

Rise of China and East Asian Security: A Japanese Perspective

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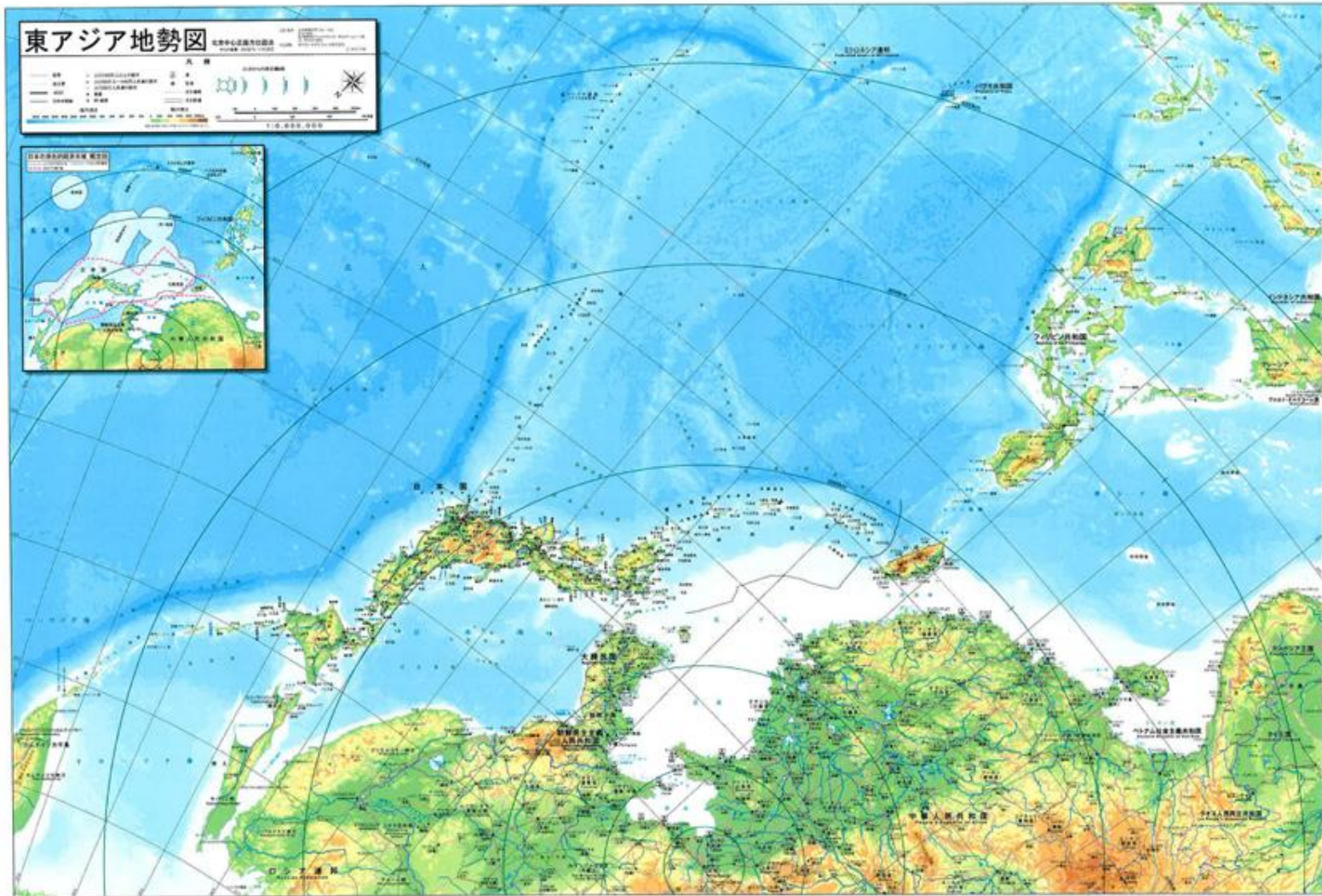
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Characteristics of East Asia

