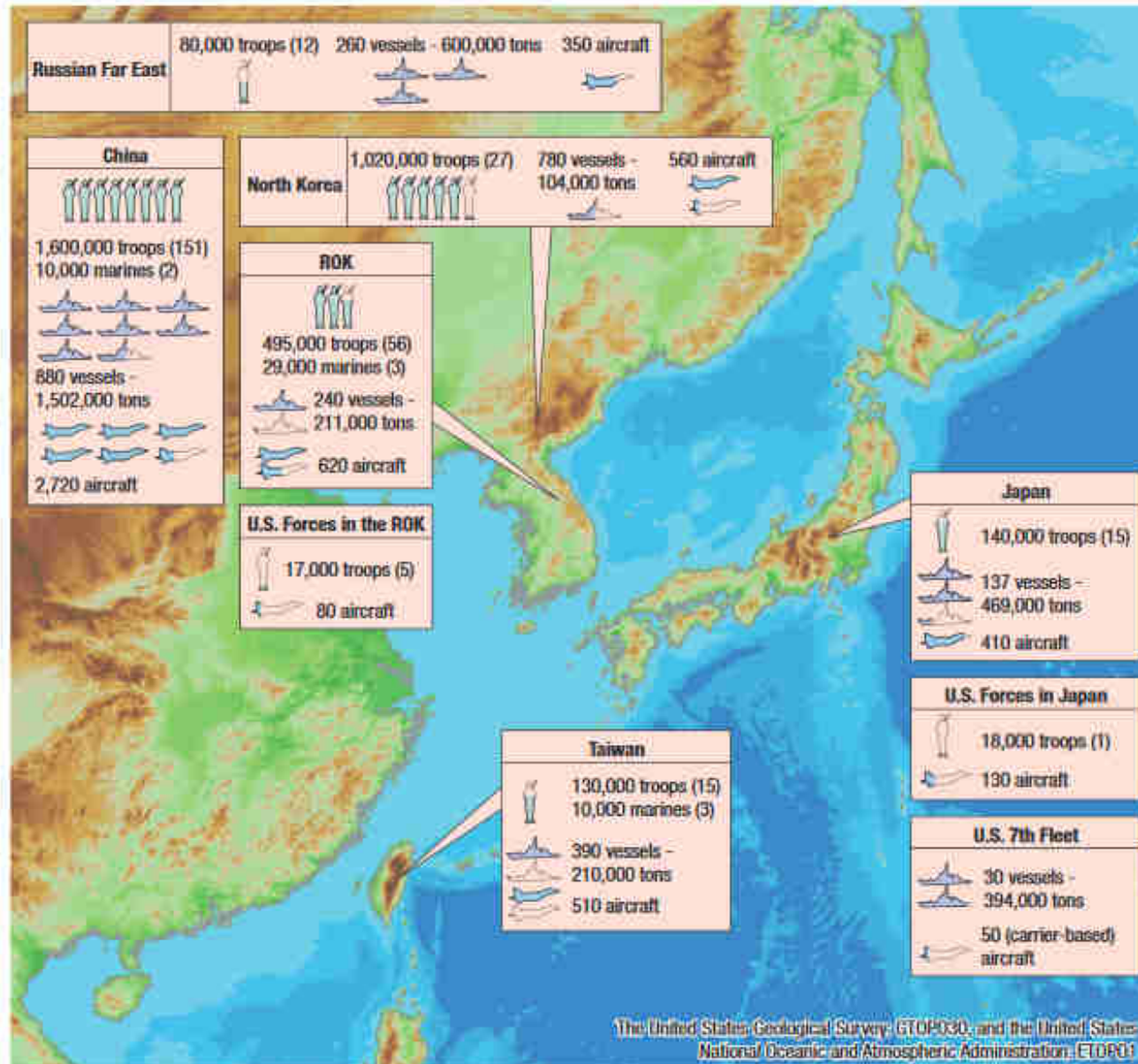


“Possible Flashpoints” in East Asia

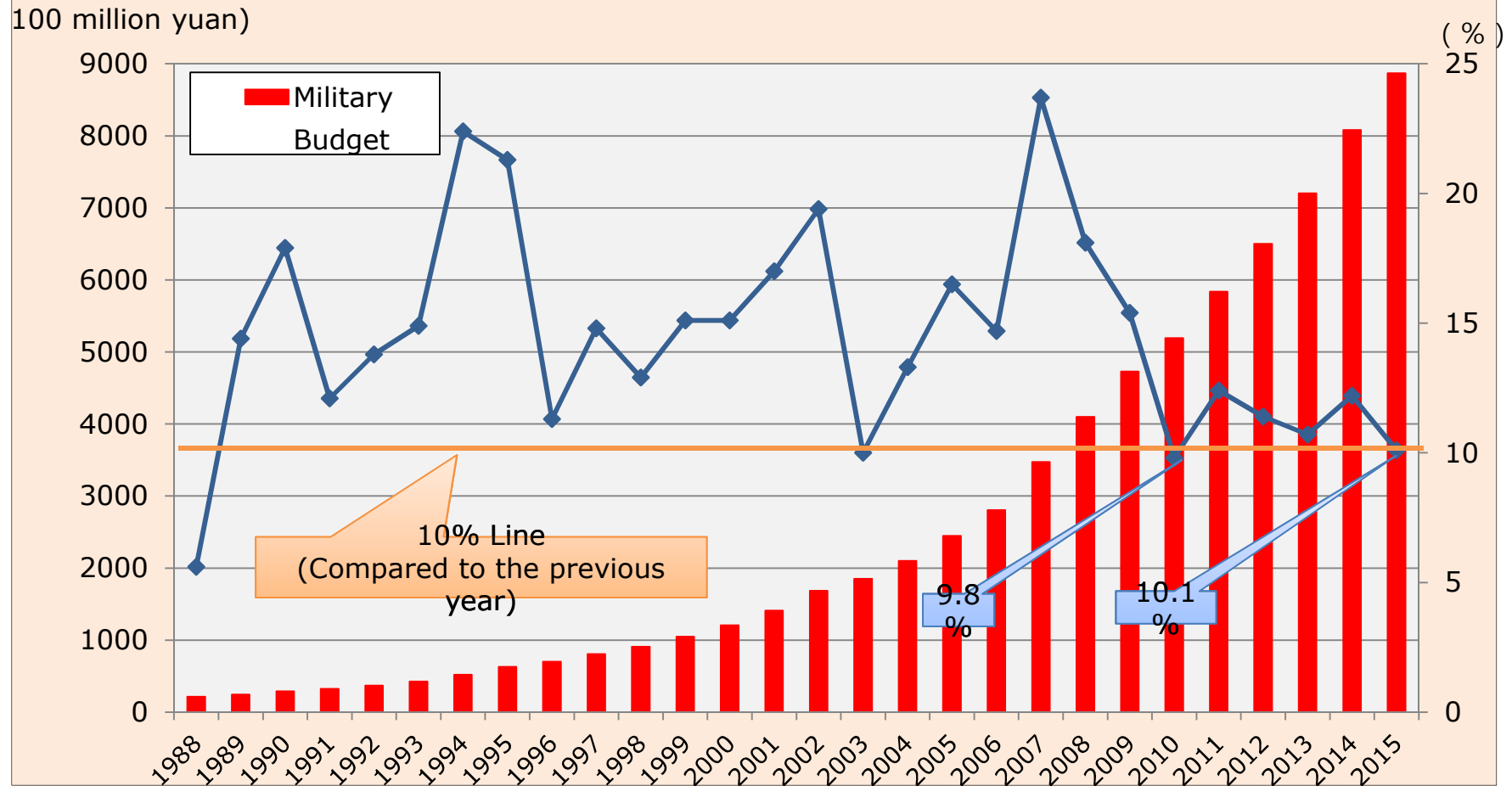
Shingo YAMAGAMI

Overview



Overview

Change in China's Announced Defense Budget



The defense budget of China is **3.3 times larger** than the defense related expenditures of Japan

- Japan (FY2015): 4.82 trillion yen
- China (FY2015, announced): 16.132 trillion yen

