for the solution of the issue. The former Soviet Union adopted soft corner to India vis-à-vis Pakistan as latter step down to the Defense alliances of South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) sponsored by the United States. China, being enemy of India, came closer to Pakistan. Japan remained ignorant to the intensity of the issue till the nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan in 1998.

5.1 Location of Jammu and Kashmir

The land of Jammu and Kashmir stretches from the East of river Indus to the West of river Ravi. It is between 32.17 to 36.58 N and 73.26 to 80.30 E. The chain of mountain ranges surrounds the valley of Kashmir. To the North lies a series of mountains with the highest peak of Naga Parbat (26,182 feet), Harmuk (16,903 feet) in the East, south is bounded by Machadeo, the highest range of Gwash Bari (17,800 feet) and the lofty peak of Amarnat (17, 321feet).The Pir Panjal range with the peaks of 15,000 feet stands on the South West over which the ancient trade routes with the Punjab lay. Tosmaidan (14,000 feet) in north and Kajinag (12,125 feet) is in North-West. The valley is sometimes referred to as the "happy valley", perhaps because it gives a feeling of isolation from the rest of the world.²⁵⁰

5.2 Importance of Kashmir for Pakistan

²⁵⁰ The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol.6,15th Edition 1991, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc Chicago,p.755

The first Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan while considering strategic position of Kashmir said, "it is....like a cap on our head. If Japan allows India to have the cap on our head, then I am always at the mercy of India.....The very position-strategic position of Kashmir is such that without it Pakistan cannot defend herself against an unscrupulous government that might come in India".²⁵¹

Pakistan needs the smooth flow of water coming from the valley of Kashmir to fertile its lands, where as India is not in demand. The disruption in water supply may create social, agricultural and economic problems for Pakistan as its 72% population is directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture sector. The occupation of Kashmir by another country or enemy will put security and independence and national integration of Pakistan in jeopardy.

The plains of Sindh and the Punjab have topographic unity with Kashmir. The number of routes between Pakistan and Kashmir is greater than that of India and Kashmir. Seven routs led to Kashmir from Pakistan where as one route provides passage from India to Kashmir.²⁵²

The only rail line connecting with the outside world lay through Sialkot in Pakistan. Its postal and telegraphic services operated through areas

²⁵¹ Quoted in, David E Lilienth, Another Korea in the Making: Collier's New York, 4th August 1951.

²⁵² Hafezenia.MR, Geopolitical Analysis of Kashmir Crisis, 50 Years of Indo-Pakistan Relations, Deep & Deep Publications, NewDelhi,1999 ,p.101.

that were certain belong to Pakistan.²⁵³ The State was dependent for all its imported supplies like sugar, salt, petrol and other necessities of life on their safe and continued transit through areas that would form part of Pakistan.²⁵⁴ The tourist transit traffic which was a major source of income and revenue would only come via Rawalpindi.²⁵⁵ The only route available for the export of valuable fruit was the Jehlum route.²⁵⁶ Its timber could only be drifted down only in the Jehlum River which ran into Pakistan.²⁵⁷

Pakistan religiously, socially and culturally is associated with Kashmir. The majority of the population of the latter consists of the Muslims and they desire to spend life in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Their desire has established immortal relations with the Muslims of Pakistan. This compels the Government of Pakistan to support the legitimate rights of the Kashmiris and extend all possible political, moral and diplomatic support to them. The commemoration of 5th February every year as a day of solidarity with the people of Kashmir, bringing out processions in their support from time to time and offering special *Dua* in Pakistan for the success of Kashmiris in their noble cause clearly indicate the level of attachment of the masses of Pakistan with the Kashmiris.

²⁵³ S.M Burke, Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan's Foreign Policy:An Historical Analysis, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 1992,p.51.

²⁵⁴ Ibid

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Pakistan has kept options open for the solution of the problem through either bilateral dialogue or arbitration or international forum in accordance with the resolutions passed by the United Nations.

5.3 Indian View on Kashmir

In pursuance of India Independence Act 1947 and the Partition Plan 1947 Pakistan and India came into being in August 1947. At that time, Indian leader, Jawaharlal Nehru thought,²⁵⁸

Kashmir was a Muslim majority area and the state had common borders with the areas, which obviously would form part of Pakistan. Not only that, Kashmir had all the road communication passing through Pakistani territory. In the case of Kashmir, one positive point for congress leadership was that the ruler was a staunch Hindu who had no mercy for its Muslim population and disliked Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah, President of All India States Peoples' Conference (1946), who incidentally happened to be a friend of Nehru.

THE CONSTITUTION (APPLICATION TO JAMMU AND KASHMIR) ORDER, 1954 has been given constitutional cover under

²⁵⁸ Qazi Shakil Ahmed Dr, "The Partition Plan, Indian Design and the Kashmir Dispute", The Pakistan Horizon, Vol.56, No.2, April, 2003, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, pp.19-20

Article 370 in the constitution of India. The State has been given special treatment.

Moreover, Indian legal claim that Kashmir is its integral part rests on the contention that the Maharaja of Kashmir had signed the Instrument of Accession to India on 27 November 1947.²⁵⁹

On the other hand, India assured Pakistan of following the resolutions passed by the United Nations in 1948-49. In a telegram dated October 30, 1947, addressed to then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaqat Ali Khan, Indian Premier, Nehru wrote, “our assurance that we shall withdraw our troops from Kashmir as soon as peace and order are restored and leave the decision about the future of the state to the people of the state is not merely a pledge to your Government but also to the people of Kashmir and the world”.²⁶⁰

A change in stand of India on the dispute was witnessed in mid of 1950s when it claimed that Kashmir is its integral part. It regards any discussion by another country on the issue as interference in its internal affairs.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Shahid A Amin, “A Re-Evaluation of the Kashmir Dispute”, Pakistan Horizon, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Vol.56, No.2, April, 2003, p.43

²⁶⁰ Ibid, p.41

²⁶¹ Ibid, p.42

5.3.1 Peace Process

India and Pakistan have signed two major pacts namely Simla Accord in July 1971 and Lahore Declaration in February 1999 for resolving the outstanding issues including Kashmir.

Simla Accord provides,” The two countries are resolved to settle their differences by peaceful means through bilateral negotiations, or by other peaceful means, mutually agreed upon between them. Pending the final settlement of any of the problems between the two countries, neither side shall unilaterally alter the situation nor shall both prevent the organization, assistance or encouragement of any act detrimental to the maintenance of harmonious”.²⁶² Lahore Declaration says,” Entering into a meaningful dialogue on the core issue of Kashmir, among other issues”.²⁶³

The various rounds of dialogue have been held from Secretary to Prime Minister Levels. Moreover, backdoor diplomacy and Track-II channels have also been exhausted but without any tangible result.

²⁶² Musa Khan Jalalzai, The Foreign Policy of Pakistan, Ariana Publications, Lahore, 2003,p.122

²⁶³ Salahuddin Ahmed Syed Dr, Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Critical Study, Arshi Publishers, Karachi, 2005,p.80

During the meeting held in July 1989 in Islamabad, then Premier of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto said about plebiscite but her Indian counterpart, Rajiv Gandhi clarified that state of Jammu and Kashmir was inalienable part of the Indian matter in which Pakistan had no legitimate interest.²⁶⁴

The important factors which affected the peace process are as under:

- i. Terrorist incidents inside India, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Each country accuses other for responsible such happenings;
- ii. Ongoing struggle in occupied Kashmir;
- iii. Invisible quarters are also not interested to solve the problem;
- iv. Extremists are creating pressure on the Governments for not receding from their respective stands on the issue and seek alternatives to resolve it.

Moreover, following factors are required for the solution of the problem amicably:²⁶⁵

- i. Yearning for peace both at the governmental and public levels;

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p.124

²⁶⁵ Spotlight of Regional Affairs, Vol.xxix,Nos.102January-February 2010, Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad, pp.5-6

- ii. Time factor is also important because at times one or both parties might think that time is running out and that they have not achieved any thing from the process;
- iii. External involvement and encouragement also plays a significant part because at times the parties involved is stuck in a stalemate and can get out only if there is an external involvement;
- iv. Patience is also a very important factor in the success of a peace process because in essence of process is a very long and time consuming exercise;
- v. Content of a peace process is also very important the process is simply a mechanism for achieving the content. If the focus is allowed to shift away from the content it could distort priorities and have a negative impact on the peace process as a whole.

5.4 Japan and Problem of Kashmir

Japan is inclined to solve the problem through the bilateral dialogue as being viewed in the statements of Indian leaders. However, it offered to sponsor talks between the two disputing countries. Japan often opined that tension in the region was the cause of arms race. Its Ambassador to India

said that the persisting tension between India and Pakistan over Kashmir issue was leading to an arms race between the two countries and their competition in missile development and their suspected deployment against each other have contributed significantly to such an unfavorable image.²⁶⁶

The officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan also held the view that the problem of Kashmir prompted India and Pakistan to go for nuclear tests in 1998.²⁶⁷ They also claim that Japan's Ambassador to Pakistan received an offer from a Pakistani official to sponsor talks and promised to consider the same but acceptance of the request would compromise Tokyo's ability to be an impartial host of peace conference on Kashmir. Policy makers would likely view the Pakistani request as inconsistent with Japan's primary South Asia diplomatic initiative.²⁶⁸

However, on most of the occasions, Japan supported for holding dialogue and solving the problem in the spirit of Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration.

In his meeting with Indian counterpart, Jaswant Singh at ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in July, 1999, the Foreign Minister of Japan, Masahiko Koumura expressed his country's concern about the continuing tension between India and Pakistan and wished that both would go back to the spirit of Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration and resume the dialogue as soon as possible.²⁶⁹ Indian Foreign Minister expressed complete

²⁶⁶ Isabelle Cordomier Dr, Are there Inter-Related Security concerns, WWW.JIIA.Org.

²⁶⁷ Altbach Eric, Japan Economic Institute Weekly Review No.21, 5th June, 1998.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Press Conference, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan,24.9.1999.

agreement with the opinion of Japan and said that dialogue with Pakistan be processed on the basis of the Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration.

The Director, South West Asian, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Masaya Fujiwara said, that "We are particularly concerned by the developments in Kashmir now as both India and Pakistan tested their nuclear capabilities last year. Japan appreciates the Lahore Declaration as a positive movement to stabilize the situation in South Asia".²⁷⁰ He further said that Japan was against any third party involvement in the Kashmir issue and suggested that, "it should be resolved by both sides in accordance with Simla Agreement. The important thing is to carry out the dialogue".²⁷¹ In his lecture on Japan, Asia and Pakistan: A Practitioners view at the Department of Defense and Strategic Studies, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad on 10th May, 2001, Japan's Ambassador to Pakistan, Sadaaki Numata said, that " We earnestly hope that this process will actively be sustained and lead to a peaceful solution of the issue through dialogue in accordance with the spirit of the Lahore Declaration".

At the time of passing a series of resolutions by the U.N Security Council, Japan was not its member. Moreover, in late 1940s, it was in formative phase and gathering scattered strength and existence. Thus, Japan's role on the problem remained inactive. However, bilateral visits to each other in late 1950s paved the way for the appearance of the problem in the relations of the two countries.

²⁷⁰ Rediff 11th June, 1999.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan, Hussain Shaheed Suharwardy visited Japan and held talks with his Japanese counterpart, Nobuse Kishi. At the end of a visit, the joint communiqué was issued which said that guarantee of world peace lay in upholding and enhancing the prestige of the United Nations. The host country did not openly support the resolutions of the United Nations on the problem of Kashmir.

The daily *DAWN*, Karachi commented and said that Kishi's views on the United Nations, be studied in the background of the Kashmir dispute, particularly, Bharat's consistent defiance of the world body's directives put Pakistan's case on a still sounder footing.²⁷² However, Pakistan's Prime Minister could not ascertain Japanese support on the problem and hoped that Japan would support Pakistan's position on the issue.²⁷³

Former Japanese Prime Minister, Hayato Ikeda told the visiting four member delegation on Kashmir that efforts must be made for a peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue.²⁷⁴

The Government of Japan did not express its stand in clear terms ever before the Prime Minister, Kaifu's visit to Pakistan in May, 1990. He accepted that main cause of tension between Pakistan and India was the problem of Kashmir. Before coming to Pakistan, he had landed in New Delhi and held talks with his Indian counterpart. He expressed his willingness to be associated with talks if it takes place between the two countries. He urged his Pakistani counterpart, Benazir Bhutto to hold talks

²⁷² *DAWN*, Karachi 29th May, 1957

²⁷³ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ *DAWN*, Karachi, 1st May, 1964

with India on the issue. The major points of his peace proposals were the following:

- (1) re-deployment of troops by both the countries to their peace time locations;
- (2) Setting up a neutral international mechanism to check allegations and counter allegations;
- (3) To open dialogue under the Simla Agreement and in the spirit of the United Nations.

The Government of India rejected all the proposals on the pretext that in the time of tension between the two countries, Pakistan had imposed conditions.

The daily *DAWN*, Karachi dated 4th May, 1990 wrote, " Pakistan should develop closer political links with Japan as Mr. Kaifu's acceptance to be associated with proposed talks on Kashmir has evoked a favorable response from visiting Kaifu".

5.4.1 Japan-India and Kashmir Problem

Japan's stand on the problem nearer to that of India is due to its investment in India, Indian population as consumer market of Japanese products/goods, both have Budha culture, to contain expanding influence of China in South Asia and South East Asia, have economic interests in each other and are the followers of the U.S camp. Both countries have long historical background and close cooperation in the various fields.

Direct exchange between India and Japan began in the Meiji era (1868-1912) when the latter embarked on the process of modernization. The bilateral relations developed around Japanese purchase of Indian cotton. Indian nationalist leader, Subash Chandar Bose, who during the World War II advocated for armed struggle against Great Britain's colonial rule, joined Axis forces for Indian independence. In 1942, All India National Congress launched "Quit India Movement" against the foreign power. At that time, Japan was making successful advancement through East Asia and knocked the door of the sub-continent. At this critical juncture, the United Kingdom sought cooperation from All India National Congress and All India Muslim League. The former refused and planned to invite Japan to attack the sub-continent. But, soon the wind of the World War II began to blow in reverse direction. Thus, the desire of All India National Congress could not achieve required results.

India kept its fingers off the signing of non-communist countries treaty known as "San Francisco Treaty" with Japan in 1951. Instead, the former signed another separate treaty with the latter in June 1952. It was one of the first bilateral treaties Japan signed as an independent country after the Second World War. Since then both the countries have signed following important treaties:

- Treaty of peace between Japan and India, 1952.
- Agreement between India and Japan for Air Service, 1956.
- Cultural Agreement between Japan and India, 1956.

- Agreement between Japan and India for the Avoidance of Double Taxation in Respect of Taxes on Income, 1960.
- Agreement between India and Japan on cooperation in the field of Service & Technology, 1985.

Since the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two countries in 1952, both have developed cordial relations based on trade, economic and technical cooperation. The visit of Japanese Prime Minister, Nobusuke Kishi to India in 1957 paved the way for beginning of yen loan in 1958 as the first loan aid extended by Japan.²⁷⁵

Japan is the second largest country in Indian exports (major exports are gems, marine products, iron ore and cotton yarn). It is major importer of Japanese goods like machinery. Japan stood seventh largest investor in India in 1995 followed by the United States, Israel, Malaysia, Thailand, Mauritius and the United Kingdom.