- 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

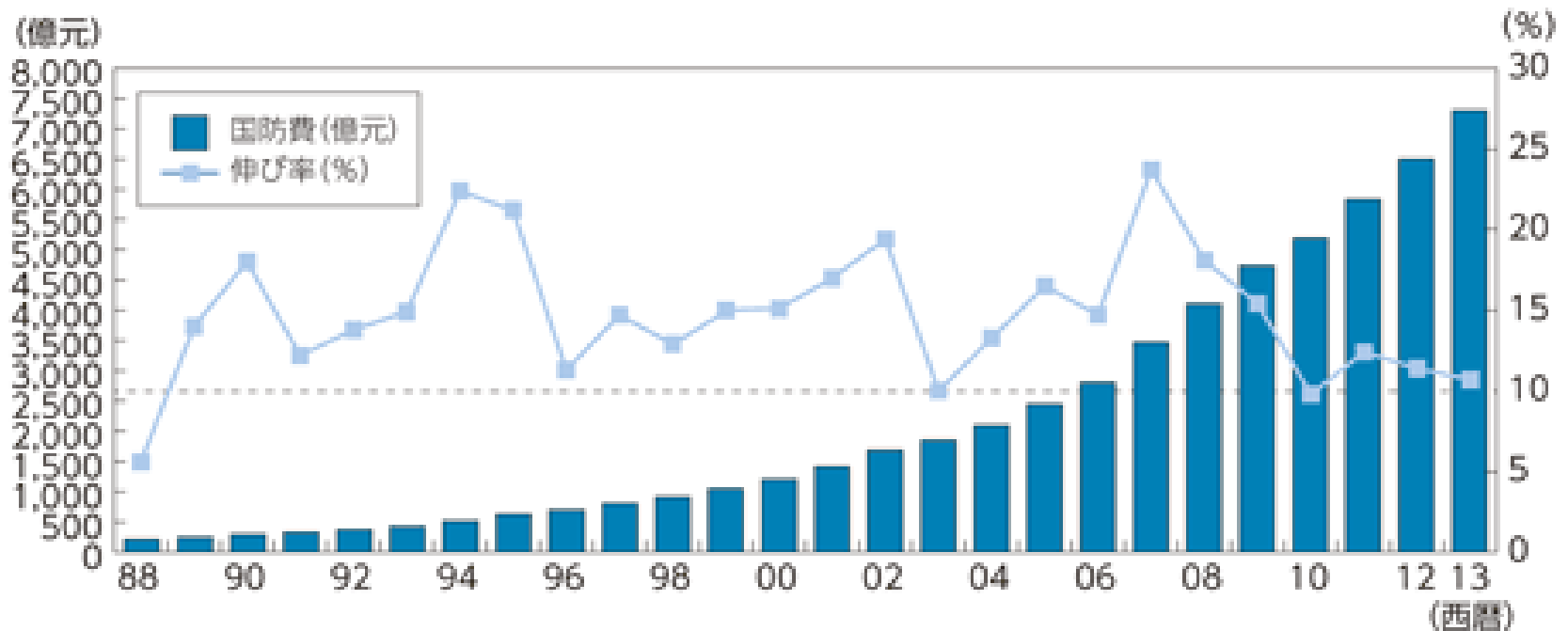


China: External Relations

- 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

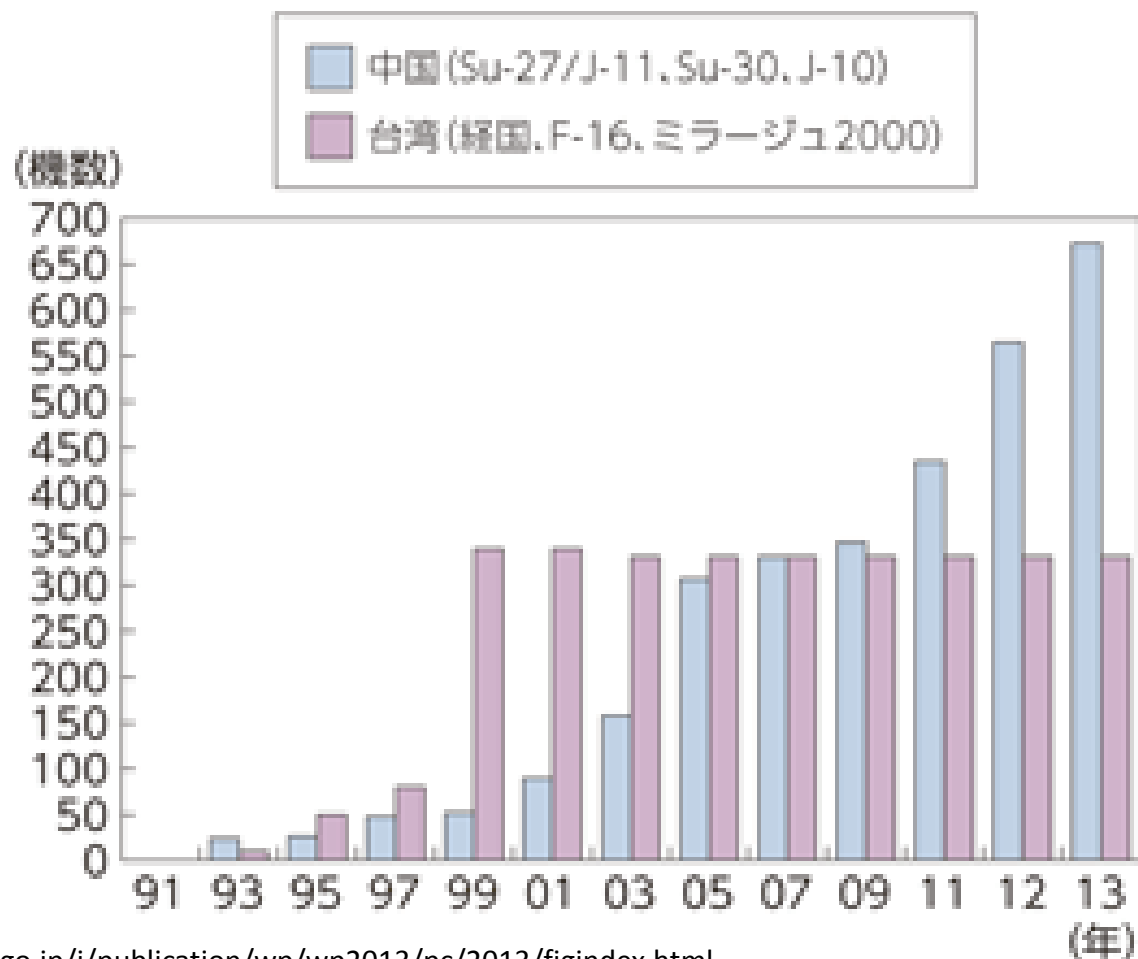
-1-3-1 中国の公表国防費の推移



(注) 2002年度および2004年度の国防予算額は明示されず、公表された伸び率と伸び額を前年当初予算にあてはめると齟齬が生じるため、これらを前年執行実績額からの伸びと仮定して算出し、それぞれ1,684億元および2,100億元として作成