Increased by; - **4100%** in 27 years
 - **360%** in 10 years

***Two digit increase** since 1989, except 2010

Regional Affairs 1 : Korean Peninsula ①



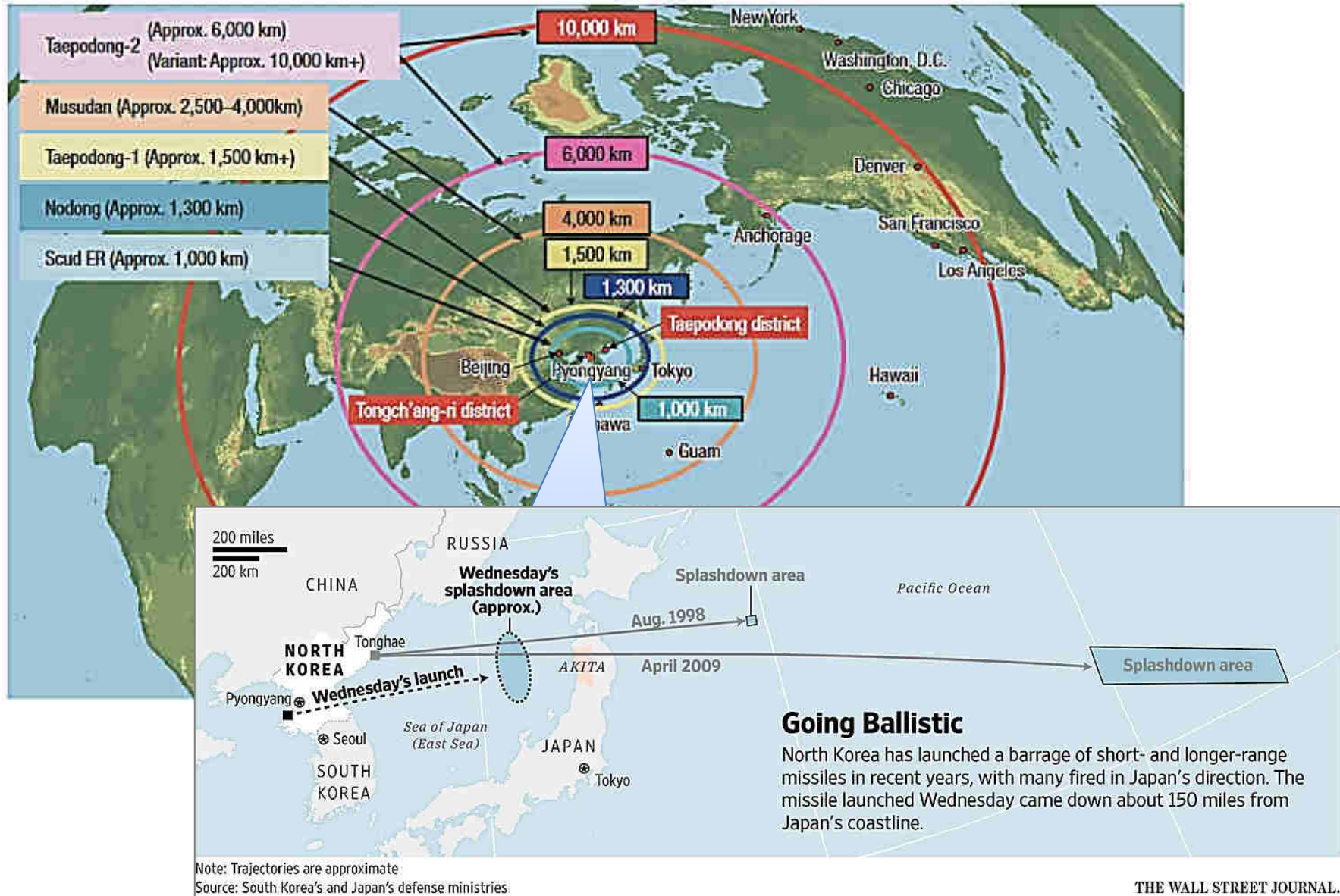
Chronology of ballistic missile(BM) launches and nuclear tests

- 1993.5.29: launch of a BM
- 1998.8.31: "satellite launch" (Tepodong-1)
- 2006.7.5: multiple launches of BMs
- 2006.10.9: **1st nuclear test**
- 2009.4.5: "satellite launch" (Tepodong-2)
- 2009.5.25: **2nd nuclear test**
- 2009.7.4: multiple launches of BMs
- 2012.4.13: "satellite launch" (Tepodong-2)
- 2012.12.12: "satellite launch" (Tepodong-2)
- 2013.2.12: **3rd nuclear test**
- 2014.3.3: launches of two BMs
- 2014.3.26: launches of two BMs
- 2014.6.29: multiple launches of BMs
- 2014.7.9: multiple launches of BMs
- 2014.7.13: launches of two BMs
- 2014.7.26: launch of a BM
- 2015.3.2: launches of two BMs

Escalating situation in 2016

- **Two nuclear tests [January (4th) and September (5th)]**
- Repeated SLBMs tests [April to August]
- Shooting BMs into Japan's EEZ (August and September)
- Miniaturization of nuclear warhead? [September]

Regional Affairs 1 : Korean Peninsula ②



Regional Affairs 2 : Taiwan Strait ①

1996: Taiwan Strati Crisis

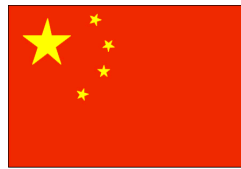


Image: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qtqQRtHeBVU>



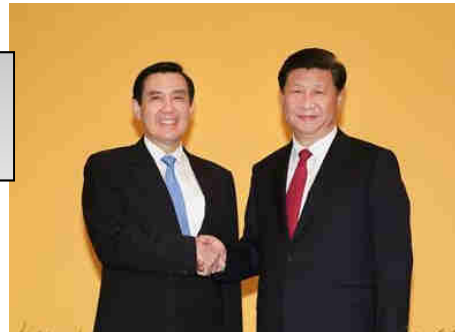
Special state-to-state relations
(Lee Teng-hui, 1999)

One country on each side
(Chen Shui-bian, 2002)



Anti-Secession Law (2005)

2016: Tsai Ing wen's presidency



- 2008: "Three Nos" policy:
 - 1) no unification
 - 2) no independence
 - 3) no use of force
- 2010: Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA)
- 2015: Summit meeting between Ma Ying-jeou and Xi Jinping