Cultural relations were established with the signing of Cultural Agreement in 1956. The Japan-India mixed Cultural Commission, an inter-governmental forum for wide ranging exchange of views on cultural exchange came into existence in the late 1950s. India initiated scholarship system for overseas students in 1951. The young Japanese scholars take benefit of it. Cultural exchange picked up in the 1950s, with Japanese local governments becoming involved in the exchange activities with their Indian

²⁷⁵ Rupakjyoti Borah, "Maintaining Peace in Asia: India-Japan Relations", Peace & Conflict, Jawaharlal University, New Delhi, India, July 2010.

counter parts and traditional Indian performing arts showing in Japan. The Prime Minister of Japan Yasuhiro Nakasone and his Indian counterpart Rajev Gandhi in their meeting in November 1985 agreed to hold a Japan month in four major cities of India and a festival of India in major Japanese cities.

The Japan Foundation opened its office in New Delhi in January 1994. It is actively engaged in cultural exchange. The Japan Foundation Asia Centre also takes efforts for introducing Indian culture to the Japanese. In January 1996 Japan-India mixed Cultural Commission held its meeting on governmental level. Representatives of both the countries discussed exchange policies in various fields and developed consensus to provide intellectual exchange in order to foster mutual understanding. Japan trust fund for the preservation of the World Cultural Heritage, Japan, through United Nations Economic and Scientific Council (UNESCO), is helping with the preservation and restoration of the Buddhist monuments of Sanchi and Satdhara by sending experts and other way.

Japan, one may point out here, never stated in clear terms that Pakistan's position on Kashmir issue was fully justified. Usually, it referred the dispute as dangerous and called for its peaceful settlement.

5.4.2 Japan's Kashmir Policy after Cold War

The Government of Japan urges India and Pakistan to solve the problem of Kashmir by holding bilateral dialogue in the spirit of Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration. And same is the stand of India on the

problem. But, the Prime Minister of India, Atal Bihari Vajpayee at the time of discussion on Simla Agreement in Lok Sabha, lower House of the Indian parliament, opposed the Agreement.

Samer Guha and Vajpayee moved a resolution that “the agreement failed to assure durable peace which the Prime Minister had solemnly promised to obtain through a package deal with Pakistan”.²⁷⁶ In his speech, Vajpayee said,” that the agreement had been held on two disputes. Firstly, Pakistan had renounced the use of force to settle disputes. That had no meaning since the renunciation had been made by Pakistan several times before i.e. in the Tashkent Declaration of 1966. Secondly, it was claimed that Indo-Pakistan issues would be settled bilaterally. In the agreement, the doors had been kept open to third party interference and involvement in the affairs of the sub-continent under the guise of their peaceful means would mean that India would give up 5,000 square miles of Pakistan territory, while Pakistan would continue occupation of 3,000 square miles of the Indian Territory in Kashmir”.²⁷⁷

During his visit to India in 2000, the Prime Minister of Japan Mori indirectly made Pakistan responsible for the break down of dialogue and said “I emphasize to General Musharraf, Chief Executive, the need to take steps for any return to democracy to control terrorism and to create an environment conducive to the resumption of dialogue with India emphasized

²⁷⁶ Lok Sabha Debates, Vol.XII, No.1, 31st July, 1972.

²⁷⁷ Lok Sabha Debates, Vol. XII, No.1, 31st July, 1972.

added." The fighting that broke out in Kargil after the visit betrayed Vajpayee's good intentions and we also deeply regretted it.²⁷⁸

After visiting India, the Japanese Premier came to Pakistan and held talks with President of Pakistan, General Pervaiz Musharraf. Spokesman of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of Pakistan briefed about the visit of the Japanese Premier and said that the distinguished guest hoped "for early resumption of Pakistan – India dialogue to address and resolve the difficult issue of Kashmir".²⁷⁹

During his visit to Pakistan on 12th December, 2009, Japan's Foreign Minister, Okada expressed his desire to reset again composite dialogue.²⁸⁰

5.4.3 Japan's Kashmir Policy after 9/11

The World body feels itself unable to provide relief to the Kashmiris. And after 9/11 incident, world has focused on terrorism and considers movement in Kashmir as terrorism. There is clear division on the definition of terrorism put forwarded by the Muslim and non- Muslim countries. The non-Muslim countries hold the movement in Kashmir and Palestine as the outcome of the state terrorism where as the Muslim countries consider them rightful freedom movement.

²⁷⁸ Satu P Limaye, "India-East Asia Relations: India's latest Asian Incarnation", 3rd Quarter, 2000, Asia Pacific Center Security Studies, p.69.

²⁷⁹ Voice of America dated 21.8.2000.

²⁸⁰ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Japan also held freedom fighting in Kashmir as terrorism. The Indian daily newspaper *Hindu* opined that Japan was of the view that the valiant struggle in Kashmir for independence was imported one and was terrorism and its leadership supports the efforts being made by Indian government in Kashmir.²⁸¹ In her statement, Yorika Kawaguchi, Foreign Minister of Japan, stated, "Pakistan has been expressing a firm stance against terrorism" and hoped that it would take all steps, "to effectively stop and prevent terrorist activities; including infiltration into the Line of Control (LOC) --- Japan condemns now the outrageous terrorist attacks on May 14 (2002) in an army cantonment in Kashmir and firmly maintains its position that terrorism of any kind could never be justified".²⁸² The reports said that Japan had asked Pakistan to permanent stop infiltration across the Line of Control and dismantle the terrorist infrastructure on its soil.²⁸³ The Japanese newspaper *Japan Times* commented on Pakistan's Role in Kashmir and wrote, "Pakistan's denials are not very convincing. The best solution is action by Islamabad General Pervaiz Musharraft has promised to be a fully participated in the war against terrorism, that job is individual. To live up to that pledge, he could close the training camps for Muslim separatists that his intelligence services operate".²⁸⁴

In view of 9/11 incident, Pakistan decided to save its land to be used by the terrorists. "The international community welcomed General Pervez Musharrafs speech on 12th January, 2002 expressing his determination not

²⁸¹ [The Hindu](#) , New Delhi, 24.8.2000.

²⁸² [DAWN](#), Karachi,25.5.2002

²⁸³ [Sify.com](#)

²⁸⁴ [NRL Links.com](#).

to allow Pakistan or territory under its control to be used for terrorist acts, any where, including those in the name of Kashmir", said Sadaaki Numata, Ambassador to Pakistan in his lecture on "Tackling Challenges: Japan and Pakistan" at Rotary Club, Karachi on 16th September, 2002. "We have also been conveying our strong hope that the Pakistani government would reign and crack down on militant activities in Kashmir. Also we are expressing our expression to the Indian side for the restraint shown by Indian government and we have also been expressing our hope that the Indian government, in response to the concerns of the international community, makes exhaustive diplomatic efforts".²⁸⁵ The newspaper also quoted from the speech of Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshiro Mori who said," the series of killing attempts to derail the very positive move for putting an end to violence in Kashmir....under the leadership of Prime Minister Vajpayee".²⁸⁶ The Premier held Pakistan responsible for the Kargil war and said, "the fighting that broke out in Kargil after the visit (of Indian Premier in 1999) betrayed Mr. Vajpayee's good intentions and was also deeply regretted it".²⁸⁷ However, he emphasized on dialogue, "We must not abandon dialogue. Only through dialogue can you understand the other side and overcome conflicts through dialogue".²⁸⁸

By virtue of Japan's strategic and global partnership with India it would support India, if not then prefer to remain neutral on the issue.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ Press Conference, 28.5.2002, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

²⁸⁶ Ibid

²⁸⁷ Ibid

²⁸⁸ Ibid

²⁸⁹ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

5.5 Japanese People and Kashmir Problem

Japanese people think that Kashmir is part of India as Indians show it in their map where as Pakistan indicates it as a disputed country.²⁹⁰ Japanese nation is conscious that if problems of Palestine and Kashmir are resolved peace may be restored in the world.²⁹¹

5.6 Human Rights in Kashmir and Japan

In fact, the struggle of Kashmiris is indigenous one. The struggle is against refusal of right of self-determination and the sense of deprivation created among the Kashmiris due to policies of Indian government and violation of human rights by Indian forces in the held Kashmir.

Japan has shown reluctance to condemn the violation of the human rights in the unfortunate territory where as it condemned violation of human rights in Sudan, Nigeria and helped the Government of Columbia for improving the conditions of the human rights in the country. Japan adopted two track policies towards Burma urging democratization and respect for human rights and suspending any new aid until there were visible signs of progress.

The U.N adopted Third Committee Resolution in 2006. The Government of Japan welcomed the resolution and said it was sending a significant message by the international committee through its strengthened

²⁹⁰ Muhamamd Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Chairman, International Muslim Centre, Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 15th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

²⁹¹ Chaudhry Shahid Raza, President, Japan International Press, Tokyo, Interview on 20th February, 2010 conducted in New Chiba, Japan.

coordination towards the improvement of the situation of human rights in the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.²⁹² It urged the DPRK to act sincerely in improving its human rights, among others, accepting the U.N Special Rapporteur on the DPRK's human rights situation.²⁹³

Japan feels obliged to ensure enforcement of human rights in letter and spirit as provided in its constitution. It guarantees conferment and inviolable human rights on the people. It seeks honorable place for its people in the world community aimed at ending tyranny, oppression, intolerance and slavery from the globe. Japan has ratified the following instruments for protecting and promoting human rights:

- Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Their Additional Protocols, 1977,
- International covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 1979,
- International covenant on civil and political rights (1979)
- Convention relating to the status of the Refugees (1981) and its Optional Protocols,
- Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (1985),
- Convention on the Rights of Child (1994) and its two optional protocols (2004 and 2005),

²⁹² Statement by Press Secretary, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, 2006.

²⁹³ Ibid.

- International convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial discrimination (1995),
- Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1999).

Keeping such appreciative record of human rights and adhering to international instruments on human rights, Japan's ignorance to violation of human rights in held Kashmir raises question about its neutrality on the issue.

The sad aspect of the movement for right of self determination in Kashmir is killing of innocent civilian persons. The opinion on type of gangs responsible for such killings is very same viewed that Indian forces or intelligence officials, under the garb of Kashmiri fighters commit such target killing. Others see the groups fighting against Indian forces as cause for taking away the lives of civilians and Rest opined that such incidents are being perpetrated by the Pakistan intelligence agencies.

Japan has always condemned the incidents which caused death of civilian persons. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan issued press statement on killing of persons in August 2000 and stated", the recent brutal massacre of civilians on 1st and 2nd August, in the state of Kashmir in India, has resulted in the loss of many lives of innocent people. The Government of Japan expresses its particular concern that these brutal acts of terrorism were perpetrated at a time when the very positive move for putting an end to violence in Kashmir had just commenced. Japan sincerely hopes that efforts for bringing about peace in the region would continue to

be sustained".²⁹⁴ On the incident of 25th March, 2000, Embassy of Japan in New Delhi issued a statement which "condemns the killing of innocent civilians and Government of Japan re-affirms its position that terrorism cannot be justified what ever kind of it may be and regularly condemns against terrorism in any form".²⁹⁵

On attack in Jammu on 24th November, 2002 Japan expressed its reaction and held the attack barbaric and stated that terrorist attacks targeting civilians can never be justified. The Government of Japan categorically condemns the incident and reaffirms its determination towards the eradication of any form of terrorism".²⁹⁶

It is fact and has been accepted by majority of the countries that movement of Kashmiris for the right of self determination is indigenous and Indian forces stationed in the Valley has subdued the legitimate right of the Kashmiris. The Defense spokesman of India said," Five children were among the people killed in the region in the four days after two civilians died in a similar unprovoked artillery bombardment by the Indian army in Neelam Valley area".²⁹⁷ The world is not focusing on the policies and actions taken or are being taken in the Jammu and Kashmir The election held in the Jammu remained unsuccessful for raising turn over. The majority of the voters prefer to remain away from casting their vote. Low rate of casting of vote is held as a result due to interference of Pakistan. The Prime Minister of India, on the end of five days visit to Japan said "Pakistan

²⁹⁴ Press Release No.26, embassy of Japan in India, New Delhi.

²⁹⁵ www.ezboard.com.

²⁹⁶ Press Conference, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, 26.11.2002.

²⁹⁷ The Nation, Lahore, 4.5.2000

should not create hurdles in the way of holding polls in Jammu and Kashmir".²⁹⁸

In Kupwara District incident in Kashmir, Mushtaq Ahmed Lone, a candidate for the regional assembly elections in Kashmir, and some other persons were killed on September 11, 2002. The Government of Japan condemned the incident and "Strongly hopes that the elections in Kashmir will be held in a free and fair manner without suffering disruption by terrorist violence".²⁹⁹

The Government of Japan values that despite a number of terrorist disturbance, the local assembly elections in Kashmir were conducted as scheduled with efforts made by the election commission and many voters cast their ballots".³⁰⁰

Japan expressed its concern on the issue of human rights in Kashmir in such a way that it was unknown to it. Japan's Ambassador to Pakistan, Minuro Shibuya said, "We are very much concerned about this and we will certainly follow the situation. If there is any sign of actual violation of human rights then we may think of how we can help".³⁰¹

5.6.1 Reasons Behind Japan's Policy on Violation of Human Rights

Japan has strategic relations with India and as much as relations will strengthen pressure will mount on Pakistan. Though Japan does not

²⁹⁸ Muthamil.com.

²⁹⁹ Press Conference, , [Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#), Government of Japan, 13.9.2002.

³⁰⁰ Press Conference, [Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#), Government of Japan

³⁰¹ [Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs](#), Government of Japan, 11.10.2002.

condemn violation of human rights but it emphasis that interference from Pakistan inside Kashmir must be stopped and this conveys the message that what Japan wants.³⁰² India is comparable with China rather than Pakistan.³⁰³ Japan does not want to offend two countries. If one country is to be blamed then the Government of Japan will do it as it is very critical on Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) in Srilanka as there is only one country. Both countries [India and Pakistan] are involved [in violation of human rights in Kashmir].³⁰⁴

Japan does not condemn violation of human rights in Kashmir due to its record. Japan does not have good record on human rights. There may be Japanese who are persuaded by the nuclear arms in Japan and also there may be Indian factor as it is big market for them.³⁰⁵ However, the relations between the two countries can not be narrowed down to one issue to determine their policies.³⁰⁶ Japan is a country which is equally acceptable to India and Pakistan. If offer made by Japan for holding international conference continued then why India would not accept to resolve the issue as it has its own nuclear doctrine.³⁰⁷

³⁰² Irfan Siddiqui, Special Correspondent, Geo/daily Jang in Tokyo, Interview on 1st February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰³ Izuyama Marie Yoshioka, Senior Research Fellow, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Nakameguro, Japan, 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰⁴ Hiromoto Takenori Professor, Shobi University, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰⁵ Omar Farouk, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan, Interview on 24th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰⁶ Noor Muhamamdi Jadmani, Ambassador of Pakistan to Japan, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰⁷ Adnan Sarwar Dr, Chairman, Department of International Relations, University of Peshawar, NWFP, Interview on 6th December, 2007 conducted in Peshawar.