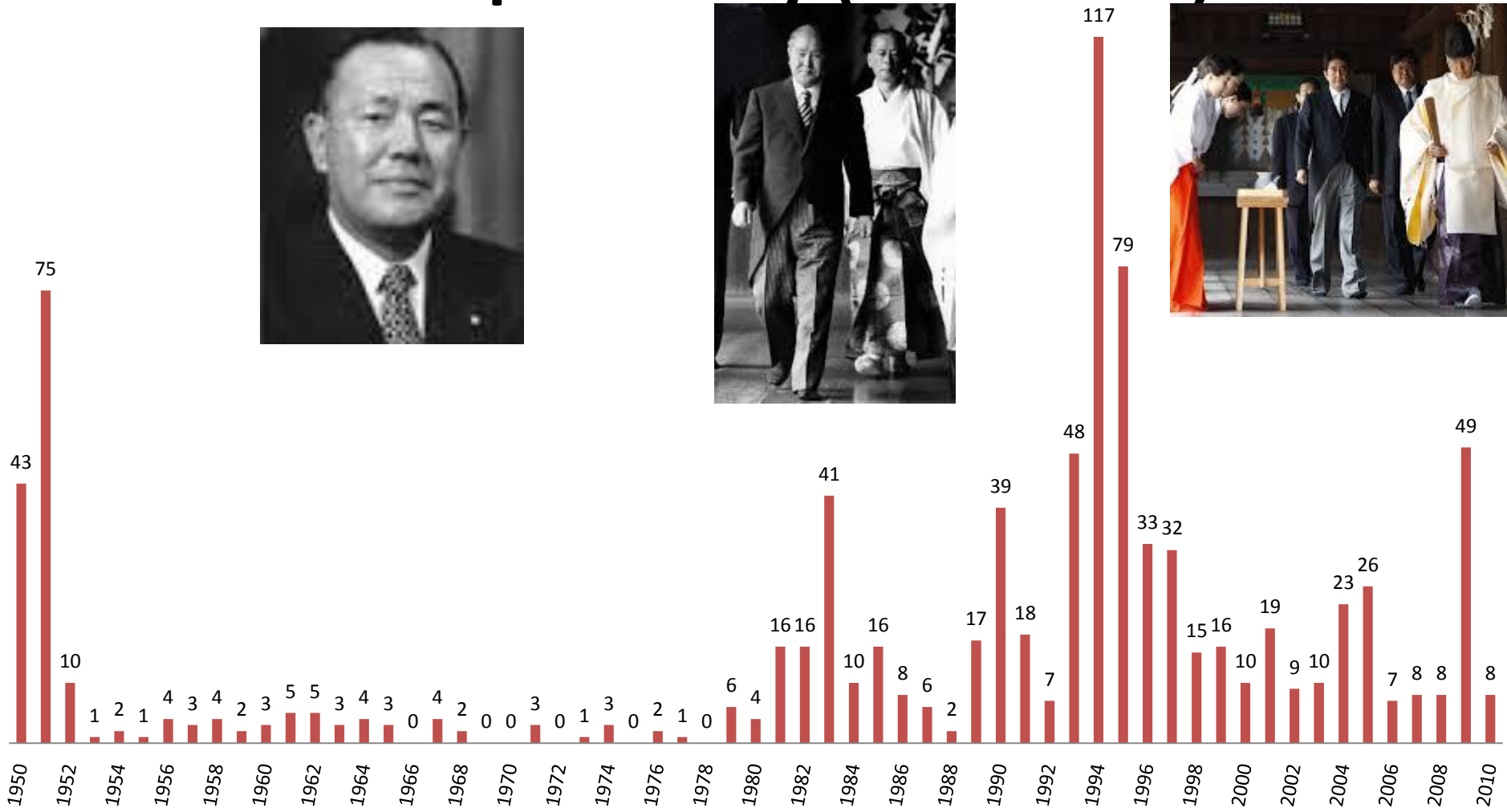
Seek for Air Superiority

図表I-1-3-6 中台の近代的戦闘機の推移



Rise of Chinese Nationalism

Frequency of "patriotism" in titles in People's Daily (1950-2010)



War/battle	The number of war dead toll listed in the Yasukuni Shrine
Boshin War (1868-69)	7,751
Satsuma Rebellion (1877)	6,971
1st Sino-Japanese War (1894-95)	13,619
Taiwan Expedition of 1895	1,130
Boxer Rebellion (1900)	1,256
Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)	88,429
WWI (1914-18)	4,850
Jinan Incident (1928)	185
Mukden Incident (1931-32)	17,176
2nd Sino-Japanese War (1937-45)	191,250
Great East Asia War (1941-45)	2,133,915
Total as for Oct. 2004	2,466,532

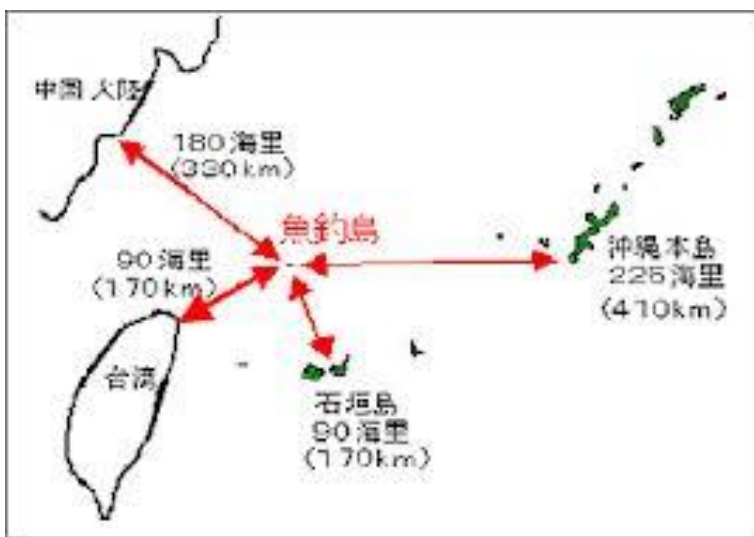
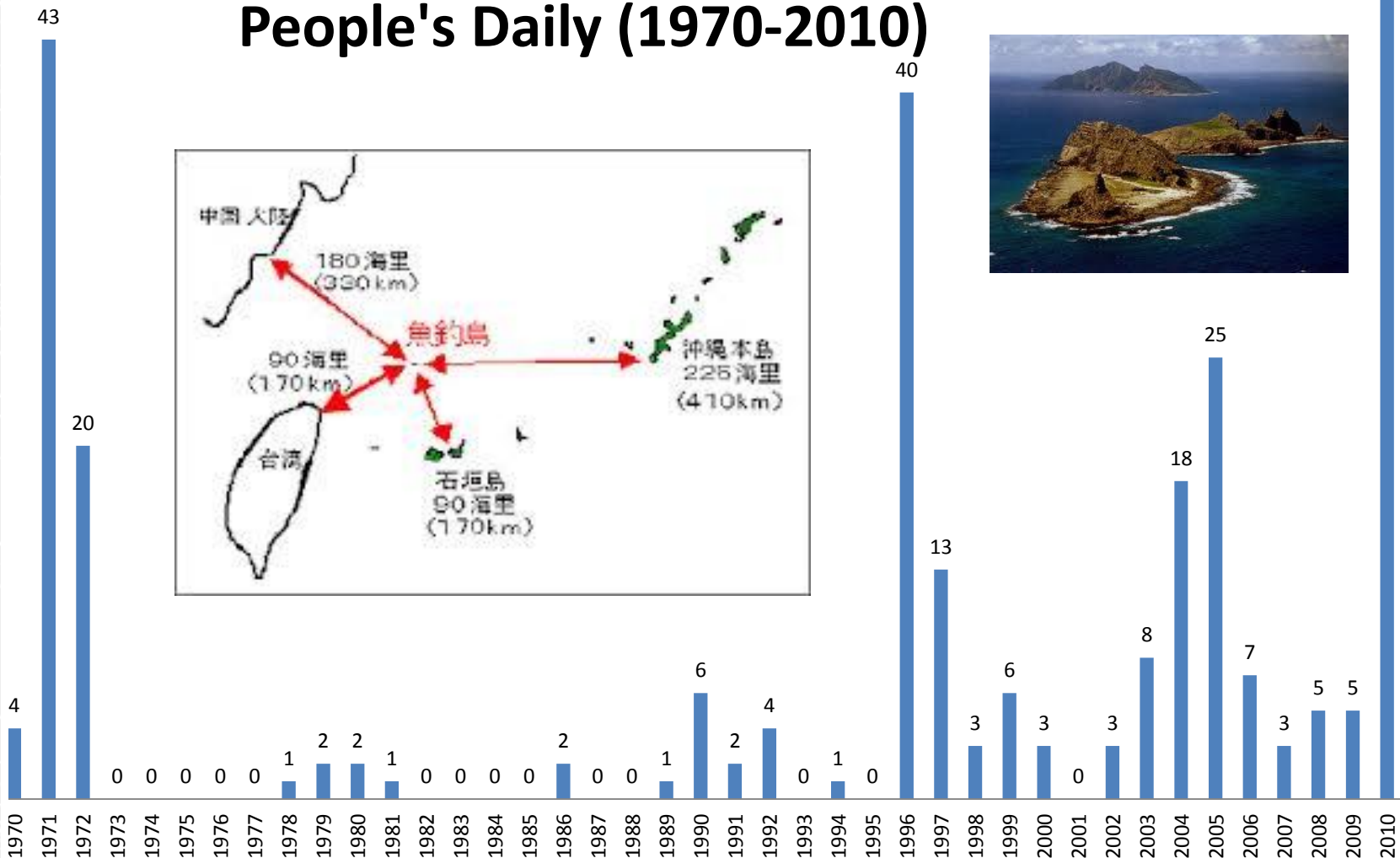
Name of PM	Number of visits
Shigeru Yoshida	
Tetsu Katayama	
Hitoshi Ashida	
Shigeru Yoshida	7
Ichiro Hatoyama	
Tanzan Ishibashi	
Nobusuke Kishi	2
Hayato Ikeda	5
Eisaku Sato	11
Kakuei Tanaka	6
Takeo Miki	3
Takeo Fukuda	4
Masayoshi Ohira	3
Zenko Suzuki	8
Yasuhiro Nakasone	10
Noboru Takeshita	
Sosuke Uno	
Toshiki Kaifu	
Kiichi Miyazawa	
Morihiro Hosokawa	

