“Possible Flashpoints” in East Asia

Shingo YAMAGAMI
Overview
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
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

Going Ballistic
North Korea has launched a barrage of short- and longer-range missiles in recent years, with many fired in Japan's direction. The missile launched Wednesday came down about 150 miles from Japan's coastline.

Regional Affairs 2: Taiwan Strait

1996: Taiwan Strait Crisis

- Special state-to-state relations (Lee Teng-hui, 1999)
- One country on each side (Chen Shui-bian, 2002)

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

2016: Tsai Ing-wen’s presidency

- Anti-Secession Law (2005)

Image Credit: Taiwan Presidential Office unless stated otherwise
Regional Affairs 2: Taiwan Strait

Defense Budget (SIPRI, Military Balance 2015)

$129 bn

10.1 bn

Source: U.S. Department of Defense
Regional Affairs 2: Taiwan Strait ③

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#
- Directly relates to the peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region

- Common issues of interests and concerns for the international community including Japan
### Scale of Reclamation (acres)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Reef</th>
<th>Area (acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Mischief Reef</td>
<td>1,408</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Subi Reef</td>
<td>1,014</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Fiery Cross Reef</td>
<td>665</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Cuarteron Reef</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gaven Reefs</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>Johnson Reef</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Hughes Reef</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>3,229</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Reclamation scale by country

- **PRC**: 95% (13 km²)
- Malaysia
- Vietnam
- Philippines
- Taiwan

Source: CSIC AMTI, U.S. Department of Defense
Regional Affairs 3: South China Sea

Aug. 2014

Dec. 2014


Sep. 2015

Regional Affairs 3 : South China Sea ④

China’s Strategy to Gain Sea Control

Source: Vice Adm. (Ret.) Yoji Koda
China’s position?

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

(from the "Philippine Star", 11 Aug 2015, placed by the Embassy of China in the Philippines)
“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
“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 final award of the arbitration... amounts to nothing more than a piece of paper. (Dai Bingguo July 1)

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

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)

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)
Unilateral action to change the status quo by force and intimidation.

Challenge to the rules-based international order, not just to Japan’s sovereignty.
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 Gard 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]
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)
For the first time in history, China’s frigate Intruded the Contiguous Zone around the Senkaku Islands [9 June]

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]
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
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.