Indian government is involved in violation of human rights in Kashmir. In this global world, Indian government found impossible to continue violation if it wants to be a global player so that they have to support human rights norms. Japan wants to make good relations with Pakistan and India so it does not want to condemn violation of human rights in Kashmir.³⁰⁸

“During my stay as Ambassador in Pakistan, many atrocities were committed in Kashmir but those atrocities by the both sides. Pakistan brought the freedom fighters from the West to Afghan border to transfer them to Kashmir who also committed heinous crimes in order to subjugate local Muslims. There are also atrocities committed by Indians. In some areas there was almost government of terror to influence the local businesses, so it was fifty 50 [Pakistan and India are equally involved] and one part cannot be condemned against other part.”³⁰⁹ It is very sensitive to touch on violation of human rights in Kashmir as if Japan criticizes the other countries’ issues then Japan need to have some more clear evidence.³¹⁰

Moreover, Pakistan has joined the United States’ war on terrorism. The latter has acclaimed the efforts of the former in the matter on more than one occasion. "We have worked very closely with President Musharraf because he is interested as any body in ending this kind of violence in his

³⁰⁸ Toru Ito Professor, National Defense Academy of Japan, Yokosuka-shi, Kanagawa, Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁰⁹ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³¹⁰ Takeuchi Y Teddy, Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Japan, Interview on 28th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

country and putting Pakistan on a moderate course, the U.S State Department Spokesman, Richard Boucehr said.³¹¹

Japan places importance to global fight against terrorism on the following three points. Firstly, to deny terrorist groups safe heavens, secondly, to deny terrorist groups that means to conduct terrorism and thirdly, to overcome vulnerabilities against terrorism. In order to achieve these objections, we have to build cooperative relations and not work among countries in a wide range of areas including not only military organizations but law enforcement agencies and intelligence organizations. The effort of capacity building to strengthen counter-terrorism measures by developing countries is also vital. In this respect, Japan attaches particular importance on the Asian region and in collaboration with Asian countries”.

5.7 Solution of the Problem of Kashmir

India, some times claimed that Kashmir is its integral part. It has given special status to the disputed territory by inserting article 370 in its Constitution which is against the international ethics. In fact India has violated the spirit of Partition Plan, 1947 and Act of Independence, 1947.

If India claims sovereignty over Kashmir then it should abandon sovereignty over Hyderabad (Indian). Majority of Hyderabad was Muslims but its Nawab was Hindu that is why it became part of India but opposite

³¹¹ DAWN, Karachi, 9.5.2002

was in Kashmir [and] Nehru forced [the Maharaja to announce annexation of Kashmir with India].³¹²

Solution of Kashmir is not important but to control the situation that means not to make war or nuclear war and to encourage peace process. Both the countries should make border irrelevant and let the people meet each other and make the people happy for resolving Kashmir problem. Self determination is not necessarily meant independent state. Some political elements want independence of Kashmir but it is not possible. There was opinion in China [when the Interviewee visited China in 2006] that Japan and China should ask India and Pakistan respectively to start talks and most important to make some platform which includes four countries.³¹³

Japan's think tanks want the solution of the problem through the resolutions passed by the United Nations.³¹⁴

India's increasing influence in multi polar world and its trade with Japan may support it on some stage; however, solution of the problem is an independent country. Kashmir must be demilitarized and Japan has economic muscle and can shoulder responsibilities of sending U.N troops to the area.³¹⁵

³¹² Hirashima.S, Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Social Development, Nihon Fukushi University, Nagoya, Japan, Interview on 19th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³¹³ Toru Ito Professor, National Defense Academy of Japan, Yokosuka-shi, Kanagawa, Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³¹⁴ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³¹⁵ Jan Alam Afridi, Press Counsellor, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo

Kashmir problem may only be resolved by the Kashmiris themselves. If they rise then India cannot drop bomb upon them.³¹⁶

Japan introduced a draft in the United Nations Security Council aimed at restraining India and Pakistan from putting on nuclear armament.

Japan also raised issue of armament in South Asia at the Group 8 forum. About the stand of the Forum on the issue, Japan's Ambassador to Pakistan, Sadaaki Numata in his lecture on "Opportunities and Challenges" delivered at Administrative Staff College Lahore on 24th May 2001 , said, "As far as I have been able to establish, issues directly, related to Pakistan did not particularly figure in the summit deliberations in 1998, with the exception of the Houston Summit (of G-8) in which the concern about Kashmir was mentioned in the Chairman's Summary and Halifax Summit of 1995, in which the concern about the potential for conflict in Kashmir and the call on India and Pakistan to support international arms control norms, accede to Non-Proliferation Treaty and refrain from taking further steps towards ballistic missile development was also mentioned in the Chairman's Summary".

The nuclear issue increased tension between India and Pakistan. Japan made efforts to check worsening position in the region and supported dialogue in the light of Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration. The

³¹⁶ Adnan Sarwar Dr, Chairman, Department of International Relations, University of Peshawar, NWFP, Interview on 6th December, 2007 conducted in Peshawar.

Government of Japan welcomed the efforts made since November 2000 for reducing tension and stopping violence in Kashmir. It expressed its hope that Governments of Pakistan and India will continue their efforts for resolving the problem through dialogue in the light of Lahore Declaration.³¹⁷ In another Press Conference held on 23rd February 1999 at Tokyo, Japan commented on meeting between Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee and his Pakistan counterpart Muhammad Nawaz Sharif which concluded in signing Lahore Declaration. The spokesman of Japan said, "We do not feel that this would be conducive to the relaxation of tension between the two Governments and we do hope that both the India and Pakistan will further deepen their dialogue with a view to translating into reality the measures that they are contemplating in the Lahore Declaration and the related documents."³¹⁸

At the conclusion of General Pervaiz Musharraf's visit to Japan in March 2003, Japan's Prime Minister Koizumi, while speaking at news conference, said, " he urged to strengthen efforts to continue dialogue with India over the disputed region of the Kashmir adding that he had delivered the same message to Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee when he visited Japan in December 2002".³¹⁹

The Tokyo Forum released its report on "Facing Nuclear Dangers: An Action for the 21st Century " which stated "The Tokyo Forum affirms the bench marks for India and Pakistan Articulated in Security Council Resolution 1172 and the G-8 Foreign Ministers' cp, imoqie pf Kime 1998. The Tokyo Forum calls on the permanent members of the United Nations

³¹⁷ Press Conference, 22.12.2000, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

³¹⁸ Press Conference, 23.2.1999, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

³¹⁹ Reuter dated 14.3.2003.

Security Council and other nations to support the Lahore Declaration and to offer to help implement any agreements reached in bilateral negotiations aimed at resolving the Kashmir dispute. New initiatives on Kashmir are especially needed in the wake of the 1999 conflict". The Tokyo Forum for Nuclear non-Proliferation and Disarmament was organized at the initiative of Japan's former Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto. The 23 member independent panel comprises international disarmament experts, diplomats, government officials and military strategist (both current and former).

The Prime Minister of India took initiative for the restoration of the diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with India in May 2003. The move received wide applause. The Government of Japan welcomed that, in response to Indian government's decision on May 2, 2003, Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zafarullah Khan Jamali made decision of May 6 including exchange of ambassadors with India, restoration of air, buss and train link with the country, and pursuit of convening of 12th SAARC Summit in Islamabad before the end of 2003. The Government of Japan expressed hope that the moves by India and Pakistan will contribute to further improvement of the relations between the two countries.³²⁰

Hisanebu Mochizuki, First Secretary in the Embassy of Japan in Pakistan met the Deputy Speaker of All Jammu & Kashmir Assembly, Syed Shoukat Hussain in 2001. On the occasion, he said, "the Japanese government wishes to see an amicable and lasting solution to the Kashmir issue and hopes that the proposed summit between the Pakistan Chief

³²⁰ Statement dated 7.5.2003 by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ms Yoriko Kawaguchi, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

Executive General Pervez Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee would prepare the way for the lasting settlement".³²¹

He further said, "There are three parties to the Kashmir dispute and without the involvement of all of them a durable solution to the problem could hardly be possible."³²²

In his national broadcast on 24th November 2003, the Premier of Pakistan announced to observe complete cease-fire on Line of Control by mid night of 26th November. The move received positive response from the world community. "Japan appreciated the announcement made by Pakistan's Prime Minister on 24.11.2003 for observing cease fire on Line of Control and suggestion to normalize relations between the two important countries of South Asia. Japan welcomed India's positive response on the announcement and hoped that such efforts will pave the way for promoting good relations between India and Pakistan.

5.8 Japan as Mediator

After 1998, Obuchi government tried to resolve the issue of Kashmir but countries were not agreed and it sat down. Japan did not want to antagonize India.³²³ India opposed Japan's offer of hosting conference to avoid internationalizing the Kashmir issue.³²⁴

³²¹ DAWN, Karachi, 21.6.2001

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Izuyama Marie Yoshioka, Senior Research Fellow, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Nakameguro, Japan, 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³²⁴ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Japan is neutral on the problem of Kashmir and it wanted to play some political role and contribute to peace in the world. But it was mistake and lack of information about the situation. Unless India agreed to the role of Japan [it] could play, there is nothing [for Japan's role to solve the problem]. Japan-India relations deteriorated due to former's attitude towards Kashmir issue and partly due to nuclear explosions.³²⁵

Irrespective of Japan's stand on the problem of Kashmir and tension in South Asia, some circles are of the opinion that Japan may prove better mediator between Pakistan and India. Dr.Kurt Rodtke of Leiden University said, "This is not mean to replace them (United States and British diplomats) but rather I think to support their efforts".

There is no evidence of any kind of pressure, political or otherwise, that Japan could exercise, rather they can make an effort at persuading leaders from a moral humanitarian point of view one should not forget that some times political leaders listen humanitarian reasons".³²⁶ About Japan's involvement on Kashmir issue, he said, "First of all, of course, it's a humanitarian instinct. As every one knows, Japan has suffered nuclear attack in the past. The second thing is that so much is at stake for all major East Asian powers. For the past three years, countries like Japan have tried to cultivate ties with India in other to get more room for political maneuver vis-à-vis a China. No body is interested in seeing India getting embroiled in a

³²⁵ Takako Hirose Professor, Senshu University, Tokyo, Interview on 12th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³²⁶ Netherland Radio dated 30.5.2002.

nuclear war with unfavorable consequences-apart from the humanitarian, there are also some very real interests at stake".³²⁷ Aparisim Gosh in his article on "why Japan should be Kashmiris' peace Maker" published in *Time Asia* dated 2nd March 2003 wrote,

South Asia is now a nuclear zone, and Japan is the only major country with the moral right to lecture India and Pakistan about the folly of their arms race. Who knows better than the Japanese how dangerous that game can be? More than most other countries, Japan is proof of the economic rewards of peace...Japan is a world power. Delhi and Islamabad might ignore peace proposals from Norway but they can hardly snub Tokyo". He further commented. "Not the United Nations that politicized; bureaucratized body has a sorry record as a peace keeper. Norway seems keen to mediate Sri-Lanka's civil war, but the Scandinavian nation does not have the economic, political and military clout to make India and Pakistan sit up and listen, Nelson Mandela might have the moral force, but he has his plate full with African disputes. Perhaps a mediator might be found closer to the scene of attrition, in Asia China? NO. India would not trust on Pakistan's old ally. The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has no credibility as a peace broker if it could not mediate problems in its own backyards-think East Timor-what chance would it have in Kashmir some months ago, I suggested Saudi Arabia might be a candidate, on reflection; it seems unlikely that a Hindu nationalist government in New Delhi will put its faith on Islamic state. Scratch Australia for the same reasons as Norway. See where this is leading to Tokyo."³²⁸

³²⁷ Netherland Radio dated 30.5.2002.

³²⁸ DAWN, Karachi, 25.2.2000.

There is big possibility of Japan's role for resolving Kashmir issue but at the same time if it is started at this moment that discussion will be diluted into discussion on war on terror. It is premature that Japan jumps into discussion and international society including it should end threat coming from international miscreants. The problem may be solved through continuous comprehensive dialogue.³²⁹

In practical manners it is not easy issue for Japan or the other international society to be involved in it because it is basically issue between the two countries and China is partly related to it. All issues of South Asia including Afghanistan should be focused. Japan can urge two countries to make more dialogue on Kashmir issue as it is important for longer time but for shorter time there is need to think more on practical issues like extremism etc. Japan can assist the economic development of Kashmir, such as carpet or silk industry, fruits or water for power generation. From grass roots there is need to develop those local industries if there is more local business and development then it can be exchanged.³³⁰

There is no denying the fact that Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India has put peace of South Asia in particular and the entire world in general in jeopardy. Both countries possess the nuclear arms and there is an expectation that in war situation they will not avoid to use them as first option or last resort to save once entity and existence. If it happens the entire

³²⁹ Akira Mizutani Professor, Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 4th February 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³³⁰ Takeuchi Y Teddy, Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Japan, Interview on 28th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

world will have to bear the consequences of nuclear clash. One or another country is not agreed to reciprocate with each other on any point to find the solution of the problem.

The United States is sole power of the world and any solution of the problem through its mediation will not be acceptable to China and the Russian Federation. Simultaneously, China and India are at daggers drawn and the Russian Federation leadership has recently signed defense pacts with India and issued disputed statements against Pakistan so its arbitration on the problem may not be accepted by Pakistan. Thus, a country that has no regional, strategic or international designs in South Asia may prove helpful in bringing India and Pakistan on negotiation table and to reach on a solution of the problem.

In my opinion, Japan would be the suitable alternative due to the following grounds:

- Japan suffered a lot in result of atomic attack by the US in 1945 and still remembers miseries.
- It is an economic power having no political designs.
- It commands reputation as undisputed country in South Asia.
- It has no political or strategic interests in the region.
- It enjoys cordial relations with both the countries.
- It has invested billions of dollars in India and Pakistan.

- It has launched development programs in social sector in India and Pakistan with the cooperation of local NGOs and
- It has extended billions of Rupees as grant aid under different programs to both the countries.

We should develop international consensus and convince the governments of Pakistan and India to invite Japan for the arbitration to solve Kashmir dispute.

Chapter.6

Terrorism and Pakistan-Japan Relations

A word terrorism is dichotomy of two words i.e. terror and ism. Terror is some one else's evil, mistake or irrational calculations. Thus, terror means an act of barbarism, taking of innocent lives and acts of cowardice performed by the perpetrators of evil. Ism means a movement, doctrine or system of belief. Thus, terrorism may be defined as a movement launched by a group influenced by some doctrine or belief whose actions are violent and frightened masses at large scale.

The world listen word terrorism for the first time as system of government during the French Revolution (1789-1799). The word is derived from Latin *terrere*, " to frighten" via the French word *terrorism* which is often associated with the regime *de la terreur*, the Reign of Terror, of the revolutionary government in France from 1793 to 1794. The Committee of Public Safety Agents that enforced the policies of "The Terror" was referred to as "Terrorists". The English word "Terrorism" was first recorded in English dictionaries from the modern understanding of the term. The term appeared earlier in English in newspaper such as 1795 use of the term in The Times.

The word terrorism got world attention freshly on 11th September 2001 when Airlines demolished World Trade Centre, New York and partially damaged building of Pentagon in the Washington, D.C.