Tsutomu Hata	
Tomiichi Murayama	
Keizo Obuchi	
Ryutaro Hashimoto	1
Yoshiro Mori	
Junichiro Koizumi	6
Shinzo Abe	
Yasuo Fukuda	
Taro Aso	
Yukio Hatoyama	
Naoto Kan	
Yoshihiko Noda	
Shinzo Abe	1

Ryoko Ichika et.al. eds., *Kiro ni Tatsu Nittyukankei, (revised edition) (Kaiteiban, Sino-Japanese Relations at the Cross-Roads)*, Kyoto: Koyo Shobo, 2013.

Rise of Chinese Nationalism

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



資料

琉球群島人民反對美國佔領的鬥爭

琉球群島散佈在我國台灣東北和日本九州島西南風的公海，飛機場、兵營、司令部以及其他軍事設施。沖繩諸島、大島諸島、土城諸島、大隅諸島、備，將遍布全島。另一方面，據不久前日本的報紙消息稱：美國在沖繩島那霸港口處的浮島神社下，已備建了具有八萬噸容量的三個地下油庫，沖繩島國各地都散佈着基地，共修建有二十幾個大型飛機場，並且在斯美大島、宮古島、中之島等諸島面積為四千六百七十平方公里。群島中最大的島上有名稱為島嶼和四百多個無名小島，全部

把琉球群島變成了美國的軍事基地，一百萬琉球人民在美國的奴役與剝削下，已在水深火熱中，過着極其悲慘的生活。凡是被美軍圈定為訓練軍事目標的土地，全部居民便搬遷到自己的墳地，現在僅沖繩島就有三分之二的土地被徵作軍用。琉球人民不僅土地被徵佔，而且有勞動力的年青人大都被強迫去參加建築美國軍事基地的奴隸勞動。美國侵略者用槍刺殘酷地逼琉球人民自己去毀滅賴以爲生的和平家園與漁村，以致全島農田荒蕪，食糧缺乏，民不聊生，進行了自戕滅的鬥爭。美軍佔領琉球後，如一九四八年八月，在油

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

Reactive Assertiveness ?



“We send our ships in order to break Japan’s effective control over the islands”