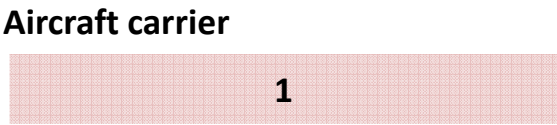
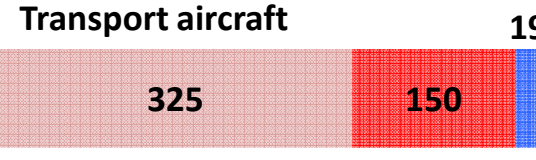
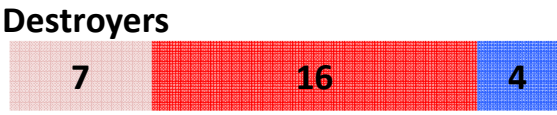
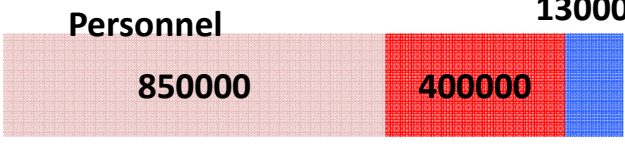
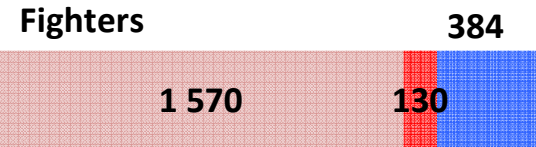
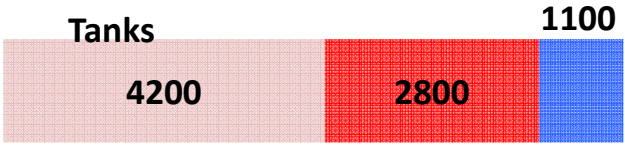
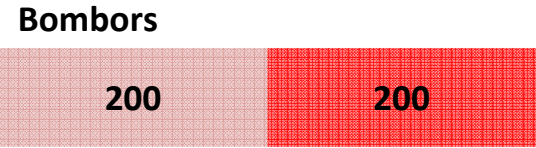
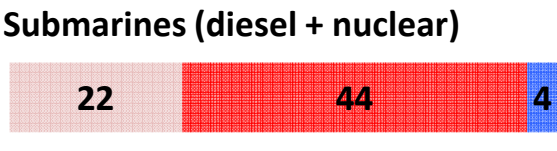
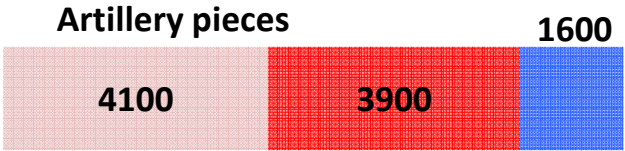
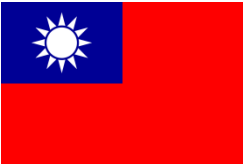
Regional Affairs 2 : Taiwan Strait ②



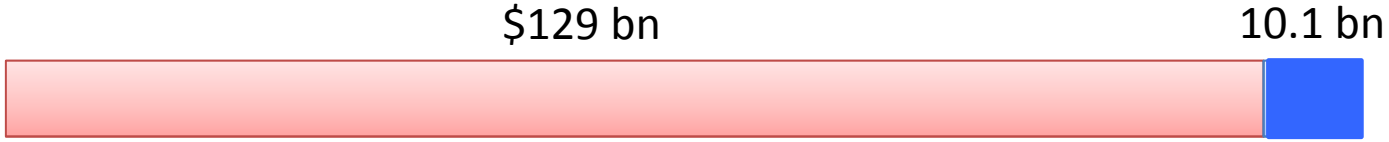
Other area

Taiwan Strait/
East and South Fleet

Total



Defense Budget (SIPRI, Military Balance 2015)