6.1 Cooperation Between Pakistan and Taliban Government of Afghanistan

Pakistan along with other two countries recognized the establishment of Taliban Government in Afghanistan. Rest of the world did not recognize it. At that time road to Turkmenistan through Afghanistan was not safe but after making some efforts by the Government of Pakistan, all the dangers were removed. To ensure safety of road, former Interior Minister, Naseerullah Babar invited the foreign diplomats in 1994 to have a journey on the road. At that time, Mr. Kunio Muraoka was the Ambassador of Japan in Pakistan. He told the author in an interview,

In 1994 when I was preparing myself to come back [to Japan], Interior Minister [of Pakistan], Naseerullah Babar called me and told that road is clear to go from Pakistan all over to Turkmenistan. He is organizing Ambassadors' trip to see our [Pakistan's] securities. Do you join us? And at that time Taliban were standing and getting control of southern part up to Hirat. That impressed very much how Taliban and Government of Pakistan were doing cooperation. That was very early stage when no body knew about Taliban. I am an only very sure about safety of road from Pakistan to Herat through Quetta to Kandhar to Herat. From the start, Pakistan was cooperating with Taliban helping them. I could not go as I was ordered to come back, but, some of our colleagues went and very impressed.³³¹

³³¹ Muraoka Kunio, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

6.2 Incident of 9/11

Being only victim and to restore its authority, superiority and to implement its long awaited desire of landing of its forces on the places important for its interests, the United States started its initiative against the terrorism by striking on Afghanistan in 2001.

6.3 Japan's Support to the U.S

The Prime Minister of Japan held talks with the President of the United States, George Bush on 25th September, 2001 in Washington. The White House issued a transcript of the talks which stated,

I am (Bush said) really pleased and honored that my personal friend, and a friend of the United States, has come all the way from Japan to express his solidarity with the American people and our joint battle against terrorism. The Prime Minister and I had a wide-ranging discussion about ways that we can cooperate with each other to fight global terrorism. Most notably, we talked about the need to work in a way to cut off their funding. The Prime Minister also talked about ways that Japan will share intelligence that we'll work cooperatively on the diplomatic front. We had a great discussion. Not only am I pleased with the great cooperation that we're having with our friend, the Japanese; I am most pleased that the Saudi Arabian yesterday cut off relations with the Taliban and that President Putin, in a strong

statement to the world, talked about the cooperation that Russia and the United States will have in combating global terrorism. The coalition of the legitimate governments and freedom-loving people is strong. People will contribute in different ways to this coalition. But the mission won't change. The duties of the coalition may alter, but the mission won't alter. And that is to rout out and destroy international terrorism. The Prime Minister understands this requires a long-term vision, requires patience amongst both our people. And it also requires a determination and a strong will. I know he's got a strong will and determination, and he knows I am determined and willful in this struggle". (Prime Minister of Japan, Koizumi said), "I am very pleased to say, we are friends, Had a great talk friendly. And I convey what I am thinking. We Japanese are ready to stand by the United States to fight against terrorism. We would make sure of this global objective. We must fight terrorism with a determination and patience.

Japan regarded terrorism as," its own security". Its then Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi said, "Terrorism is a huge challenge to all peaceful and democratic nations and we plan to cooperate with the United States and other nations in facing this" (www.CNN.com). He chalked out a plan according to which Japan was to send self defense force's ships to help the U.S intelligence collection, shipment of supplies, medical services, humanitarian relief and strengthening of U.S bases in Japan etc. In non-military measures, his plan offered \$ 10 million to U.S to help fund the rescue and clean up work from the attacks on the towns, emergency aid to Pakistan and India to solicit their cooperation and economic measures to avoid confusion in international economic system.

The White House, in its immediate Press Statement dated 29th October, 2001, welcomed Japan's support against terrorism and said, " The President welcomes Japan's actions to provide forces for surveillance, transport and other support short of direct combat operations in the war on terrorism. Japan is already playing an active role in diplomacy, information-sharing and humanitarian assistance. This newest contributions demonstrates the enduring strength of the U.S-Japan alliance".

6.4 Change in Japan's Pacifist Policy

Japan's shift from pacifism to activism was due to certain reasons. Tomohito Shinoda, Associate Professor of International University of Japan mentions the five reasons in his paper entitled, "Japan's Response to Terrorism" prepared for the seminar at Woodrow Wilson Center held on 16th October, 2001. He wrote,

One obvious factor is that Japan learned lessons from the Persian Gulf war in which Japan's financial contribution [\$ 13 billion] was criticized as, " too little, too late". Another lesson Japan learnt from the Gulf War was the importance of quickly labeling this situation as a crisis. Then Prime Minister, Toshiki Kaifu failed to identify the Gulf Crisis of August, 1990 as a "significant emergency". This significantly delayed Japan's crisis response. This time, Koizumi's action was quick.

The second important reason was a personnel factor. During the Gulf war, Japan's government was headed by a wishy-washy leader who complained that there was no text book for

the Prime Minister on how to handle a crisis. Koizumi quickly organized a task force (headed by Assistant Cabinet Secretary, Keiji Omori) to design Koizumi's plan. The third factor was public support for strong leadership. The lack of leadership has been a focal point in Japanese politics. Specifically, leadership in crisis situations became a top priority in administrative reform efforts in the late 1990s after the Hanshin earthquake and the terrorist attack on the Tokyo subway using sarin gas in 1995, the hostage crisis in Iran in 1996-97 and the oil spill disaster in the Japan Sea in 1997. With the reforms, crisis management by the Cabinet Secretariat was reinforced to enable a quick response and strong display of leadership. Due to lack of discussion and consultation in a traditional manner, the swift announcement of the Koizumi plan was strongly criticized by the opposition parties and some LDP members. However, the public support of the Koizumi Cabinet after the announcement was stronger. According to Kyodo NEWS poll (September 29-30) the approval rate increased to 82.8% up from 79.5% in August. Fourth, the new institutional arrangement of the Cabinet Secretariat enabled the smooth creation of the task force. While Office on External Affairs headed by a foreign ministry official was totally removed, the element of the old office of Security Affairs and Crisis Management still exists separately from the rest of the Cabinet's policy unit. The fifth factor was that Koizumi is surrounded by a different legal environment from Prime Minister Kaifu had to face. After the Gulf War and Korean Peninsula Crisis of 1994, the government of Japan sought to establish a legal framework under which Japan could make a human contribution in an international crisis. In April, 1998, the Diet approved the new guidelines of US-Japan security cooperation in the region. The revised Self

Defense Forces Law and the newly created Regional Crisis Law allow provision of logistical and direct rear area support to US forces in the times of crisis. In the process of deliberation, Japanese policy makers learnt what they were allowed to do within the constitutional framework. Koizumi's plan requires new legislation. But it would be an extension of the existing defense guidelines which should not demand years of debates.

The new policy required amendment in the Self Defense Force Law. The Diet passed an amendment on 29th October 2001 which provided," The Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law intends to enable Japan to contribute actively on its initiative to the efforts of the international community for the prevention and eradication of international terrorism, thereby ensuring the peace and security of the international community including Japan itself through such activities as (1) cooperation and support activities for the armed forces of the United States and other countries, which aim to eradicate the threat of the terrorist attacks, (2) search and rescue activities for such foreign forces and (3) relief activities for affected people".

Based on the Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Law, which was passed by the Japanese diet on 29th October, 2001, Japan dispatched three destroyers and two supply ships with about 1,200 personnel to the Indian Ocean to provide at-sea refueling to U.S and British naval vessels and provided the fuel at its own expenses. As of March 3, 2002 the amount of the fuel, Japan had provided to the U.S and British naval vessels, was approximately 67,000 kiloliters. Furthermore, on February 21, the Japanese

vessels transported materials such as daily necessities, mail and spare parts to the U.S vessels and the Air Self Defense Force of Japan and provided airlift support to the U.S forces by C-130 and U-4. Japan completed 41 airlift transportation missions within Japan between November 29, 2001 and March 3, 2002 and 11 missions from US bases in Japan to areas towards Guam and other areas 11 times between December 3, 2001 and March 3, 2002.

6.5 Emergence of Terrorist Movement

There was an emerging movement of al-Qaeda from African countries, Saudi Arabia and situation in Afghanistan. These two movements should have paid more attention, but, the United States and the European countries forgot and could not manage issue emerging in Pakistan. After 9/11 the world was obliged to talk on this issue.³³²

6.6 Relations of Pakistan-Japan before 9/11

The relations between the two countries were strained due to nuclear explosions in South Asia in May 1998. It has repercussions on political and economic aspects of the relationship; however, its cultural, humanitarian, social and technical aspects did not face any serious setback. Terrorism appeared as new convergence in the relations of the two countries. Though both have a long history of terrorist attacks and faced attacks by local and foreign terrorist organizations, they did not come closer on the point of terrorism.

³³² Akira Mizutani, Professor, Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, Interview on 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

The terrorist attacks in Pakistan and Japan took valuable lives of their subjects, demolished property worth of million dollars, created wave of fear and people frightened and smashed political, economic, social and cultural fabrics of the countries.

As both the countries were facing terrorist attacks individually and the World had not developed common cause and line of action to root out terrorism, Pakistan and Japan remained apart on the point.

6.7 Similarities in Terrorist Attacks on Pakistan & Japan

The terrorist attacks made by the various terrorist organizations, in Pakistan and Japan had following similarities:

6.7.1 Pro Communist Factor

During the Cold War era (1945-1991), the world remained mainly divided in the Soviet Union and U.S camps. Each camp struck against other. This trend was also witnessed in Pakistan and Japan.

The Communists in Pakistan launched various campaigns against the United States which ultimately culminated in violence. It created fear against the masses and put public and private property in danger.

Japan also experienced anti communist wrath, when the Sekihotai group protested visit of South Korean President on 19th May 1990 and bombed a Korean community building in Nagoya. Moreover,

Chukaku-Ha, a terrorist group made attacks and bombings to protest the dispatch of peace keeping forces to Cambodia in 1992.

6.7.2 Support to Palestine Cause

The protests and campaigns were launched by groups in Japan and Pakistan to support the cause of the Palestinian people for their right of self determination and establishing separate and independent state for them.

The protests started against U.S and Israeli policies and supported the Palestinians. Though mainly they were peaceful but on some occasions public property was set on ablaze which created fear amongst the masses.

However, there was no recognized group in Pakistan which showed its dependence on any Palestinian group as witnessed in case of Japan. No doubt, Pakistan supported the Palestinians financially, politically and morally.

There were close ties between the Japanese Red Army (JRA) and Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Latter supported to the former financially, equipped them with weapons and imparted training.

JRA wanted to start revolution by over powering Japanese monarchy. It remained active in the 1970s and the 1980s and highjacking of Japan Air Lines Flight on 31st March, 1970 and Japan Air Lines plane in Israel on 30th May, 1970 and attacks on the British and US embassies in Rome in June, 1987 were some of the prominent terrorist attacks made by JRA.

6.7.3 Trageting Common People

One of the famous, important and prominent methods of any terrorist organization is to target the masses. It works in two ways. Firstly, it creates hatred against a government to make it unpopular in the country. Secondly, frustration and uncertainty prevails in the society. Thus, the terrorist organization achieves its desired results. The terrorist organizations in Pakistan and Japan targeted public property and common masses.

Occupation of medical school at University of Tokyo, Tokyo by Zengakuran students in 1969, attacks on trains by Chukaku-Ha, sarine nerve gas attack in sub way in Tokyo in March, 1995, bomb attack at high school in Ikeda in June, 200, bomb explosion at Mitsubishi Industries Headquarters in Marunouchi, Tokyo and attacks on Japanese outside their homeland such as in Baghdad, Iraq and Bali, Indonesia are some examples where common masses were targeted either by terrorist organizations or individuals.

In Pakistan, suicide attacks on political and religious gatherings and rallies, target killing, attacks on foreigners, bomb explosions in buses, coaches and public posts by the various organized groups witness the targeting of the public.

6.7.4 Highjacking of Airliners

The lands of Japan and Pakistan have earned bitter experience at several times when airliners were high jacked by the terrorist groups.

Such type of incidents put a government in awkward position as its subjects remain at stake and reluctantly it has to accept demands of the highjackers to save the hostages.

High jacking of PIA air craft by Al-Zulfiqar Organization in 1981 and the landing of highjacked Ganga airliner of India in Pakistan in the 1970s are two prominent incidents of special nature to release more than fifty prisoners to get the hostages and airliner free. This airliner never flew again and was parked in PIA planetarium, Karachi forever. Ganga airliner strained the relations between India and Pakistan as former accused latter having involvement in the incident and supporting the high jackers. It was the first incident in South Asia region when a state sponsored high jacking of airliner was used to create the reason for attacking the enemy country.

Japan also experienced the highjacking cases inside and outside its territorial jurisdiction. In some cases its subjects lost their precious lives. Some major incidents in this regard are given below:

- a. killing by JRA at Lod Airport, Tel Aviv, Israel in 1972.
- b. attack on Philippines Air Line flight in December, 1994 when Japanese business men lost their lives.
- c. attacks on Narita Airport, Tokyo.
- d. highjacking of Japan Air Line's flight 351 in March, 1970 destined from Tokyo to Fukuoka.

6.7.5 Targeting Alien Interests at Home

One of the most prominent similarities between terrorist groups operated in Japan and Pakistan was attacks on the interests of the

enemies within home land. The several attacks on the U.S Consulates in Karachi and Embassy of Denmark in Islamabad, Pakistan and attacks on power supply to U.S military housing complex near Tokyo in 1995, shot on the Chinese Consulates General in Fukuoda in 1988, damage to U.S military communications in June, 1984, attack on U.S Consulate General in Kobe are some of the examples in this regard. The attacks on Consulate Generals in both the countries also reflect hatred against the American policies.

6.7.6 Attacks on Government Functionaries

The history of attacks on government functionaries in both the countries by terrorists is not a new one.

Pakistan started its life from child hood with act of terrorism when its first Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan was assassinated in October, 1951. This wave grew stronger and took away life of President General Zia-ul-Haq and former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto 17th August, 1988 and 27th December, 2007 respectively. During the election campaign, former Premier, Shaukat Aziz faced attempt on his life and President General Pervez Musharraf survived to three bloody attempts.

The terrorists expressed its wrath against Japanese monarchy and government policies by way of making attacks on members of Royal family and other leaders in Japan. In February, 1989 attack on motor Cade of emperor's funeral, throwing of rockets on younger brother of the emperor, Prince Hitachi in Tokyo and striking against Kyoto imperial palace in January, 1990, assassination of Ito Herobaiumi in

October, 1990 and assassination attempt on Russian emperor Nicholas II by Tsuda Sauzo, Japanese Police Officer in May, 1891 etc.

6.8 Japan joins Coalition of War on Terror

In the wake of 9/11 attacks thirty seven countries including Japan and Pakistan joined the international coalition against terrorism led by the United States. The former Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi expressed sympathies of his country's people to American people and said, "The incidents in the United States are extremely vicious and unforgivable acts of violence. Such acts of terrorism are totally unacceptable. I am outraged".³³³ He further said that his country would make all out efforts for the eradication of terrorism.³³⁴ There were several factors which prompted Koizumi to show quick response to 9/11 attacks:³³⁵

- (i) Japan's sharp response to a 9/11 terrorist attacks was due to its failure of policy during Gulf war in 1990 when Iraq invaded Kuwait. Japan spent \$ 13 billion in the war but in return it earned wrath and criticism of the world due to wrong assessment of situation arose after the war and declaring it as crisis.
- (ii) Japan quickly labeled the situation arose after the 9/11 terrorist attacks as crisis. Japan reacted quickly because it

³³³ Statement by Prime Minister of Japan dated 12.9.2001, Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

³³⁴ War on Terrorism Challenges and Japan's Pacifism, Staff Writer of the Christian Science Monitor, Tokyo, dated 24.9.2001.