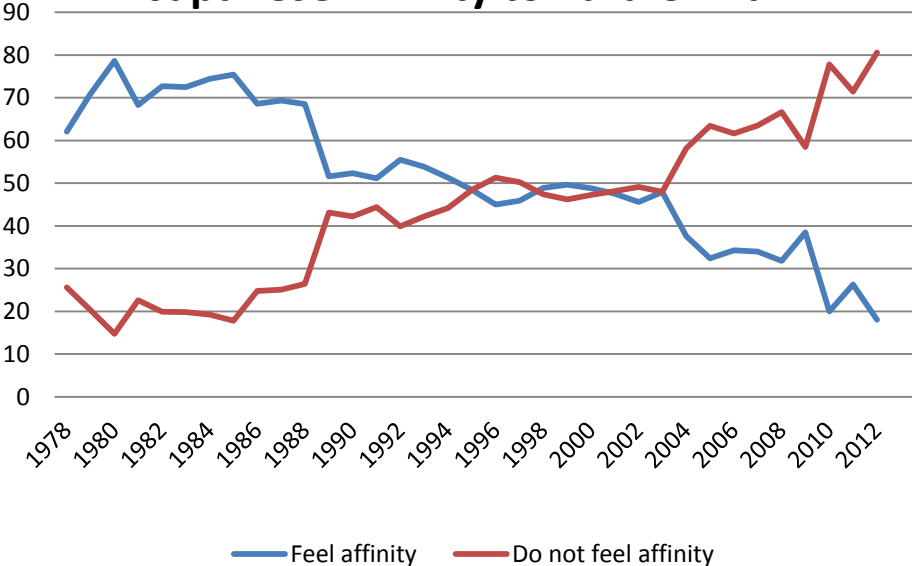
People’s Daily,
March 21, 2012



Anti-Japanese Riots in Sep. 2012

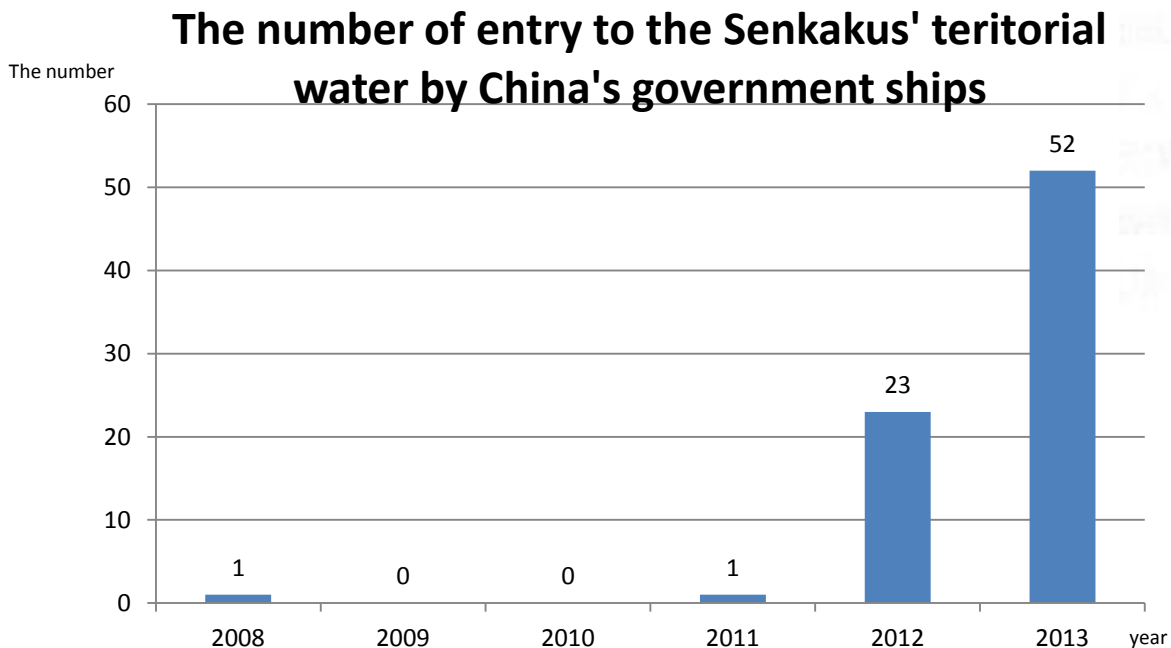


Japanese Affinity toward China

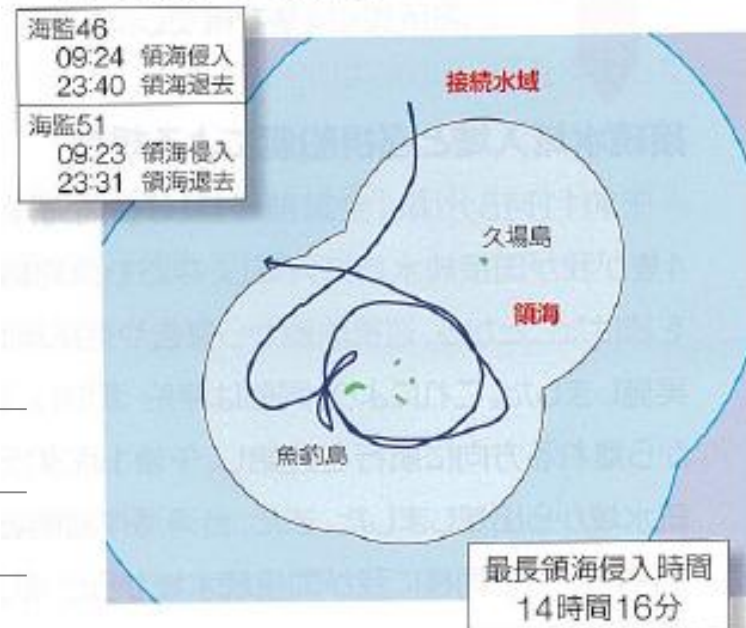


Behavioral Patterns of Chinese Vessels in the Contiguous Zone and Territorial Sea

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



»平成25年2月4日の中国公船による領海侵入・はいかいイメージ図



Japan Coast Guard Report, 2013

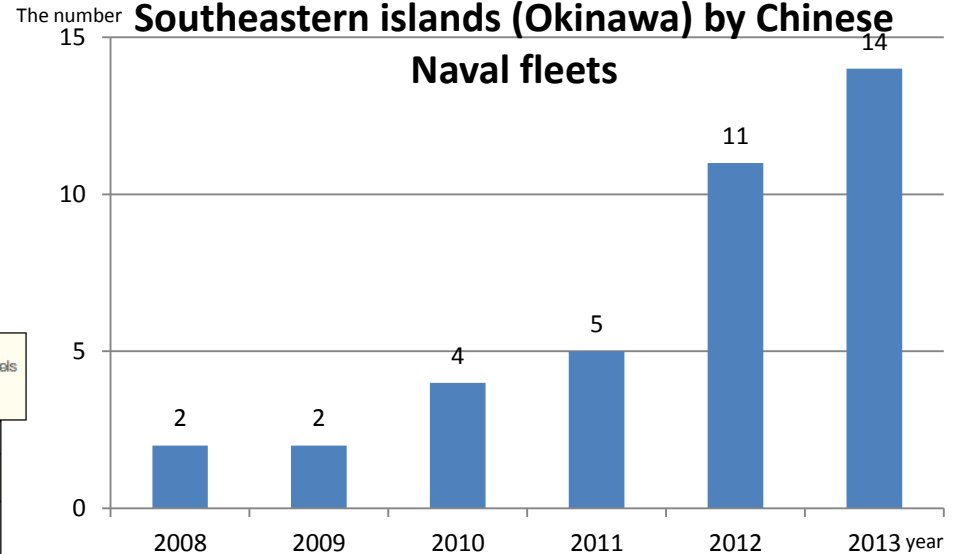
“Chugoku kosento niyoru Senkaku Syoto shuhen no setuzokusuiiki nai nyuiki oyobi ryokai shinnyu sekisu (tsukibetsu),” (Monthly statistics of entry of contiguous zones and violation of territorial waters of Senkaku Islands by Chinese government ships)

Japan Coast Guard,

<<http://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/senkaku/index.html>>

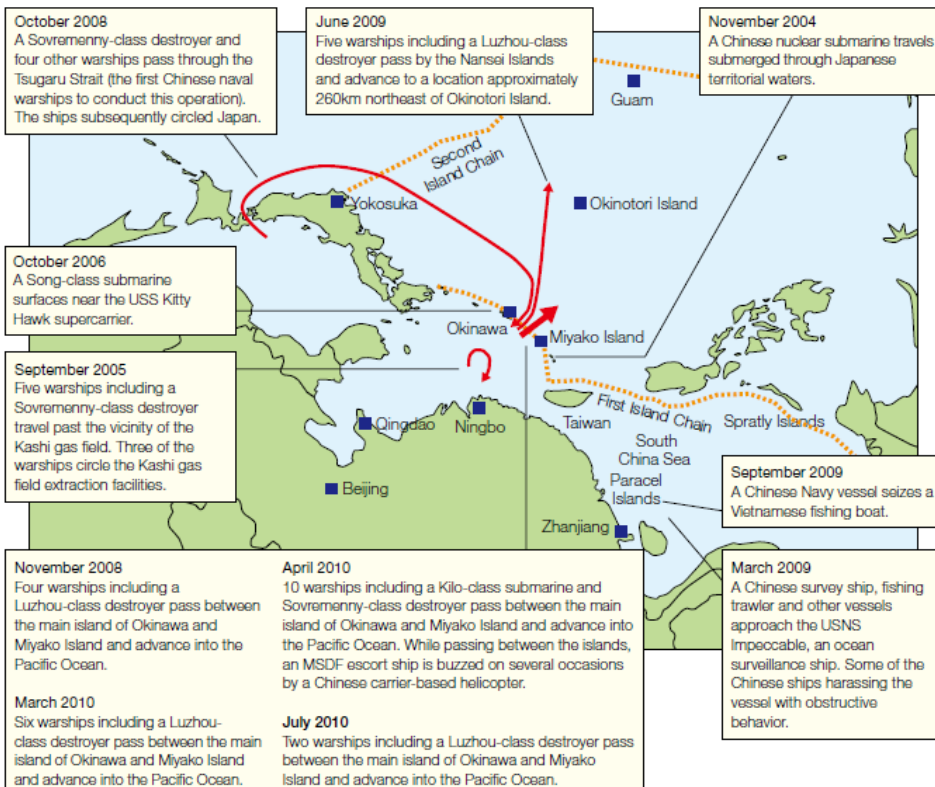
Growing China's Naval Activities in East China Sea and Western Pacific