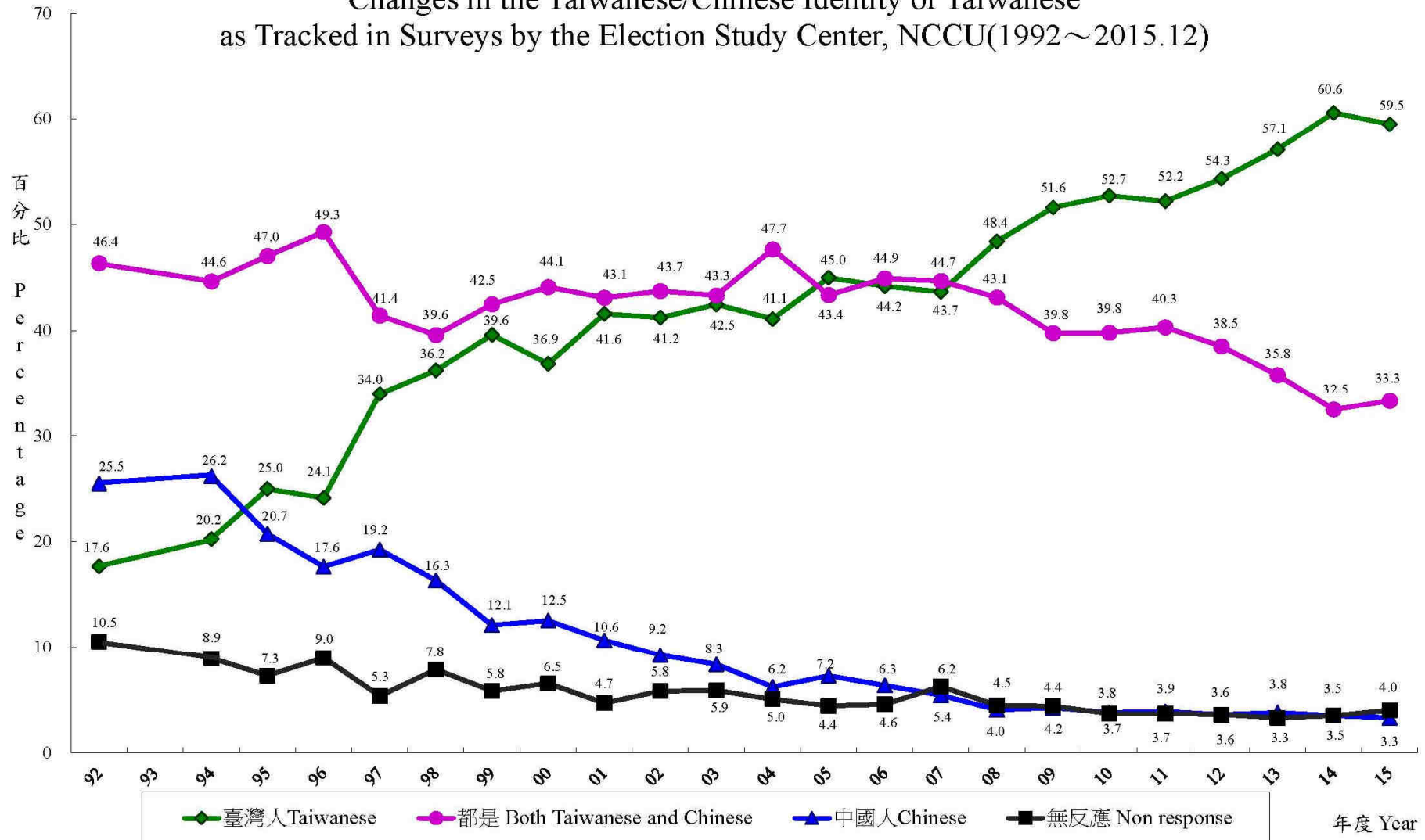


Source: U.S. Department of Defense

Regional Affairs 2 : Taiwan Strait ③

臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈 (1992~2015.12)

Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese
as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2015.12)



Source: <http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/course/news.php?Sn=166#>