³³⁵ Ibid

failed to identify weight of Gulf war in 1990. The country considered the situation as normal and not as a significant emergency which delayed Japan's crisis response.³³⁶

- (iii) **Former** Prime Minister Koizumi was quick in response who instructed Secretary, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to devise plan to support U.S efforts against terrorism as there was no guidelines or text book for the Prime Minister at the time of the Gulf war about handling the situations.³³⁷
- (iv) Fortunately, contrary to Japanese government in 1990, the Prime Minister of Japan had competent assistants in his office in 2001.³³⁸
- (v) Japan dispatched its peace keeping forces to Cambodia under the umbrella of the United Nations in 1992. It increased confidence of Government of Japan and made it to realize that its forces possess capability of assisting the international coalition to maintain peace in Afghanistan.³³⁹

The former Prime Minister, Koizumi announced basic policy of the country to combat terrorism. The policy contained following basic points:³⁴⁰

- 1- Japan will actively engage itself in combating the terrorism, which it regards as Japan security issue;

³³⁶ Tomohito Shinoda, Japan's Response to Terrorism and Implications for the Taiwan Strait Issue, Japan-Taiwan Research Forum dated 22.1.2002, p.2

³³⁷ Ibid

³³⁸ Ibid

³³⁹ Ibid

³⁴⁰ <http://www.patriot source.com/wtc/intl/0919/japan.html>

- 2- Japan strongly supports the United States, its ally, and will act in concert with the United States and other countries around the world;
- 3- Japan will take concrete and effective measures will be clearly demonstrating its firm determination. These measures will be implemented in a swift and comprehensive manner.

6.9 Reasons of Japan's Support

Japan's support to U.S in war on terror is due to the following causes:

6.9.1 Japan-US Security Alliance

The U.S and Japan signed Security Treaty in 1952. Mr. Dulles of the U.S viewed Japan as the most important country to serve the interest of their country and promote democracy in the Far East. Moreover, U.S has maintained its military bases in Japan despite of conservatives' opposition inside the country to deploy U.S warships near Taiwan. In addition to it, both the countries are working together to make North Korean peninsula free from nuclear weapons. Further to say, the U.S in assistance with other countries including Japan wants to contain Chinese influence in the region.

Article I of the Treaty provides that both the countries will strengthen the United Nations for effectively maintaining international peace and

security. Moreover, Article III states that both the signatories in cooperation with each other will resist armed attack.

6.9.2 **External Factors**

Present world is a global village and any international event, either positive or negative, certainly affects each country of the world particularly industrialized countries. The 9/11 attacks created threat for every country as they could be attacked by invisible enemy. Any terrorist attack in industrialized countries particularly G-8 can hit back bone of their economy. Resultantly, they will loose their economic hold on the world which may lead them to industrial bankruptcy. Japan will not remain unaffected from it.

6.9.3 **Fear of Capture of Nuclear Weapons by Terrorists**

The terrorists used aeroplanes as weapon which cannot be characterized as conventional weapon. The terrorists earn money through hook or crook to materialize their objectives. There is world wide fear that the terrorists might acquire nuclear weapons which will be used in the terrorist attacks. Such acquisition of nuclear weapons will be the result of nuclear proliferation. Japan, being only experienced country of nuclear disaster in 1945, has moved all its sources, energies, channels and influence for non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Japan would never like to leave any corner open to the terrorists through which they may acquire nuclear weapons. War on terror is directed to exhaust all the ways of activities of terrorists.

6.9.4 **Japan is Terrorist Hit Country**

The history of terrorism in Japan dates back to even nineteenth century when one Japanese Police man attacked on Nicholas-I of Russia. Then series of the incidents of terrorism took place inside and outside Japan which took away valuable lives of the Japanese people. Sometimes individuals committed such incidents but mostly undertaken by the terrorist groups. Amongst them prominent were Japanese Red army, Kakurokyo Ha, Aum Shinrikyo and Chukaku-Ha. These groups even mustered external support to commit terrorist activities.

A country, being victim of terrorism, may invest all its energy to combat terrorism in comparison to a country that remained safe from terrorist attacks. Because, it knows the intensity, psychology of masses after incidents created fear and political, commercial, economic and cultural repercussions of terrorist attacks.

Japan is already engaged in security dialogues with the various countries. 9/11 incident intensified its efforts in this regard. Till 11th September 2001, there were no collective efforts for the eradication of the terrorism. This was for the first time when more than 27 countries joined hands against terrorism. Japan is also its partner.

Finally, Japan wants to keep supply of oil from the Persian Gulf through the Indian Ocean intact. The relations of Japan with the Persian Gulf countries have developed relatively recently, as oil imports from the region have grown rapidly. Almost all of Japan's imports from these countries

consist of petroleum and petroleum products which total one-third of all Japanese imports. These countries make up Japan's fourth largest market, but, because they relatively import little from Japan, it has a trade deficit with them. 80% of Japan's imports of oil come from the Gulf. Over 75% of Japan's oil passes through the Strait of Hormuz. A small part of the natural gas liquids is locally bottled and consumed in Dubai, but most is exported to Japan.

6.9.5 Death of Japanese in 9/11 attacks

Japan feels that terrorism is not only the problem of Pakistan but also of Japan as 24 Japanese were killed in 9/11 attacks.³⁴¹ Japan is combating terrorism as global issue and it is also affected so it has to do some thing but not due to U.S pressure.³⁴²

6.9.6 Attack on Economic Interests

9/11 attacks affected Japan in two fields. Japanese had massive interests in World Trade Centre not just in building but if outfits and organizations in the centre many of which were supported by Japanese funds so going by this way Japanese were attacked. And if the attack is symbolic and attack on economic interests in global perspective so it is concerned and supported the U.S in Iraq and Afghanistan.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Yasushi Nakagawa , South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010.

³⁴² Katsunori Ashida, Deputy Director, Second Country Assistance Planning Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, 3rd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁴³ Omar Farouk Professor, Horishima City University, Hiroshima, Japan, Interview on 24th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Tankan Survey of companies was conducted in Japan which showed sharp fall in business confidence. The former Finance Minister of Japan, Masajiro Shiohawa depicted effect of 9/11 on Japanese economy in the following words:³⁴⁴

Since the attacks of September 11, the world's second largest economy has been slipping towards recession. The U.S is an important export market for Japan and it would be badly affected if American consumers stopped spending.

The former Vice Finance Minister of Japan, Eisuke Sakakibara warned," a down turn in the U.S economy would have serious effects on the Japanese economy",³⁴⁵

Moreover, the slump in stock markets after 9/11 "dragged Japan's Nikkei 225 index down below 10,000 for the first time since 1983 just before the close of the first half of the financial year on September 30"³⁴⁶

The Financial Supervisory Agency of Japan estimated on 3rd November 2001, " the large banks' adequacy ratios will remain above 8% of risk weighted assets the minimum set by the Base Committee-in their half year results. But the decline in capital comes at a time when banks need a cushion. ³⁴⁷The level of rising once more, 10 years after the bank's balance

³⁴⁴ The Nation, 5.11.2001

³⁴⁵ Ibid

³⁴⁶ Ibid

³⁴⁷ Ibid

sheet problems first emerged. This partly reflects the fact that bankruptcies tend to increase during an economic down turn”.

The Bank of Japan intervened in foreign currency markets on five instances between September 11 and September 27 by buying dollars to stop the rise in the value of the yen. These efforts were undermined partially by Japanese firms that were repatriating some U.S. holdings to shore up their cash balances to meet financial reporting deadlines on September 30.³⁴⁸

The Government of Japan bought 100 US \$ billion in first two months of 2002 to prevent its currency rising rapidly and damaging the nation’s export led recovery.³⁴⁹

6.10 Reasons of Withdrawal of Refueling Facility by Japan

Japan extended facility of refueling to the ships of the countries engaged in war on terror in Indian Ocean in 2002. It provided the facility to the ships including the U.S, U.K and Pakistan etc participated in War on Terror. It was twice extended and finally Japan withdrew the facility in January, 2010 due to the following reasons:

³⁴⁸ Todd Zaun, Japan Steps in Again to Damp Yen, Ease Lot of its Exporters. *The Wall Street Journal*, September 26, 2001. p. A 10; Hardy, John, Dollar Rises on More Central Bank Intervention. *The Wall Street Journal*, September 28, 2001. p. C 13

³⁴⁹ <http://www.timeenoughforlove.org/wtc.htm>

- i. The Government of Liberal Democratic Party of Japan was pro-U.S so it went to Afghanistan and started refueling facilities under Operation Enduring Freedom-Operation Interdict Maritime (OEF-OIM) in the Indian Ocean. As Democratic Party of Japan came into government it decided to take out ships from the Indian Ocean.³⁵⁰
- ii. Due to lower demand of refueling, the Government of Japan deemed it was unnecessary to continue the operations in the Indian Ocean.³⁵¹

Japan refueled the ships total 938 times since the inception of the operation in 2002 by delivering about 510,000 kilo liters of fuel free of charge.³⁵²

6.11 Japan's concern to Pakistan after 9/11

9/11 attacks brought Pakistan as focal point in the world affairs due to its soft corner towards Taliban Government and proximity with Afghanistan. Moreover, it was the only country from where situation of inside Afghanistan could be monitored easily. In addition to it, there was a main road of communication from Pakistan to Afghanistan. Further to add, assistance to forces fighting against the Taliban in Afghanistan was only possible through Pakistan. These factors paved the way for pouring of journalists, diplomats, world leaders and representatives of Non-

³⁵⁰ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁵¹ Daily Yomiuri, Tokyo, 16.1.2010.

³⁵² Ibid.

Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Pakistan. Japan was not the exception.

Between March 2000 and September 2001 Embassy of Japan received only 10 members of its Parliament i.e. Diet but after 9/11 it started to receive delegations one after another from Japan. Former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Sadaaki Numata was dealing with the situation at that time. He told the author in an interview,

I received more than fifty Parliamentarians including our Foreign Minister Hatayoma (now Prime Minister of Japan) who visited Afghanistan. That is one example of Pakistan's importance as central stage. And other example is that prior 9/11 there was only one Japanese media correspondent in Pakistan and when 9/11 happened I was told that there were 1500 journalists including 160 Japanese who descended to Islamabad. Some of Japanese news organizations decided to establish their bureaus in Islamabad.³⁵³

Regarding the importance of 9/11 in global perspective, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan further told the author,

I recommended Tokyo that we should make a demand as well to Pakistan just because I felt that it was how Pakistan will act [and it] was not just an issue between Pakistan and the United States, it was a lot of do with global community including Japan because 24 [23 in towers and one in Pennsylvania] Japanese died. I asked for appointment of Foreign

³⁵³ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

Minister of Pakistan but on other day I was told that Foreign Minister will be in important meeting and foreign secretary will receive me. I remember clear response from the foreign secretary and he said that we have become frontline state again so we have decided to join coalition efforts on terrorists. On 16th September I issued advisory to Japanese residents in Pakistan to take the commercial flight available for Japan. This recommendation [was] for family members to leave back. And it was also for embassy staff members that they will send their families to Japan. My wife led the delegation of staff families of the embassy on 18th to Japan.³⁵⁴

In the beginning there was only term of Taliban but later on international players invented a term of Pakistani Taliban. They are political Taliban and trying for ascendancy.³⁵⁵

Regarding difference between Pakistani and Afghan Taliban and consequences of their activities, Japan's concern, Sadaaki Numata told the author,

There is a question of what we do about Taliban. Do we need Pakistani Taliban or Afghani Taliban or what is the difference between two. They are the same. Japan is very much concerned about the Pakistani Taliban to the extent that they threatened and created law and order situation and committing terrorist acts on large scale inside the

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Marwat Dr, Associate Professor, Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, NWFP, Interview on 6th December, 2007 conducted in Peshawar.

country. Afghani Taliban are fighting with U.S military, foreign troops and Afghan government. They are not attacking overseas targets. Pakistani Taliban is attacking targets of foreign presence. Al-Qaeda is targeting overseas targets. From global point of view there may be possible nexus between Pakistani Taliban and Al-Qaeda Taliban together. Japan cannot encourage Taliban leadership but [can support] poor soldiers of Taliban because they are being given one hundred dollars per month. Due to poverty and unemployment in Afghanistan, they are attracted to Al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Perhaps that sort of area [is] where Japan might do something.

We have also a serious concern on terrorist acts taking place in Pakistan to the extent that Pakistani Taliban may gain strength. They may be close to Al-Qaeda. It increases the danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons to non state actors.³⁵⁶

6.12 Japan's Emergent Measures for Pakistan

In background of 9/11 attacks and terming Afghanistan as epic center of planning of the attacks, Pakistan became front line state. At that time it was sustaining burden of Afghan refugees. Moreover, its economy was not on sound footing to repay the foreign debt. In addition to it, probably the western countries including Japan realized their mistake of leaving alone after withdrawal of the Soviet forces in 1989 and its repercussions on the economy of Pakistan. Thus, in this perspective, Japan decided on 21st September, 2001 to take following emergency measures for Pakistan:

³⁵⁶ Sadaaki Numata, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 25th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

- (i) Refugee assistance worth of 1.7 billion yen. This was aimed at assisting measures for caring Afghan refugees who are already in Pakistan and expected to come in future.
- (ii) Japan would provide financial assistance of 3 billion yen to help Pakistan to come out from chronic economic difficulties such as serious shortage of foreign currency, purchase materials in order to assist its structural adjustment efforts which were being taken in consultation with the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.
- (iii) Rescheduling of debt in the light of Paris Club agreement for Pakistan.

Japan for the first time, utilized its Official Development Assistance for prevention and eradication of terrorism. Through ODA Japan extends assistance to Southeast Asia and other regions by encouraging accession to international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols and implementation of relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions, providing technical assistance and relevant equipment in the fields of immigration control, aviation security, port and maritime security, customs cooperation, export control, law enforcement cooperation, combating terrorist financing, counter-CBRN terrorism and counter terrorism conventions and protocols, introduced a new assistance scheme namely Grant Aid for

Cooperation on Counter-Terrorism and Security Enhancement from fiscal year 2006. Japan established ASEAN Integration Fund (AIF) with opening account of \$ 68 million in March, 2006 in the light of ASEAN-Japan Summit Meeting held in December 2005.

The United States appreciated the role being played by Japan in war on terrorism. The U.S Vice President, Dick Cheney said,“ with great gratitude Japan’s leading role in combating terror and in helping to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction [is appreciable]”.³⁵⁷

6.13 Pakistan’s Joining of Coalition of War on Terror

Pakistan joined the coalition of war on terror due to the multiple factors. Firstly, before 9/11 Pakistan was close ally of Taliban government in Afghanistan and one of three countries who enjoyed diplomatic relations with Taliban government. The terrorist attacks on the United States brought Pakistan into difficult position. There were limited options before Pakistan to decide about its future strategy vis-à-vis international pressure. Iran and Pakistan share common border with Afghanistan. After the revolution in Iran in 1979, the United States had to wrap up its existence as new government was anti- American. The changed political scenario in Iran could not manage a facility to be provided to the U.S to strike against Taliban in Afghanistan. India is the largest democracy of the world and possesses record of pro and anti American simultaneously. More over, it is pursuing for capturing

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

permanent seat of the United Nations Security Council. Further to add that it has used land of Afghanistan for terrorist activities in Pakistan. Also it is fact that by supporting the United States against Afghanistan it could have surrendered its independence. It may also be added that since its birth, India has kept the United States out of its internal affairs and does not accept its dictation for formulating foreign policy as being done in case of Pakistan. Thus, the United States was not hopeful that she could muster support of India for attacks on Afghanistan. Remaining state was Pakistan which appeared as front line state in new world scenario.