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

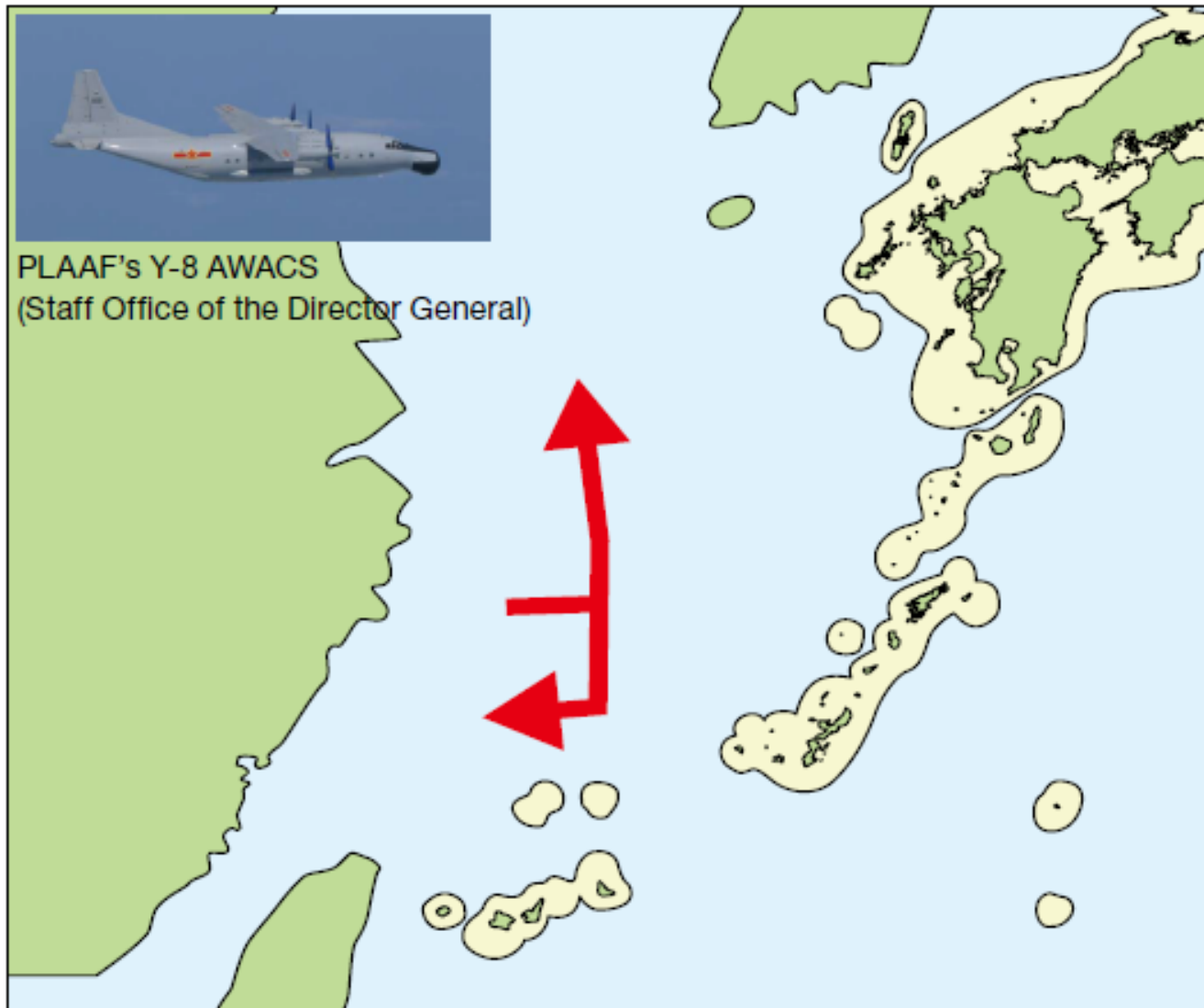


Data collected from *Defense of Japan* (from 2008 to 2013), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun*, *Sankei Shimbun*, *Kyodo News* and *Jiji Press*.

NIDS China Security Report, 2011

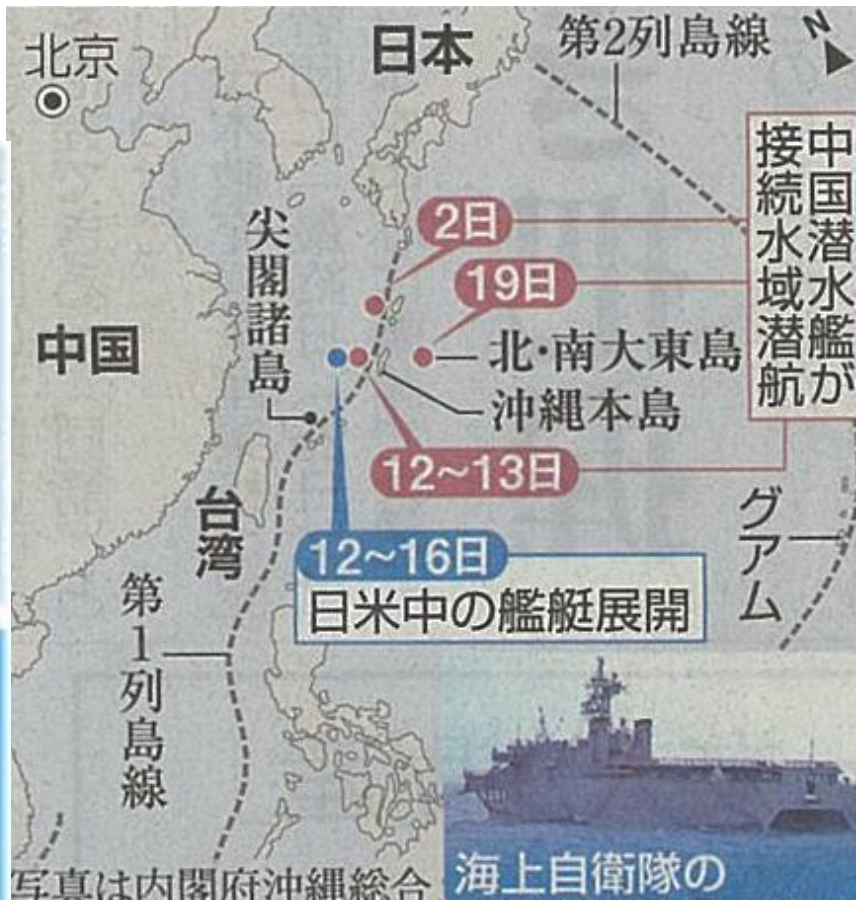
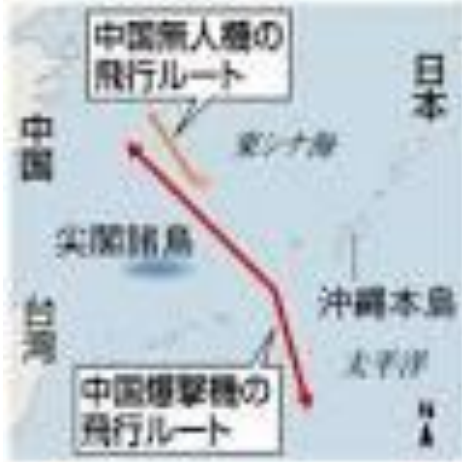