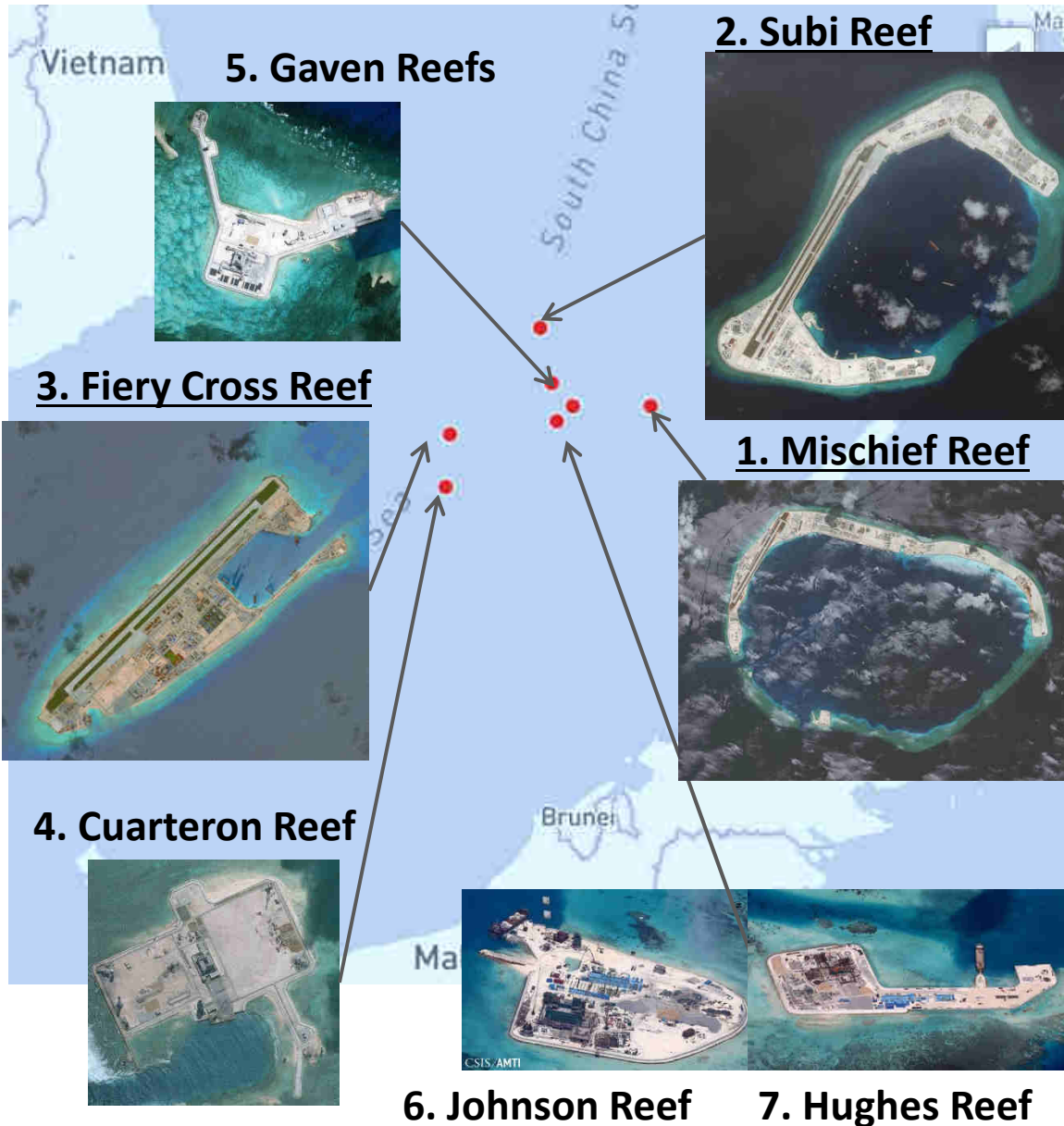
國立政治大學選舉研究中心 製

Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ①



- **Directly relates to the peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region**
- **Common issues of interests and concerns for the international community including Japan**

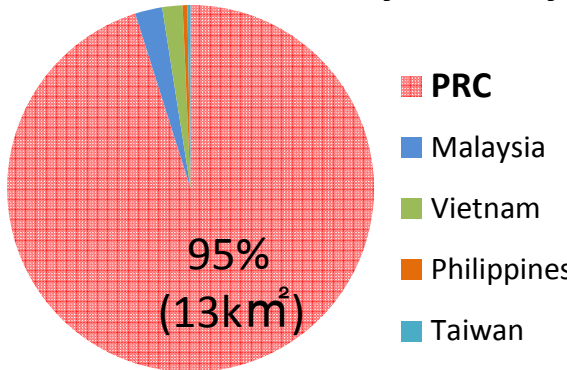
Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ②



Scale of Reclamation (acres)

1. Mischief Reef	1,408
2. Subi Reef	1,014
3. Fiery Cross Reef	665
4. Cuarteron Reef	61
5. Gaven Reefs	36
6. Johnson Reef	27
7. Hughes Reef	18
Total	3,229

Reclamation scale by country



Source: CSIC AMTI, U.S. Department of Defense

Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ③



Aug. 2014



Dec. 2014

Jun. 2016



Sep. 2015



Source: <http://amti.csis.org/before-and-after-the-south-china-sea-transformed/>

Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ④

China's Strategy to Gain Sea Control



Source: Vice Adm. (Ret.) Yoji Koda

Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ⑤

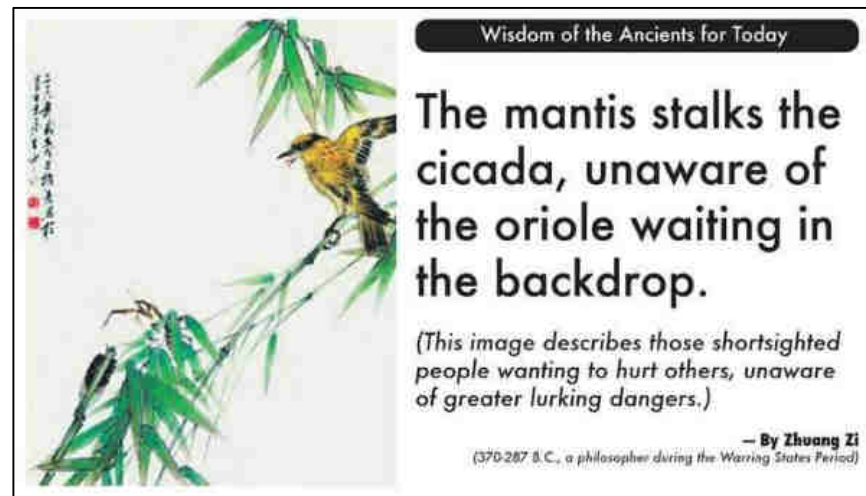
China's position?