In 2001, there was no threat of the Soviet Union. But its warm relations with Taliban government, common border with Afghanistan, presence of anti-American governments in Iran and India and presence of Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan compelled Pakistan to emerge as a front line state in war against terrorism. This time status of front line state was less in interest of Pakistan and served the interests of the Western bloc more. There will be no exaggeration to say that Pakistan was forced to accept the status of a front line state.

It is often said that Pakistan is fighting war against terrorism in its own interest. The facts contradict the claim. The comparison of terrorist activities before and after 9/11 occurred in Pakistan clearly indicates that ratio of terrorism increased after 9/11. In 2000, there were 84 incidents of terrorism in Pakistan. But number increased to 106 terrorist incidents in 2001. The following years experienced even more.

Japan always appreciated the role played by Pakistan as a front line state in war on terror. Secondly, the internal conditions of Afghanistan paved the way for Pakistan to join war on terror. Thirdly, one of the stated reasons of invading Afghanistan was to destroy hideouts of Al-Qaeda and Taliban. Their hideouts are in mountains of Southern Afghanistan. These hideouts were near to Pakistani border and refuge taken by Taliban and Al-Qaeda activists was extreme threat to its stability. They could strike inside Pakistan and it proved later on true when the U.S and allied forces wiped out the hideouts of Taliban and Al-Qaeda in eastern Afghanistan bordering with Pakistan and their activists allegedly took refuge in northern tribal agencies and spread in other cities like Karachi, Quetta, Peshawar, Islamabad and Lahore etc. The tough stance of Government of Pakistan on terrorism frustrated them and they embarked upon terrorist activities in the country. The destruction of hideouts of Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan particularly in areas adjacent to Pakistan was in the interest of the latter. Thus, it decided to go with international voice against terrorism. Fourthly, Pakistan had earned negative image due to variety of reasons such as its efforts to allegedly establish and continued support to Taliban government in Afghanistan, corruption of the political elites, bad economic conditions, nuclear explosions in 1998, alleged support to the Kashmiri freedom fighters, charge of abetting terrorism in Kashmir and India, Kargil conflict and a military coup against democratically elected government. To tarnish image of negative and rogue state, Pakistan joined war on terror. Fifthly, Pakistan was victim of severe terrorism particularly since 1975 when it had to enact Suppression of Terrorist Activities, 1975. Later on, Government of Pakistan enforced Anti-Terrorism Act, 1997 and made amendment in it time by time in 1999 and 2002 etc. Lastly, there was no choice for Pakistan but to

join the international coalition in war on terror. According to President Pervez Musharraf, Vice President of the United States had threatened to bomb Pakistan “back to Stone Age” if it refused to cooperate with the U.S to overthrow the Taliban (an objective that some reports had indicated was on the minds of some in Washington even prior to 9/11 because the Taliban was proving to be an obstacle to several proposed pipeline projects).³⁵⁸ President Pervez Musharraf said in his speech of September 19, 2001 that according to Islamic Shariah, if there are two difficulties at a time and a selection has to be made, it is better to opt for the lesser one.³⁵⁹ Pakistan had to choose between cooperation with the U.S or defiance to the U.S demands. Saying No was a sure recipe for self-destruction. Such aggressive designs and changed strategic situation in the surroundings left no other option for Pakistan except to become member of war on terror.

Joining of war on terror achieved verbal applause for Pakistan. Though, it received aid from the United States and other Western countries and Japan rescheduled its loan to Pakistan and withdrew sanctions imposed in 1998, Pakistan had to suffer more internally. Explosions became order of the day and law & order situation deteriorated to such an extent that no one felt secure and every citizen was on the target of murderer. The explosions, target killing and attacking on the personnel of the Law Enforcement Agencies (LEAs) still continued.

Pakistan’s joining of international coalition on war on terror adversely contributed to it. Its image emerged internationally as nursery of terrorism,

³⁵⁸ [Pakistan in the US War on Terrorism](#) dated 10.12.2007, Novakeo_com.htm.

³⁵⁹ [DAWN](#) Karachi. 20.9.2001

terrorist state, failed state, tension in relations with the various countries particularly India and Afghanistan, most dangerous land on the earth, destabilization of border regions with Afghanistan, danger to Pakistan's interests in Afghanistan and state responsible for abetting terrorism. Where as internally it had to face deteriorating law & order situation, failure of government machinery to thwart explosions, massacre of civil, para-military and military personnel, weakening of economy, increase in religious extremism, squeezing of employment opportunities, increase in crime and schism in society.

6.14 Perception about Pakistanis in Japan

There is perception in Japan that Pakistan is pro- al-Qaeda and it is not due to that Japanese have gone there and enquired but Afghans and their relatives are present in the northern belt of Pakistan. They think that religiously Pakistan is pro al-Qaeda.³⁶⁰ Japanese see Pakistanis as Muslims, thus, image of the community worsened.³⁶¹ Pakistanis working in companies in Japan were looked with suspicious eyes and some discrimination took place as when Pakistani went for job he was refused to be employed. It is in mind of Japanese that Pakistanis are Muslims and they are terrorist nation.

In normal time government of Japan do not observe strictness on people overstaying in Japan but when any incident of terrorism takes place

³⁶⁰ ³⁶⁰ Muhamamd Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Chairman, International Muslim Centre-Japan, Interview on 15th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁶¹ Nasir Nakagawa, Chief Editor, www.urdunetjpn.com, Interview on 15th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

particularly in the U.S then it pressurizes the government of Japan to expel the Muslims and police and immigration begin taking action and become hard.

The Government of Japan, after 9/11, appointed 44,000 Japanese to check the Muslims in Japan. They started taking pictures and noting movement and activity of the Muslims but they are not biased with Muslims staying illegally as in Europe.³⁶² Intelligence agencies of Japan follow Pakistanis in the country. Japanese thought that school of thought of terrorism is Pakistan and terrorists are trained there.³⁶³

In addition the Government of Japan has created difficulties in visa and Pakistani people are not getting visa of Japan easily. However, they have not started putting off the clothes of the passengers as in the United States.³⁶⁴

6.15 Cooperation between Pakistan-Japan after 9/11

The terrorist attacks on the US in September 2001 ushered new era in the relations of Pakistan and Japan. It created new vistas for cooperation between the two countries. The main areas which attracted attention of both the countries are as under:

³⁶² Chaudhry Shahid Raza, President, Japan Press International, Tokyo, Japan, Interview on 20th February, 2010 conducted in New Chiba, Japan.

³⁶³ Habib-ur-Rahman Malik, former Secretary General, Pakistan-Japan Association (Regd), Tokyo, Interview on 7th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁶⁴ Muhammad Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Chairman, International Muslim Centre-Japan, Interview on 15th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

6.15.1 Beginning of Security Dialogue

During his visit to Tokyo in March 2002 President General Pervez Musharraf held talks with the Premier of the host country wherein it was formerly decided to initiate security dialogues between the two countries.

First Round was held in 2002 and since then three rounds of the Security Dialogues have so far been held. The two sides focused on the issues of security environments and security policies of the two countries, counter-terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation issues, regional cooperation in the context of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) Forum and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

In view of Japan's fast changing security role in the Asia-Pacific region and Pakistan's position as a front line state against terrorism, Pakistan-Japan Security Dialogue tends to ensure stability and peace in the wider Asia-Pacific context with Japan as a dialogue partner, and an important financial provider of the OEF-MIO destined for anti-terrorism in Indian ocean.

6.15.2 Holding of Donors Conference

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan announced on 24th March 2009 that in collaboration with World Bank, it will hold Donors' Conference on 17th April, 2009 and Ministerial Meeting in Tokyo. The Ministry stated that the world community e

connected with peaceful and stable Pakistan.³⁶⁵ The representatives from 31 countries and 18 international organizations and agencies attended the meeting.

The participants of the Donors' Conference pledged aid totaling more than five billion U.S dollars as additional aid for social safety nets, human development and expenditures for pro-poor development. Donors also affirmed their commitment to ongoing and medium term development initiatives (amounting to 15 billion U.S dollars).³⁶⁶

The Donors' Conference was followed by a meeting of Friends of Democratic Pakistan (FDP). It discussed the issues of security, development and regional cooperation. It was concluded that the Government of Pakistan will hold meeting of Pakistan Development Forum within one year. Pakistan with cooperation of the U.S, U.K and U.A.E hosted first ministerial meeting of FDP in September 2008 on the side lines of U.N General Assembly.

Moreover, High Level Economic Policy Dialogue and Japan-Pakistan Foreign Secretary Level Political Consultation were also initiated between the two countries.

6.15.3 Aid to Afghan Refugees in Pakistan

Japan extended aid and assistance to Afghan refugees in 1980s when the Soviet Union landed its forces in Afghanistan. After 9/11 Japan kept up the same spirit.

³⁶⁵ Press Release dated 17.4.2009, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo.

³⁶⁶ Co-Chairs' Statement, Pakistan Donor Conference dated 17.4.2009, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan.

Special Assistant to the Japanese Premier, Sadaka Ogata visited Pakistan in January 2002. The event took place before Japan's going to International conference of Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan to be held in later part of January 2002 in pursuance of Bonn Accord made in December 2001.

6.16 Factors for Japan's Support to Pakistan

6.16.1 Japans' Interest:- Japan should support to Pakistan to protect its security and economic opportunity and if it lost its interest to support Pakistan then worst scenario may come in shape of Talbanization and disintegration of Pakistan.³⁶⁷

6.16.2 Security: - The Government of Japan lost its interest in South Asia before 9/11 as its economic situation was not good.³⁶⁸ Moreover, Cold War had already finished so Japan had no apprehension of big war and it lost interest on security completely.³⁶⁹

6.16.3 Economic Interest: Japan should support to strengthen democratic process and stable country in Pakistan. If these objectives are achieved then Japan will be able to invest and there is possibility of growing trade volume also between both the countries.³⁷⁰

6.16.4 To Avoid Terrorist Attacks:- If Pakistan has been Talbanized then probably more Mumbai attacks happen and India must³⁷¹ realize

³⁶⁷ Toru Ito Professor, National Defence Academy of Japan, Yokosuka-shi, Kanagawa, Japan, Interview on 16th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

such scenario. International community including Japan should ask India to resolve its issues with the neighboring countries.

6.16.5 Pakistan as a Liability:- Disintegration of Pakistan will affect India, China, Iran and Afghanistan as it is chain reaction.³⁷² Thus, Pakistan has become a pivotal state and the world powers including Japan want to keep Pakistan in tact.

6.16.6 Front Line State:- Japan considers Pakistan as a front line state in war against terrorism.³⁷³

6.16.7 U.S Factor:- The Government of Japan (LDP) was pro-United States so it went to Afghanistan and started its literally mission in favor of OEF-OIM. Bulk of fuel went to the ships of Pakistan Navy.³⁷⁴

6.16.8 International Pressure:- There is international pressure on Japan to do [participate] in war on terror.³⁷⁵

6.16.9 War Zone:- Pakistan is considered as war zone in war against terrorism. American policy makers think that unless situation improves in Pakistan, conditions in Afghanistan cannot be improved.³⁷⁶ Japan wants to extend ODA assistance and not physical involvement.

6.16.10 Important Player:- Japan considers Pakistan as an important player in war on terror and factor of peace and stability in the region of South Asia as it will help Japan in terms of foreign policy

³⁷² Abdul Latif Tunio Professor, Department of International Relations, University of Sindh, Jamshoro, Pakistan, Interview on 7th November, 2010 conducted in Jamshoro, Pakistan.

³⁷³ Asim Anwar Air Commodore, Defense Attache, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 14th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Omar Farouk Professor, Hiroshima City University, Hiroshima, Japan, Interview on 24th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

objectives which are strongly dominated by economic and political market forces.³⁷⁷

6.16.11 Pakistan Guarantees Peace to Afghanistan:- Pakistan is in middle of fighting against terrorism.³⁷⁸ Japan is concerned about Afghanistan and no one can get rid of terrorists unless Pakistan cooperates.

6.16.12 Pakistan's Fight against Terrorism:- Pakistan is one of the countries attacked by nasty terrorism and it is hard to fight against terrorism, however, Pakistan army is doing operations in tribal region which is one of the most difficult regions of the world.³⁷⁹

6.16 **South Asia -Terrorism and Japan.**

South Asia is a region of seven countries comprising Pakistan, India, Bhutan, Maldives, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal with diverse religions, cultures and facing economic, social and political etc disputes. It has an edge on other regions of the world that two countries of the region possess nuclear weapons and undertook nuclear tests in May 1998. Moreover, the region is also vital for world attention due to missile race between Pakistan and India.

South Asia is well demarcated by physical feature of any region in the world. The land frontiers of the region, appear approximately 4,000 miles in length, are dominated by the mountain ranges that constitute a reasonable

³⁷⁷ Asad Ali Gilani Syed, Counsellor (Political), Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 25th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁷⁸ Kunio Muraoka, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 26th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

³⁷⁹ Yasushi Nakagawa, South West Asian Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Interview on 2nd February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

effective physical and ethnic/linguistic dividing line between the subcontinent and adjacent areas of Asia.³⁸⁰

Bonds of kinship, family ties, and common historical and anthropological roots generally bind the region. Not only socio-anthropological homogeneity, it has geographic contiguity, too.³⁸¹

While addressing public talk at the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad on 19th January, 2007, Japan's Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Seiji Kojima while elaborating importance of South Asia to Japan said,

South Asia, where one-fifth of human lives and almost all the issues which the world today faces persist, is of crucial importance for peace and stability of the world. As an adjacent region to East Asia, the peace and stability of South Asia is closely related to those of East Asia. For Japan, which imports from the Middle East more than 80% of its total oil consumption, an important part of the sea lane connecting it with the Middle East would be jeopardized, if South Asia becomes unstable.

South Asia remains a relatively "safe" region politically for Japan to increase its presence unlike Southeast Asia where the memories of Japanese imperialism are still alive or the Middle East and Africa where numerous international players—such as the United States, European Union and increasingly China—are already prominent players. The benign view of Japan in South Asia

³⁸⁰ Leo E. Rose & Satish Kumar, South Asia in Warner J. Feld & Gavin Boyd (ed), Comparative Regional System, Pergamon Press, New York, 1980, p.237.

³⁸¹ Abdul Kalam Dr, Professor of University of Dhaka: Major Powers and Asia, Institute of Regional Studies, p.396.

was demonstrated during Tokyo's bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council in 2006 when the only Asian states Bhutan, and the Maldives.³⁸²

Japan's policy to South Asia in post-Cold War period was described by the then Foreign Minister, Yukihiko Ikeda in his speech in India in July 1997. He proposed following principles for formulating Japanese foreign policy towards South Asia:³⁸³

- (i) respect for the diversity and identity of the region;
- (ii) balanced or multifaceted relations;
- (iii) a cooperative relationship between the governments and private sectors;
- (iv) openness to other countries and organizations;
- (v) the broad understanding and participation of peoples of both sides

Any disruption in the region of South Asia either due to ethnic crisis, extremism, nuclear mishandling and mismanagement, insurgency, poverty, energy crisis or row between Pakistan and India on any outstanding issues can destabilize the region which will not only affect the countries of the region but also those countries including Japan whose economic survival depends on consumption markets of South Asia.

