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Characteristics of East Asia

- Strong sovereign states, weak regional identity
- Duality of modern states and a post-modern state, diversity from Stalinist state to democracy.
- Duality of traditional and non-traditional threats
- Existence of divided nations and territorial disputes
- Strong bilateral alliance network: US centered hub and spoke structure
- Weak multilateral security cooperation: US hub-and-spokes system still works
Geo-strategic Setting of East Asia

Security Environment in East Asia

- Globalization and economic development
- The probability of large-scale war among major powers reduces.
- Conflicts in between “peacetime and wartime,” or “gray zones” increase
- Security challenges and destabilizing factors are diverse, complex and intertwined.
- DPRK: immediate and grave destabilizing factors
- China: military modernization and lack of transparency are the regional and global concern.
- Historical Issue: war over symbol, or propaganda strategy?
- Relative decline of US and Japan’s influence
China: Domestic Issues

- Communist political regime and market economy
- Hu Jintao administration: successful in economic growth, failure in “harmony”
- Power struggle in Beijing: CPC Youth League vs. Prince Party? New Left vs. Reformist?
- Xi Jinping: quick centralization of political power
- Economic development: continuation or stall?
- Social disparity: instability will grow
- Mobilization of patriotism/nationalism
- Military modernization: “A2AD,” “beyond Taiwan,” “global outreach”
- “fragmented decision-making”: mixed messages (both accommodating and provocative) from China
China: External Relations

- US-China relations: economic interdependence and strategic competition
- Japan-China relations: historical burden, emotional antagonism, economic interdependence
- Growing maritime activities: growing risk of miscalculation and accidents
- South/East China Sea: continuing unilateral development with ignoring existing agreement
- Diplomatic row over Senkakus/Diaoyudao: China’s growing assertiveness to revise the status quo through physical means
PRC’s (nominal) Defense Budget

Seek for Air Superiority

Rise of Chinese Nationalism

Frequency of "patriotism" in titles in People's Daily (1950-2010)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War/battle</th>
<th>The number of war dead toll listed in the Yasukuni Shrine</th>
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<td>Boshin War (1868-69)</td>
<td>7,751</td>
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<td>Satsuma Rebellion (1877)</td>
<td>6,971</td>
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<td>1st Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)</td>
<td>13,619</td>
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<td>Taiwan Expedition of 1895</td>
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<td>Boxer Rebellion (1900)</td>
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<td>Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)</td>
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<td>WWI (1914-18)</td>
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<td>Jinan Incident (1928)</td>
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<td>Mukden Incident (1931-32)</td>
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<td>2nd Sino-Japanese War (1937-45)</td>
<td>191,250</td>
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<td>Great East Asia War (1941-45)</td>
<td>2,133,915</td>
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<td><strong>Total as for Oct. 2004</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,466,532</strong></td>
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<th>Name of PM</th>
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<td>Shigeru Yoshida</td>
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<td>Shinzo Abe</td>
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Rise of Chinese Nationalism

Frequency of "Diaoyudao" in whole text in People's Daily (1970-2010)
Politics of Symbolism

- Movies and TV dramas on War Resisting Japan: bi-product of Patriotic Education Campaign, established industry, and easy amusement
Turning Point: 2008/2009

- Long term trend of maritime expansion from 1970s
- Growing assertiveness in “Peaceful Development” ideology: fading “taoguangyanghui,” expanding “core interests,” enhancing “maritime interests”
- Sino-Japanese relations in 2006-08: “strategic mutually beneficial relationship”; appreciation to Japan; maritime cooperation
- Turning Point: 2008/2009
  1. Beijing Olympic Games (self-restraint vs. nationalism)
  2. Taiwan’s accommodative changes of the mainland policy
  3. Expectation to China after Lehman Shock
  4. Obama administration’s “strategic reassurance”
  5. Failure of Japan’s DPJ administrations
  6. World second largest economy
  7. Power struggles inside Beijing
"We send our ships in order to break Japan’s effective control over the islands"

*People’s Daily,*
March 21, 2012

Japanese Affinity toward China

- Feel affinity
- Do not feel affinity
Behavioral Patterns of Chinese Vessels in the Contiguous Zone and Territorial Sea

“China has maintained routine presence and exercised jurisdiction in the waters of Diaoyu Islands” (White Paper on Diaoyudao, 2012)

“The number of entry to the Senkakus' territorial water by China's government ships

Japan Coast Guard Report, 2013

Growing China’s Naval Activities in East China Sea and Western Pacific

The number of passage through Japan's Southeastern islands (Okinawa) by Chinese Naval fleets

Data collected from Defense of Japan (from 2008 to 2013), Yomiuri Shimbun, Asahi Shimbun, Sankei Shimbun, Kyodo News and Jiji Press.

NIDS China Security Report, 2011
Flight Pattern of Military Aircrafts

NIDS China Security Report, 2011
China’s Provocations by Military and Other Physical Means (2012-2013)

- Entry into territorial air space
- F.C. Rader lock-on
- Submarine access (unconfirmed)
- UAV access

Sankei Shimbun, 2013.5.26 et.al
China’s ADIZ (2013) “no-fly zone?”

Plan to set-up ADIZ in the South China Sea

Wen Wei Po, November 25, 2013
China’s Expansion in the South China Sea

**January 1974:** The PLA attacked the South Vietnamese Army and took control of the entire Paracel Islands.

**March 1988:** The PLA attacked the Vietnam People’s Army and occupied the Johnson Reef.

**February 1995:** China occupied the Mischief Reef, over which the Philippines had claimed sovereign rights.

**May 2011:** Chinese vessels unloaded building materials and a buoy.

**May 2011:** A Chinese vessel severed the cables of a Vietnamese exploration vessel.

**June 2011:** Chinese vessels interfered with the actions of a Vietnamese exploration vessel.

**June 2011:** Chinese vessels approached the Swallow Reef controlled by Malaysia, and were tracked by the Malaysian army.


NIDS China Security Report, 2011
Prospects for East Asian Security

- Growing strategic trends:
  1) rise of China will continue;
  2) risk of political stability in DPRK and China will grow;
  3) “challenges” caused by DPRK and China will increase;
  4) new security architecture is not likely to function

- Sino-Japanese relations: Long-term tension and friction, Short-term deterioration-improvement cycle

- PRC has to deal with concerns from its neighbors

- Japan has to deal with “past” related issues to improve its image, and try not to be provoked

- US-China relationship is the key factor in East Asia
US Pivoting to Asia-Pacific

- Iraq and Afghanistan: impression of “retreat”
- The failure of US “strategic reassurance” toward the PRC
- No budget reduction of defense in the region
- Futemma conundrum and base realignment
- Importance of the Sino-US relationship
- Pivot/Rebalancing: China? Yes.
- Importance as an offshore balancer
Four Scenarios in East Asia

Cooperative China

Independence of Asia

US decline

de facto G-2

US status quo

New Chinese World Order

US-China Strategic competition

Hegemonic China