Foreign Ministry Spokesperson
Hua Chunying (May 26, 2015)

Here is a gentle reminder to the Philippines:
China will not bully small countries,
meanwhile, small countries shall not make
trouble willfully and endlessly.

Ads on a Philippine newspaper



Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ⑥



“Three principles on the rule of law at sea”

(Proposed by Prime Minister Abe in his keynote address of 13th IISS Asian Security Summit "Shangri-La Dialogue", May 30, 2014)

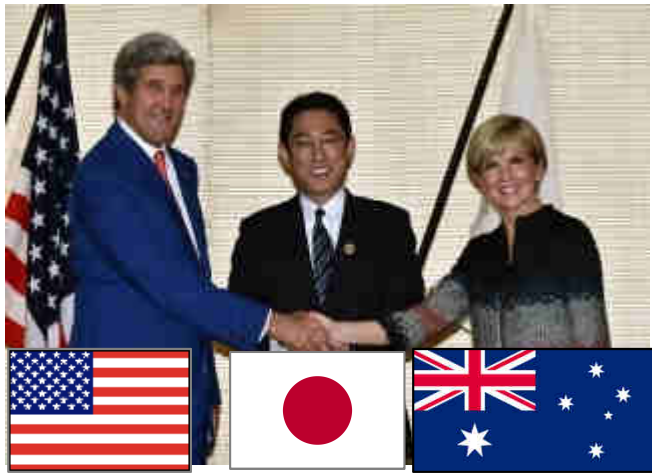
1. States shall make and clarify their claims based on international law
2. States shall not use force or coercion in trying to drive their claims
3. States shall seek to settle disputes by peaceful means

Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ⑦



Image: Merits Hearing, November 2015

“Arbitration Award (July 12 2016)”
: China’s claims to historic rights, or other sovereign rights or jurisdiction, with respect to the maritime areas encompassed by the ‘nine-dash line’ are contrary to the Convention.



The ministers called on China and the Philippines to abide by the Award, which is **final and legally binding on both parties.** (TSD, July 25)

The final award of the arbitration... amounts to **nothing more than a piece of paper.** (Dai Bingguo July 1)

Image Credit: Carnegie Endowment



South China Sea arbitration is **completely a political farce** staged under legal pretext. (FM Wang Yi, July 12)

Image Credit: Xinhua



Rightist, hawkish, close to Japanese PM Shinzo Abe, pro-American, unfriendly to China... these are the tags that people often associate with (Shunji) Yanai. (Xinhua News Agency, July 17)

East China Sea ①



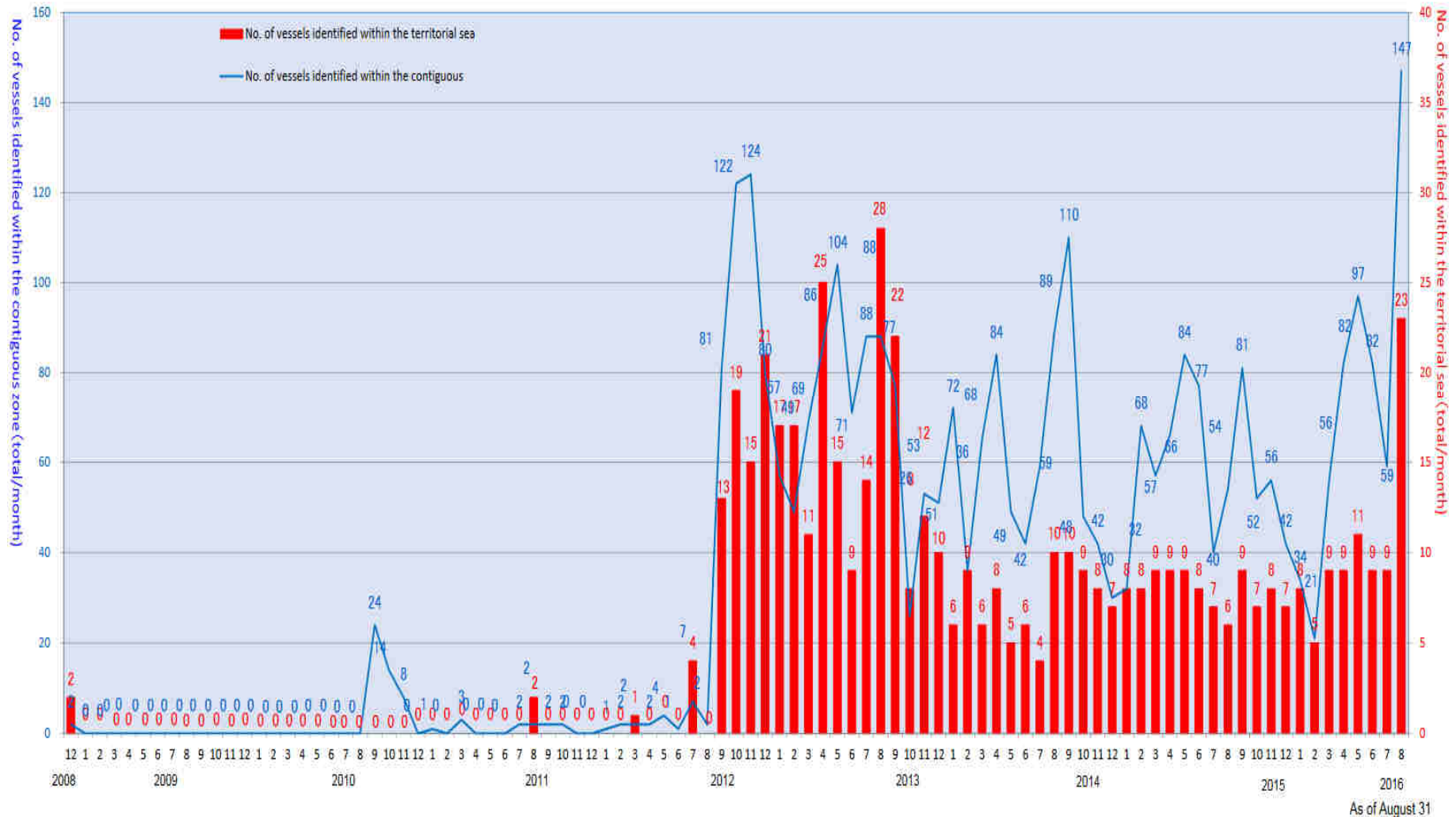
- Unilateral action to change the status quo by force and intimidation.
- Challenge to the rules-based international order, not just to Japan's sovereignty.