³⁸² Strategic Interests Pull Japan and India Together, PINR dated 16th February, 2007, p.3

³⁸³ Speech by Ambassador Seiji Kojima to Pakistan Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad on 19.1.2007

The most immediate problem which may disrupt conducive and peaceful atmosphere of the region is terrorism. The acts of terrorism know no boundaries and are without national character. It may persist in any corner at any time. The world political, economic, religious, cultural and social scenario has given birth to terrorism in local masses. The war on terrorism is cosmetic arrangement which may bring Osama Bin Laden behind the bars and strengthen control on Iraq and Afghanistan, which seems impossible, but it will not eradicate root causes of terrorism.

Japan has analyzed the situation and devised strategy and took measures to address the root causes of terrorism. It has pumped million of dollars to reconstruct Afghanistan and resettlement of Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Tajikistan. But such step cannot improve the things and conditions unless economy of countries, which are nursery of terrorism, is strengthened. Moreover, movements launched for separation and right of self-determination, securing legitimate political, economic and social rights and double policy of the great powers and the United States also need to be addressed to wipe out terrorism.

6.17 Japan-Pakistan & Central Asia in War on Terror

Central Asia or “Shredve Asia” in Russian language is widely known as “Middle Asia” to the Russians. It comprised of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Krugizstan and Kazakhstan. The region shares common borders with Iran, China, Russia and Afghanistan.

6.18.1 Importance of Central Asia

Central Asia remained always important from geopolitical point of view. From middle to end of the 19th century, oil areas of Baku were producing half of the world's oil supplies.³⁸⁴

Oil and gas reserves of Central Asia are estimated as the second largest in the world. The geologists estimate that oil deposits of Caspian Sea cannot be compared with those of the Persian Gulf from quality point of view, but they can prove of excellent quality and second alternative of energy supply in the 21st century.³⁸⁵ The region possesses undeveloped oil reserves of 10 billion barrels and 6.6 trillion cubic meters of natural gas.³⁸⁶ The Caspian Basin estimated 5 trillion US dollars of oil and gas resources.³⁸⁷ Kazakhstan has estimated reserves of 79.6 billion barrels of oil and 2.9 trillion of gas. Turkmenistan possesses 10 trillion gas reserves.

The disintegration of the Soviet Union revived the Great Game aimed at getting control over Eurasia. The essence of this new geopolitical game in Central Asia is two fold: first, control of production of the oil and gas and second, control of the pipelines which will transfer oil to the Western markets.³⁸⁸ The United States, Russian Federation, India, Japan, China, Pakistan, Iran and Western powers main are stakeholders of this great game. Their political and economic interests gave birth to rivalry amongst them.

³⁸⁴ Robert W. Tolf, The Russian Rockfellers, Hoover Institution Press, 1976,p-50-60.

³⁸⁵ Robert E. Ebel, The Dynamics of Caspian sea Resources, paper presented to Conference on Conflict Resolution, Institute of International Relations, Panteion University on 30-31 August, 2001.

³⁸⁶ Dorian James P, Oil,gas in FSU Central Asia: north western China, Oil & Gas Journal, September 10, 2001.

³⁸⁷.Zuckerman Mortimer B, The big game gets bigger Russia will gain wealth and influence if it controls Caspian Sea Oil, US News dated 10.5.1994.

³⁸⁸ Forsythe Rosemarie, The Politics of oil in the Caucasus and Central Asia, Adelphi paper, No.300, May, 1996,p.6

6.18.2 Japan's Policy towards Central Asia and Pakistan

The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Government of Japan announced its national policy of energy in May 2006. It provides for strengthening ties with resource rich countries, promoting nuclear energy, and securing energy resources abroad through the fostering of more powerful energy and increasing the ratio of “Hinomaru oil” from the current 15% to 40% by 2030.³⁸⁹ “Central Asian Plus Japan” dialogue was launched on the initiative of Tokyo in August 2004 when then Japan’s Foreign Minister, Yoriko Kawaguchi visited Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajkistan and Krygyzstan. The participants of the second meeting of the Dialogue held in Tokyo in early June 2006 agreed to strengthen cooperation in fighting terrorism, ensuring the safety of regional oil supplies and approved action plan calling for joint efforts to combat drug trafficking, fight poverty, promote human rights and boost trade in the region.³⁹⁰ The plan urged Japan to support for construction of roads to ensure smooth route from Central Asia to the Indian Ocean.³⁹¹ Tokyo aims to build roads and pipelines from Central Asia to the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan to carry oil and natural gas for import into Japan. Moreover, Japan also wants to secure uranium abroad as global demand for nuclear power rises amid spikes in oil and gas and growing environmental concerns.³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Masaki Hasane, “Japan Joins the Energy Race in Central Asia”, The Asia Times dated July 28, 2006.

³⁹⁰ Ibid

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

The easiest and nearest approach to CARs to Indian Ocean are ports of Gawadar and Karachi in Pakistan. Calculated from Dushanbe, capital of Tajkistan, Valadivostok on the Pacific Ocean is some 9,500 km away, Rostov-NA-Donu on the Black Sea, 4,200 km, Abadan and Bandar Abbas on the Gulf around 3,200 km and Karachi and Gawadar on Arabian Sea about 2,700 km and 2,000 km respectively.³⁹³

Japan can take benefit from the nearest approach (Pakistan) to CARs for exploiting their natural resources of gas, oil and uranium subject to fact that normalcy is returned to Afghanistan.

6.18.3 **Pakistan's Interests in Central Asia and Japan's Role**

Pakistan has also discovered its interests in the region. Afghanistan is a gate way to Central Asia and easiest road link to it. The country is separated by Wakhan strip of Afghanistan from the Central Asia. Being easiest, nearest and quickest link on Indian Ocean, the CARs can undertake trade with outside world through the seaports of Pakistan.

While addressing the Foreign Affairs' Committee of the German Bundestag in Germany in April 1994, former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto said,

Pakistan is not only a South Asian country but by virtue of its location and close historic and cultural ties with the Muslim countries to its west, also enjoys a privileged position in relation to Central Asia and the Middle East. We are linked with Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and the countries

³⁹³ Nausheen Wasi, "Pakistan's Interests in Central Asia", Pakistan Horizon, Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, Vol:52, No.4, October, 2002, p.20

of South Asia in ECO, which provides a framework of great potential in stimulating economic exchanges among the member states.³⁹⁴

Pakistan and Japan are handicapped to establish cordial and warm economic relations with CARs unless Afghanistan attains peace and tranquility. The United States started war on terror by landing coalition forces in Afghanistan. It has succeeded in removing Taliban government and partly destroying hideouts of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. It has installed its titular government there. Simultaneously, it has been facing tough resistance there since inception of war on terror. Japan is an ally of the U.S through Mutual Security Treaty signed in 1951. In case the U.S gets success in overlapping opponents and normalcy returns in the country, it will ultimately serve the interests of Japan. Pakistan will also take benefits by undertaking trade and commerce with the Central Asian Republics. Pakistan should remain conscious from Indian designs in the region as its unequivocal support to U.S in war on terror and presence in the region may take Japan away and bring both to evolve common strategy to exploit the natural resources of CARs at its cost.

³⁹⁴ DAWN, Karachi, 21.4.1994

Chapter.7. Conclusion

The purpose of this research is to identify the changes which took place in the aftermath of Cold War on global and regional levels which ultimately influenced the relations between Japan and Pakistan. The post-Cold War Era re-defined the role of Japan in the world affairs and for the first time since its re-emergence after World War-II, it sent its forces beyond its borders and stationed them in Cambodia in 1992 under the umbrella of the United Nations. Then Japan struck in international waters and sunk spy submarine of North Korea. This incident gave international exposure to Japan that the country has begun to expand its muscles having peaceful purposes. Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan restrains the government from sending its forces for aggressive goals and restricted them to self-Defense. But 9/11 incident compelled the Government of Japan to legislate Anti-Terrorism Special Measures Laws on 29th October 2001 under which it sent its forces in Iraq to support the re-construction of the country and combat terrorism. Japan's policy towards non-proliferation remained unchanged in the post-Cold War period. It continued its various aid programs and adopted stand on international issues according to its national interests.

The policies adopted by Japan in the pos- Cold War period did not much influence its relations with Pakistan. However, nuclear explosions undertaken by **Pakistan and India** in May 1998 strained relations between Japan and Pakistan. The former imposed economic sanctions against India and Pakistan and severely condemned nuclear proliferation in the region.

Japan held the problem of Kashmir as the main cause of tension between the two rival countries. Japan could not afford the strained relations between Pakistan and India as break of war may put huge investment of Japan in the region in jeopardy and deprive it from market of its electronic appliances and finished goods. Moreover, the war between India and Pakistan could create hindrances in smooth supply of oil to Japan from the Persian Gulf. A most important point of Japanese concern on the issue is that India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons. One of the fundamentals of foreign policy of Japan is to make global efforts for non-proliferation of the nuclear weapons.

Japan signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1970 but ratified it in 1976. It hesitated to ratify the treaty for six years due to its discriminatory nature as it restricted accumulation of atomic weapons to the five members of the nuclear club. The country was deficient in fossil fuel resources and it postponed the decision of signing the treaty until the United States “Promised not to interfere with Tokyo’s pursuit of independent reprocessing capabilities in its civilian nuclear program.”³⁹⁵ After ratifying the treaty, Tokyo stated, “Japan, as the only nation to have suffered atomic bombings, declares a new to the world its fundamental policy of forsaking nuclear armament”.³⁹⁶ In pursuance of its above mentioned policy, Japan urged India and Pakistan to sign the NPT and the CTBT.

³⁹⁵ Campbell .M Kurt and Tsyoshi Sonohara, Japan:Thinking the Unthinkable, Rober j Einorn and Mitchell B Reis (eds), The Nuclear tipping Point, Why States Reconsider Their Nuclear Choices, Brookings Institution, Washington, 2004, P.109

³⁹⁶ Japan’s Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, Tokyo, 1976.

The dark aspect of Pakistan-Japan relations on nuclear issue is latter's suspicions regarding supply of nuclear technology by former to North Korea. It was alleged that military relationship between North Korea and Pakistan from which the nuclear connection eventually emerged, began during the 1970s, when the then Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto began expanding bilateral relations with Pyongyang.³⁹⁷ According to Kampani, some retired Pakistani officials received knowledge about objectionable shipments to DPRK with likely centrifuge enrichment technology.³⁹⁸ Some Indian defense officials questioned the role of ISI in export of technology to DPRK.³⁹⁹ The centrifuges designs that North Korea is using are startlingly similar to what is used in Pakistan.⁴⁰⁰ *Dawn* dated April, 3, 2003, stated that the U.S for the first time on April 2, 2003 explicitly accused Pakistan and North Korea of missile-related trade , but said it was unable to substantiate sports of nuclear technology transfers. The said newspaper also quoted Japan's *Sankei Shimbun* newspaper as reporting on April 2, 2003 that the U.S satellites and spy networks detected North Korean exports of some 10 Scud B missiles to Pakistan during March, 2003.

The Government of Pakistan shared information with Japan acquired on account of alleged involvement of Pakistan's nuclear scientists in supply of nuclear technology. However, Japan urged Pakistan to share more information regarding investigation of latter's authorities on the issues. Both the governments expressed their concerns on international networks involved in proliferation of WMD related technologies and equipments and

³⁹⁷ Carbaugh, E John Jr, Pakistan-North Korea Connection Creates Huge dilemma for US, Pakistan News May 24, 2006.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid

urged the world community to make consolidated efforts for identifying and dismantling such networks.⁴⁰¹ Both the countries agreed that nuclear weapons should be abolished.⁴⁰²

The nuclear tests undertaken in South Asia increased fear of Japan for likely breaking of nuclear war between India and Pakistan. It held that problem of Kashmir is behind the nuclear tests.⁴⁰³ Before the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister, Kaifu to Pakistan in 1990, Japan did not adopt clear stand on the problem of Kashmir. Japan is member of the United Nations. It should have followed the resolutions passed by the world body but never spoke to solve the outstanding issue in the spirit of the resolutions of the United Nations. It always supported to solve the problem through Simla Agreement (1972) and Lahore Declaration (1999) signed between India and Pakistan. The dark aspect of Japan's stand on the problem is that it has never condemned violation of human rights in Kashmir and held struggle of Kashmiris as terrorism. After nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, Japan offered to hold an international conference on this issue. Pakistan expressed its readiness where as India rejected the offer. Japanese newspaper, *The Japan Times* commented on Pakistan's role in Kashmir and wrote,

Pakistan's denials are not very convincing. The best solution is action by Islamabad General Pervaiz Mushrraf has promised to be a full participated in the war against terrorism, that job is individual. To live up to that pledge, he could

⁴⁰¹ DAWN Karachi, 2.5.2005.

⁴⁰² http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pakistan/fmy_0601.html.

⁴⁰³ June 4, 1999, Associated Press of Pakistan.

close the training camps for Muslim separatists that his intelligence services operate.⁴⁰⁴

Though Japan offered its services for mediation between Tamil rebels and Srilankan Government but has not made such offer to Pakistan and India on Kashmir issue. Japan can influence India to hold talks with Pakistan where as latter has already agreed to negotiate with the former on the issue. At the same time Japan would never like to press India to such an extent which may derail friendly relations between the two countries. Japan will prefer to convince Pakistan and India to exercise self-restraint on breaking of war on Kashmir and the issue should not be inflamed to such an extent that it may pave the way for the deterioration of peaceful atmosphere in the region. Breaking of any type of fire will certainly affect peaceful economic transaction between Pakistan and Japan and may endanger Japanese investment in the region.

The economic relations were established between Pakistan and Japan even before their formal diplomatic relations in 1952. The trade between the two countries benefited both till the end of 1960 when Pakistan began loosing its share in Japanese market.

Pakistan's exports to Japan mainly depend on textile products. Anti dumping duties imposed by Japan upon Pakistan, low quality and standard of its textile products, reliance on export of traditional items to Japan, waiver of trade quota under World Trade Organization (WTO) regime etc are some

⁴⁰⁴ [NRL Links.com](http://NRLLinks.com)

of the main reasons which lowered the pace of Pakistan's export to Japan. Moreover, import of luxurious goods, electronic appliances, heavy duty machinery and automobile spare parts increased Pakistan's deficit trade. It is, therefore, recommended that Pakistan should improve quality and standard of its products to be exported to Japan and search new sectors and avenues for exporting items other than textile products.

Japan is deficient in natural resources. It imported raw material, processed in its industries, produced quality products from needle to heavy machine, diode to triode and toaster to air conditioner and exported the same in every nook and corner of the world. It earned foreign exchange which greatly helped it to emerge as the economic power. The secret behind such economic development of Japan is proper mobilization and management of human resources for its political, economic and social development. Pakistan is plenty of natural and human resources. It can set Japan as a model to untap its human resources for its political, economic and social development.