Flight Pattern of Military Aircraft



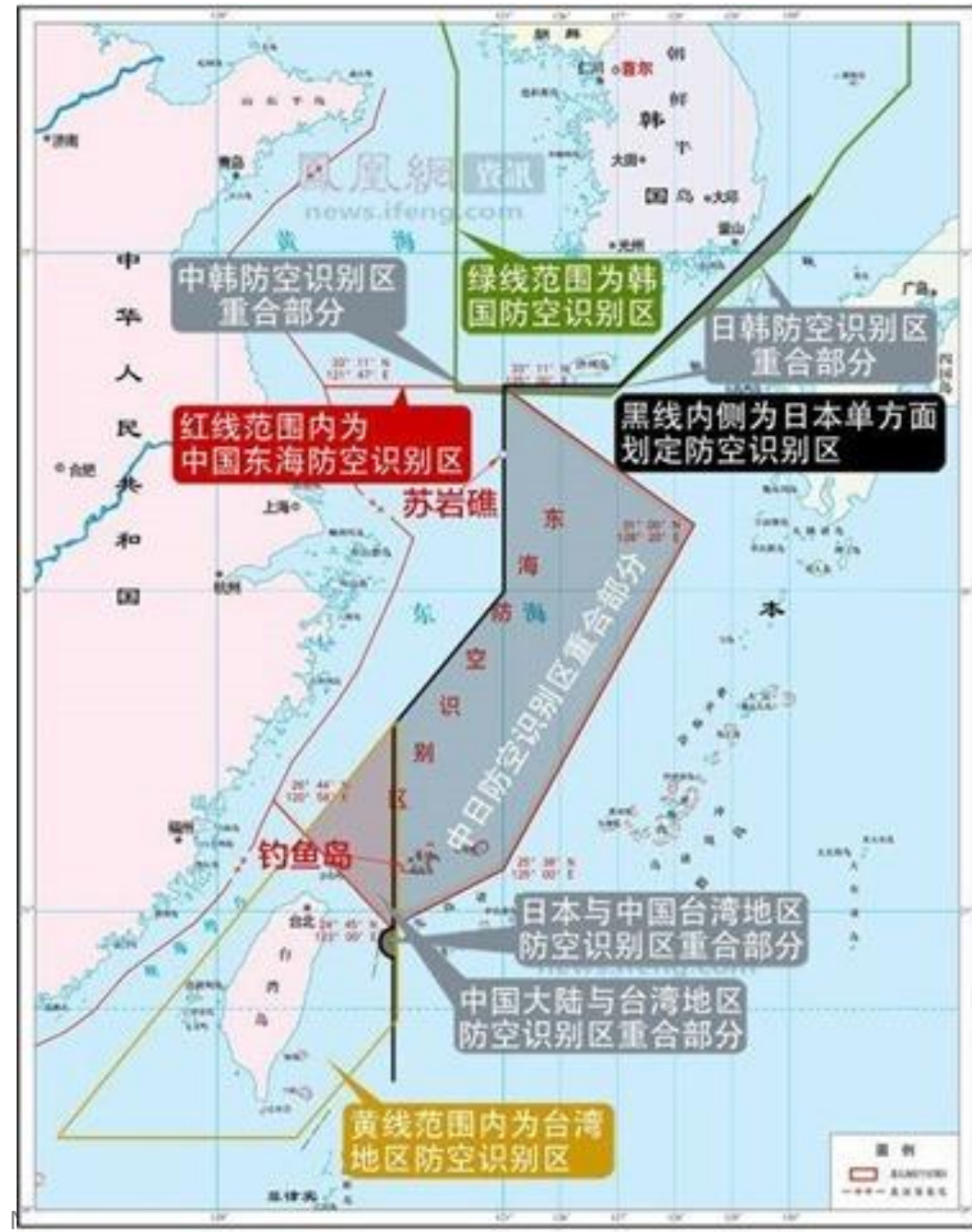
China's Provocations by Military and Other Physical Means (2012-2013)