Regional Affairs 4 : East China Sea ②



- Enactment of the Law on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone of the People's Republic of China (Territorial Waters Law) [February 1992]
- Increasing intrusions into territorial waters around the Senkaku Islands [Started in 2008, still continue]
- Ramming of a Chinese fishing boat into Japan Coast Guard patrol vessels in territorial waters around the Senkaku Islands [September 2010]
- China's announcement of the Establishment of "Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) in the East China Sea" [November 2013]
- Chinese military jet fighters flew excessively close to aircrafts of the JMSDF and the JASDF over the high seas [May and June 2014]

Regional Affairs 4 : East China Sea ③



- Since the Japan-China summit meeting in November 2014, Chinese government vessels have been entering the contiguous zone every two days and the territorial sea three times a month (in average)

Regional Affairs 4 : East China Sea ④

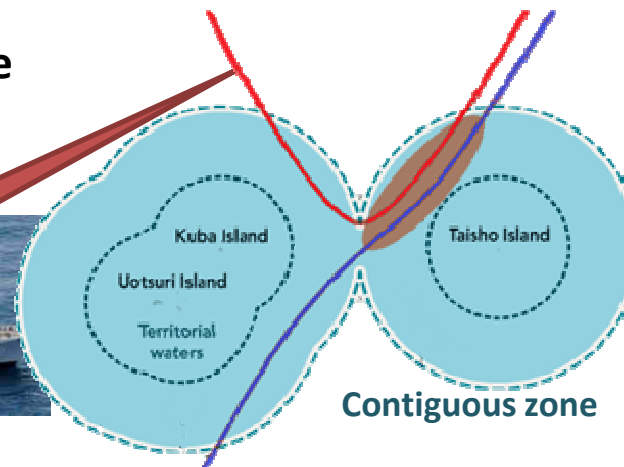
- For the first time in history, China's frigate intruded the Contiguous Zone around the Senkaku Islands [9 June]



Dongdiao Class



Jiangkai-I Class



- Chinese warship entered Japan's territorial water around Kuchinoerabu island [15 June]



- A group of as many as 15 Chinese government vessels and 200 to 300 fishing vessels repeatedly entered Japan's territorial waters around the Senkaku Islands [4 August ~ 26 August]



Regional Affairs 4 : East China Sea ⑤

The status of China's unilateral development of natural resources in the East China Sea (Examples of the installation of jackets and maritime platforms by China)



2nd structure: observed in July 2013



4th structure: observed in April 2014



8th structure: observed in August 2014



(left) 7th structure: observed in June 2014
(right) 10th structure: observed in June 2014



11th structure: observed in May 2015



12th structure: observed in June 2015

Regional Affairs 4 : East China Sea ⑥

- 16 structures on the Chinese side of the median line between Japan and China.
- The Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and the continental shelf in the East China Sea have not yet been delimited.



- China's unilateral development should be immediately ceased.
- Negotiations on the implementation of the "June 2008 Agreement*" should be resumed ASAP.

*Japan and China agreed to cooperate on the development of natural resources in the East China Sea