Pakistan has been receiving bilateral and multilateral aid from Japan. Latter has been extending Official Development Assistance to Pakistan since 1960. This kind of aid was extended due to Pakistan's political role in South West Asia, Islamic countries and maintenance of its traditional relations with Japan, its geo-strategic position, Pakistan's pursuance of domestic development and policies of deregulation, economic liberalization and privatization of state owned enterprises. Japan joined the Consortium to Aid to Pakistan in 1961. Since then, it has been extending substantial amount of

aid to Pakistan. Pakistan has also been receiving aid from Japan in social, health, agriculture, power, infrastructure and technical etc sectors. Both the countries have established various Business Missions and Offices to further promote trade and extend facilities to each other in this regard. Pakistan is the beneficiary of General System of Preferences (GSP) introduced by Japan. Although GSP is meant to encourage the imports but its conditions are strict on the commodities in which developing countries have competitive edge for example, textile and footwear. In contrast, conditions are most lenient for the products in which developing countries are less competitive, such as machinery which limits the significance of the GSP scheme. Thus, Pakistan could not take much benefit from the scheme as it ultimately contributed to Japan.

Pakistan is pursuing Japan to extend facilities of Free Trade Agreement (FTA), Economic Partnership Agreement and status of Most Favored Nations (MFN). Japan has already extended such privileges to India. It should bring Pakistan under this net which may contribute increase of Pakistan's export to Japan. It will ultimately boost up trade and economic transactions between the two countries.

The cordial and warm relationship between Pakistan and Japan got new impetus when both joined U.S-led coalition on war on terror. Though, there were exclusive reasons which motivated both the countries to join the coalition but common factors also contributed in this regard. Pakistan and Japan are followers of U.S camp since their independence. Moreover, both the countries have long history of terror victim. Further to add, Japan felt

lesser threat from local terrorist organizations like Japanese Red Army, *Chukaku-Ha*, *Kakurokyo-Ha* and *Aum Shinrikyo*, etc than Al-Qaeda. This organization has hide outs in Afghanistan and Pakistan. To minimize threat of Al-Qaeda and completely destroy it, Japan felt it imperative to join hands with Pakistan. In addition to it, it is stated that present world has been reduced to global village. Any international event, either positive or negative, will certainly affect each country of the world. In the wake of terrorist attacks in the United States, Pakistan and Japan decided to cooperate with each other to fight against the growing menace of terrorism.

Emergence of new convergence in relations between Pakistan and Japan benefited the former. Latter withdrew its economic sanctions against Pakistan imposed in view of atomic explosions in May 1998, restored Official Development Assistance and rescheduled its loan.

The immediate objectives of war on terror were to uproot hide outs of Al-Qaeda and install democratic government in Afghanistan where as long term objectives are to destroy terrorist organizations of global reach and their networks including finances. The coalition on war on terror will have to go for indefinite period to combat terrorism. Thus, being partners of the coalition, Pakistan and Japan should evolve mutual long term strategy. Moreover, both the countries should develop common policy outside the coalition which must go beyond the status of Pakistan as a front line state. The U.S strikes inside tribal areas of Pakistan aimed at destroying likely hide outs of Taliban may prove irritant in relations of Pakistan and Japan. Former may thwart such emergence of irritant by bringing Japan into confidence and sharing information with it in this regard. Moreover, Pakistan will have to

practically demonstrate against Taliban hiding in tribal areas to forge confidence of international community including Japan.

This study further suggests that the nuclear issue will remain divergence in the relations between Pakistan and Japan. It is not strange to say that nuclear arms race in South Asia is result of reaction of Chinese and Indian nuclear programs.

The U.S Senate has refused to ratify the CTBT. Japan must re-invigorate the international efforts for non-proliferation of nuclear technology both horizontal and vertical. It is a close ally of the United States and should persuade it to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. After ratification, Japan and the United States, along with other Western countries supporting non-proliferation, can build pressure on two nuclear countries of the South Asia to give their respective nuclear related installations under the IAEA safeguards.

Japan is pursuing India and Pakistan to sign the NPT and the CTBT. Both the countries have not turned down Japan's urge of signing of CTBT in clear terms. Pakistan should see its interest beyond India and link it with the United States. Signing the CTBT by India cannot extend defense shield to Pakistan as it has received threats from Israel, terrorists and sympathizers of India. Pakistan wants to maintain minimum defense capability. The traditional weapons may not provide base to thwart any aggression and defend itself. Moreover, India has developed nuclear arsenals and Pakistan considers it as a threat to its very existence. Compelling by the situation, it

had to go for option of acquiring nuclear technology and developing atomic bomb. Pakistan had to divert big chunk of its revenue to achieve this goal. But principle of defense may not be compromised at any cost.

Japan is not in a position to pressurize India to such an extent that it may bow down to Japanese demand and sign NPT and CTBT. Moreover, it also seems impossible that Pakistan will accept Japanese pressure in this regard. However, it may be concluded that irritants like NPT and CTBT will not much influence Pakistan and Japan relations and political, economic and cultural ties between the two countries will grow stronger day- by- day.

The declining ratio of Pakistan's exports to Japan and tilting of balance of trade in favor of Japan can be improved by taking the following steps:

- 7 **Short Term Measures:** The Embassy of Pakistan in Japan recommended following measures in this regard to the Government of Pakistan:⁴⁰⁵
 - ✓ More participation in targeted trade fairs in the product categories recommended.
 - ✓ Packaging according to Japanese requirements and specification.
 - ✓ Careful selection of trade delegations and Trade Fairs participants for the products, as sending exporters with low quality products is a waste of time and money for the Government.

⁴⁰⁵ Strategy Paper on Japan dated 18th May, 2009, Commercial Section, embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo.

- ✓ It is Japanese culture to entertain business clients almost daily to gain acceptance and further business prospects. Funds for translation and printing of export promotion and product material.
- ✓ Freight subsidy for Leather shoes / boots for Japan.
- ✓ More collaboration of Asia and Europe Wing of TDAP with JETRO Karachi to further our interests through subsidized JETRO ATPF (Asian Trade Promotion Forum) trade fairs such as Tokyo Gift show etc.
- ✓ Enhance of the chain supply management in Pakistan to fulfill orders timely.

7.1 Participation of Private Sector : Trade is basically the job of private sector and if there is no restriction then the cheapest producer can export and Pakistani exporter will do well.⁴⁰⁶

7.2 Maintenance of Law & Order in Pakistan: To make Pakistan's economy more efficient, it is necessary to maintain law and order situation so that businessmen may visit Pakistan.⁴⁰⁷

7.3 Licence System: There are many loopholes and also irregularities so establishment of very transparent license system and other things are very important.⁴⁰⁸

7.4 Market Force: Pakistan's economy becomes more interrupted by foreign countries especially country like Japan and then there is out flowing of Foreign Direct Investment and to make economy more efficient one source i.e. market may be important. With it enterprises and private businesses may have incentive to become efficient as they will

⁴⁰⁶ Takashi Kurosaki Professor, The Institute of Economic Research, Tokyo, Interview on 12th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid

have to accept the latest technology and good management system and to focus on making their production more efficient.⁴⁰⁹

7.5 Transparency: Pakistan needs supporting institutions to make every thing transparent.⁴¹⁰

7.6 Mobilisation of Human Resources: The human investment can be done by the private sector to some extent especially secondary and higher education training can be done by the private sector. Primary and basic education should be prevented by private sector because of economic eternity so the private sector does not have incentive to invest there. In that sense situation especially in rural areas otherwise does not work well. So human resource development is very important. There is role of government and its role should be helped by the developed countries.⁴¹¹ Pakistan can take benefit from Japanese experience of mobilization of human resources by getting assistance from the Government of Japan to interact with their experts in education.⁴¹² Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) can send experts to Pakistan in various sectors including agriculture land and construction etc.⁴¹³

7.7 Change in Processing Model: Pakistani businessmen will have to change processing model from sizing point of view as Japanese are smaller in length than the people of the United States and Europe. It is important to understand fashion and design trends as Japan is West of East and fashion introduced here is flourished to rest of Asia.⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid

⁴¹⁰ Ibid

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Seiji Kojima, former ambassador of Japan to Pakistan, Interview on 5th February, 2010.

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ Rahman Hamid, Commercial Secretary, Embassy of Pakistan in Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 22nd January, 2010.

- 7.8 Quality Control:** For increasing export, it is necessary that Government of Pakistan should control quality.⁴¹⁵
- 7.9 To Activate Diplomatic Channels:** Japan does not have own commodity except fish and businessmen and diplomatic channels of Pakistan may focus on exporting commodities to the country.⁴¹⁶
- 7.10 Setting Goals:** Japan and Pakistan are permanent friends and they must set goal for mutual collaboration and establishing sustainable society to be achieved by both countries. Poverty reduction has to be achieved through process otherwise Pakistan cannot reach a sustainable society.⁴¹⁷
- 7.11 Consistency in Economic Policies:** Pakistan must keep consistency in its economic policies and trade relations. The policies must not have effects of change of Government in Pakistan.
- 7.12 Pakistani Businessmen in Japan:** About 70% to 80% of Pakistanis, living in Japan, are doing business of export of used vehicles to more than 70 countries of the world. They can interact with Japanese businessmen in their language as they are well acquainted with the manners and etiquettes of the local markets and know the Japanese language. The Government of Pakistan must persuade these Pakistani businessmen to enter in import of items/products from their country.
- 7.13 To Encourage Businessmen:** The Government of Pakistan should introduce measures to encourage Pakistani businessmen to invest in

⁴¹⁵ Chaudhry Shahid Raza, President, International Press Japan, Tokyo, Interview on 20th February, 2010.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid

⁴¹⁷ Hirsahima.S, Visiting Professor, Graduate School of International Social Development, Nihon Fukushi University, Nagayo, Japan, Interview on 19th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

textile industry and diversify export to more manufacturing items. Moreover, quality of workers should be enhanced.⁴¹⁸

These bilateral ties can further be strengthened by developing people to people contact between Pakistan and Japan. In this regard following suggestions may help to achieve the targets:

- i. Embassy should play role to contradict or neutralized news against Pakistan in Japanese media.
- ii. To increase and strengthen people-to-people contact, cultural relations, exchange of cultural troupe and grant of scholarships can assist in this regard.⁴¹⁹ If the situation is improved in Pakistan more and more tourists will go to Pakistan.
- iii. There is shortage of labor in Japan so the Government should sign agreement in this regard.⁴²⁰
- iv. Government of Pakistan should avoid formulating hash posh policies and there must be consistency in the policies.⁴²¹
- v. More and more research students may be sent to Japan aimed at understanding parliament systems and decision system etc.⁴²²
- vi. Pakistanis coming to Japan must learn Japanese language.⁴²³
- vii. The Embassy should play an active role in bringing Pakistani and Japanese communities closer to each other.⁴²⁴ Holding of

⁴¹⁸ Seiji Kojima, former Ambassador of Japan to Pakistan and presently Chief Protocol Officer, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Japan, , Interview on 5th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ Muhammad Abdur Rahman Siddiqui, Chairman, International Muslim Centre, Japan, Interview on 15th January, 2010, conducted in Tokyo.

⁴²¹ Ibid.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Imran-ul-Haq, Coordinator, Japan Muslim Peace Federation, Interview on 23rd January, 2010, conducted in Tsukuba, Japan.

Pakistan Bazar in Ueno Park, Tokyo, Japan on 27th and 28th March, 2010 is laudable step by the Embassy but there is need to hold more cultural functions, exhibitions and seminars.

- viii. The various associations like Pakistan-Japan Association, Pakistan Students Association, and Japan Association, Pakistan may be mobilized to establish better understanding between the Pakistanis and Japanese.
 - ix. Pakistani community must give up their self-interests in the larger interest of the nation so that they can play an important role for developing better image of Pakistan and brightening chances of doing business in Japan.
 - x. Pakistani community should make conscious efforts for their sustenance in Japan without developing hatred to Indian community or other communities.
 - xi. The haves of Pakistani community must devote 1% of their earning for holding cultural programs in various cities of Japan. Japanese must be invited in such programs to create better understanding among them about image of Pakistan and its culture.
 - xii. The scholars from Pakistan and of Pakistani community in Japan must write articles on different topics and get them published in English daily newspapers and magazines of Japan to counter anti-Pakistan lobby in Japan. Moreover, Pakistani journalists, who know Japanese language, must write in that language for publishing in daily newspapers or magazines published in Japanese language.
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8. Suggestions to End Terrorism

The Government of Japan should support the struggle of the Government of Pakistan to end radicalism and militancy. There is need to enhance sort of basic human needs of people living there in the battle fields in northern areas.⁴²⁵ Other suggestions are given below:

- i. There is need to install representative government of people in Afghanistan. No doubt, Karzai government returned successfully after winning elections held in 2010 but it has not support of people. It has created sense of alienation among the Afghanis that the international powers have snatched their power of electing their representative government.
- ii. The reputation of Karzai government is as a reputation of corrupt government. Thus, it has lost moral support, but, the United States and other governments including Japan and Pakistan support it. Their political support will not yield fruitful results of aid for upbringing of the common subjects of Afghanistan.
- iii. Japan has good and warm political and economic relations with India and Pakistan. It has developed strategic relations and global partnership with India. Moreover, they are in close cooperation on security matters. It must take initiative and can convince India to resolve the issue of Kashmir. If it is resolved then there will be no

⁴²⁵ Akira Mizutani, Professor Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

- moral excuse of existence of prohibited terrorist organizations like Lashkar-e-Tayaba etc.
- iv. Japan also takes initiative to persuade the United States to develop pressure on Israel to resolve the problem of Palestine. In case the problems of Kashmir and Palestine are resolved it will help to end terrorism to large extent.
 - v. The United States, Western countries, including Japan must bring their discriminatory policies to an end. Japan provides money to the international organizations like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Aid to Consortium and other specialized agencies of the United Nations. It directly or indirectly promotes the interests of the United States all over the world. The aid used for interests of one country cannot create soft corner for the donors.
 - vi. Pakistan and Japan should prepare long term policy for restoration of economic activity in Afghanistan. It will improve life standard of down trodden people of the country and discourage them to be attracted on monetary benefit to be offered by the Taliban.
 - vii. Japan may help Pakistan to improve its internal security by preparing long and short term policies. Terrorism is a phenomenon which is going to stay here for some time and it could be tackled at two levels.⁴²⁶ On short term basis like arresting and conducting operation and long term like political solution to address the root causes which have given rise to terrorism. Pakistan and Japan are partners in both. Poverty, aloofness, isolation, post-colonial structure, lack of

⁴²⁶ Adnan Sarwar Dr, Chairman, Department of International Relations, University of Peshawar, NWFP, Interview on 6th December, 2007 conducted in Peshawar.

- communication sources and administrative structure etc are causes of unrest in tribal areas.⁴²⁷
- viii. Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan is a hot belt for terrorists, thus, there is need to cut linkage between terrorists and local people by promoting education or initiating dialogue/negotiations. For this it is imperative to identify partner of dialogue to those terrorists to solve the questions for ever.⁴²⁸
- ix. International society need to think historically about British times and Durand line as people did not touch on things to be solved. It is the responsibility of international society, including Pakistan to solve the issue of terrorism.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ Marwat Dr, Associate Professor, Pakistan Study Center, University of Peshawar, NWFP, Interview on 6th December, 2007 conducted in Peshawar.

⁴²⁸ Akira Mizutani, Professor Graduate School of Law, Faculty of Law, Hitotsubashi School of International & Public Policy, Tokyo, 4th February, 2010 conducted in Tokyo

⁴²⁹ Takeuchi Y Teddy, Journalist, The Asahi Shimbun Globe, Tokyo, Interview on 28th January, 2010 conducted in Tokyo.

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