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

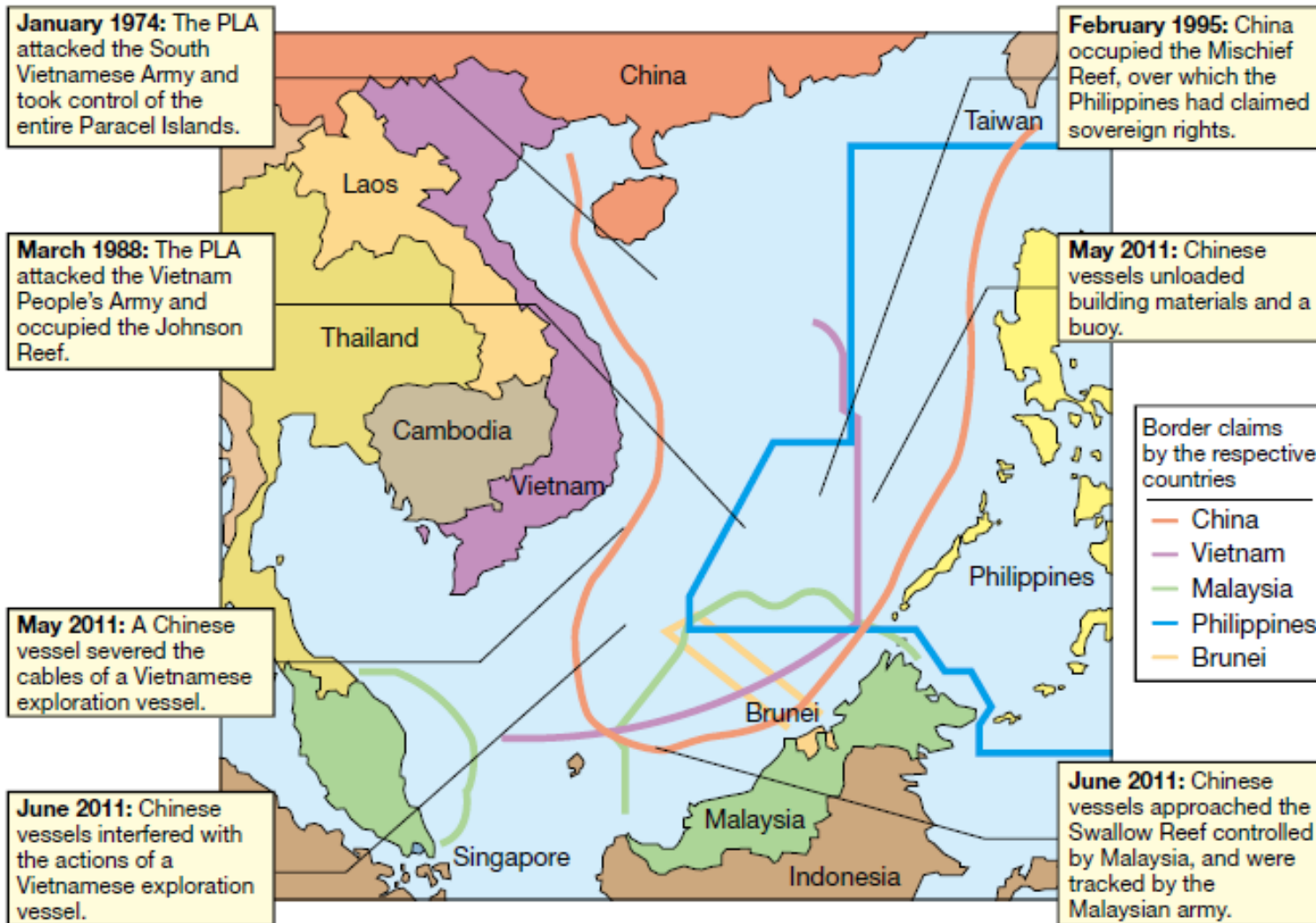


China's ADIZ(2013) “no-fly zone?”

- Plan to set-up ADIZ in the South China Sea



China's Expansion in the South China Sea



Source: Compiled from U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2011* (Washington, DC: Department of Defense, 2011), p.16, as well as other reports.

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

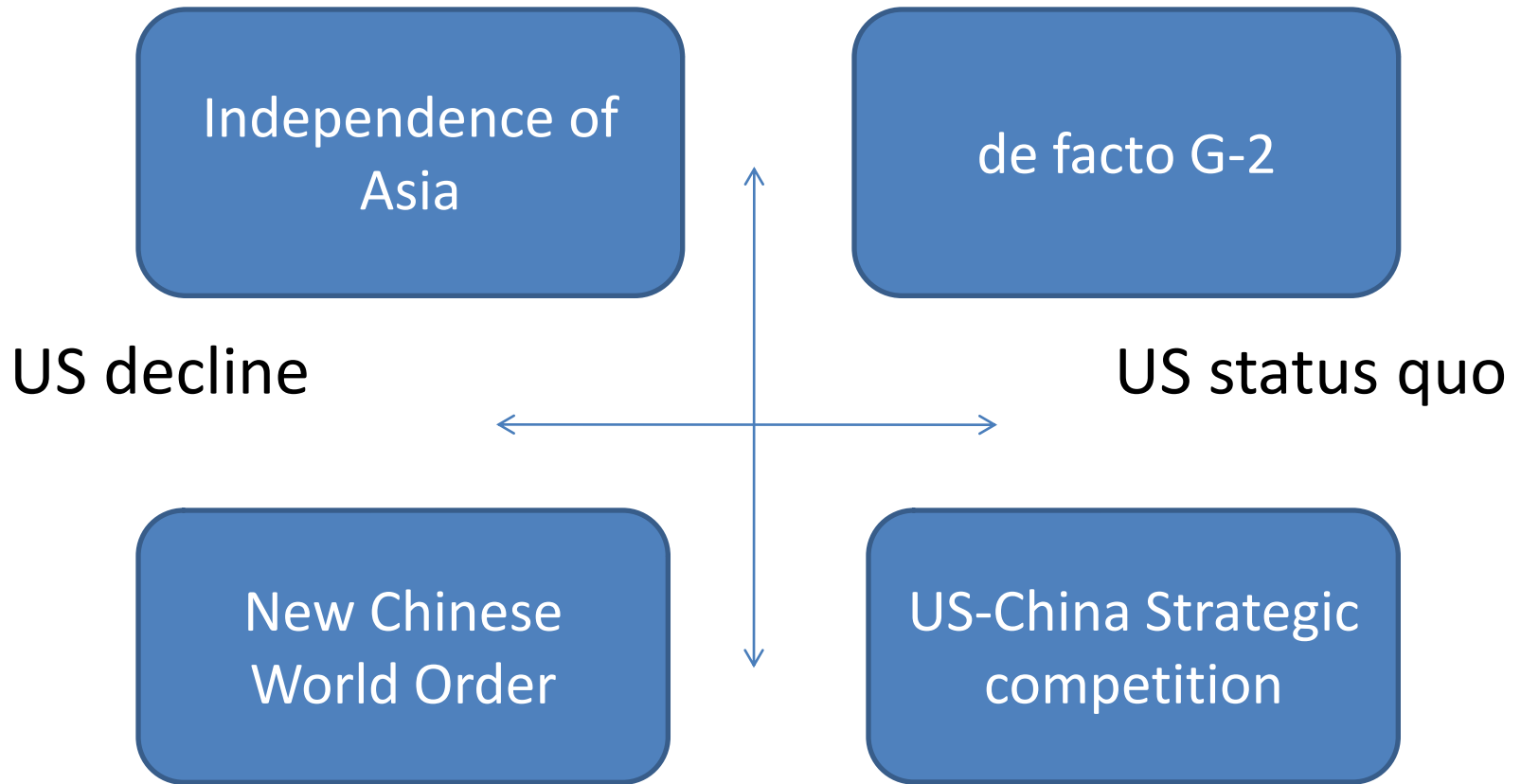


- Iraq and Afghanistan: impression of “retreat”
- The failure of US “strategic reassurance” toward the PRC
- No budget reduction of defense in the region
- Futemma conundrum and base realignmnt
- Importance of the Sino-US relationship
- Pivot/Rebalancing: China? Yes.
- Importance as an offshore balancer



Four Scenarios in East Asia

Cooperative China



Hegemonic China