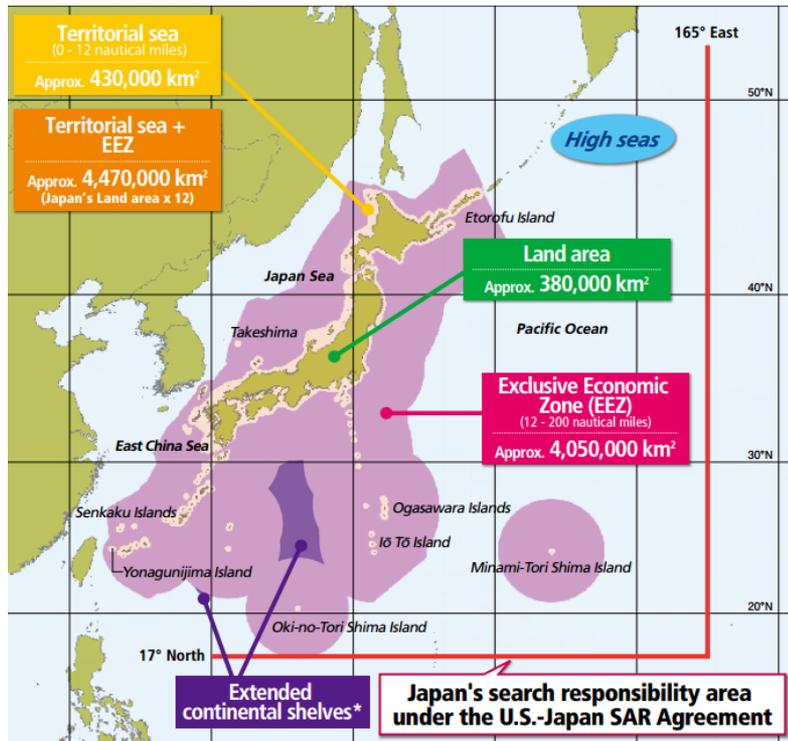


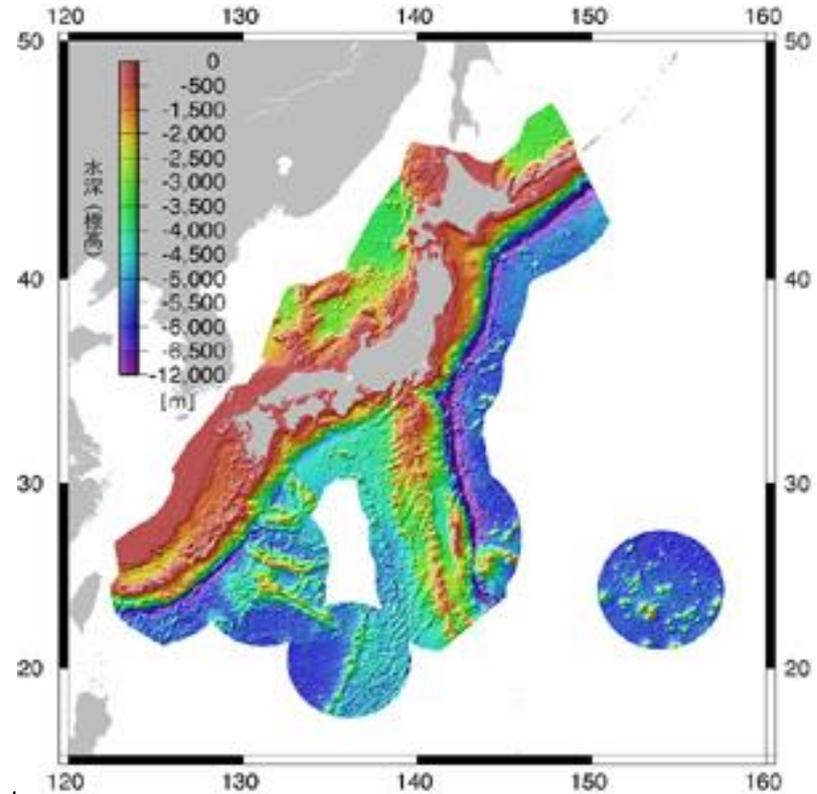
**“Troubled Waters”
in the South and East China Seas**

Shingo YAMAGAMI

Overview



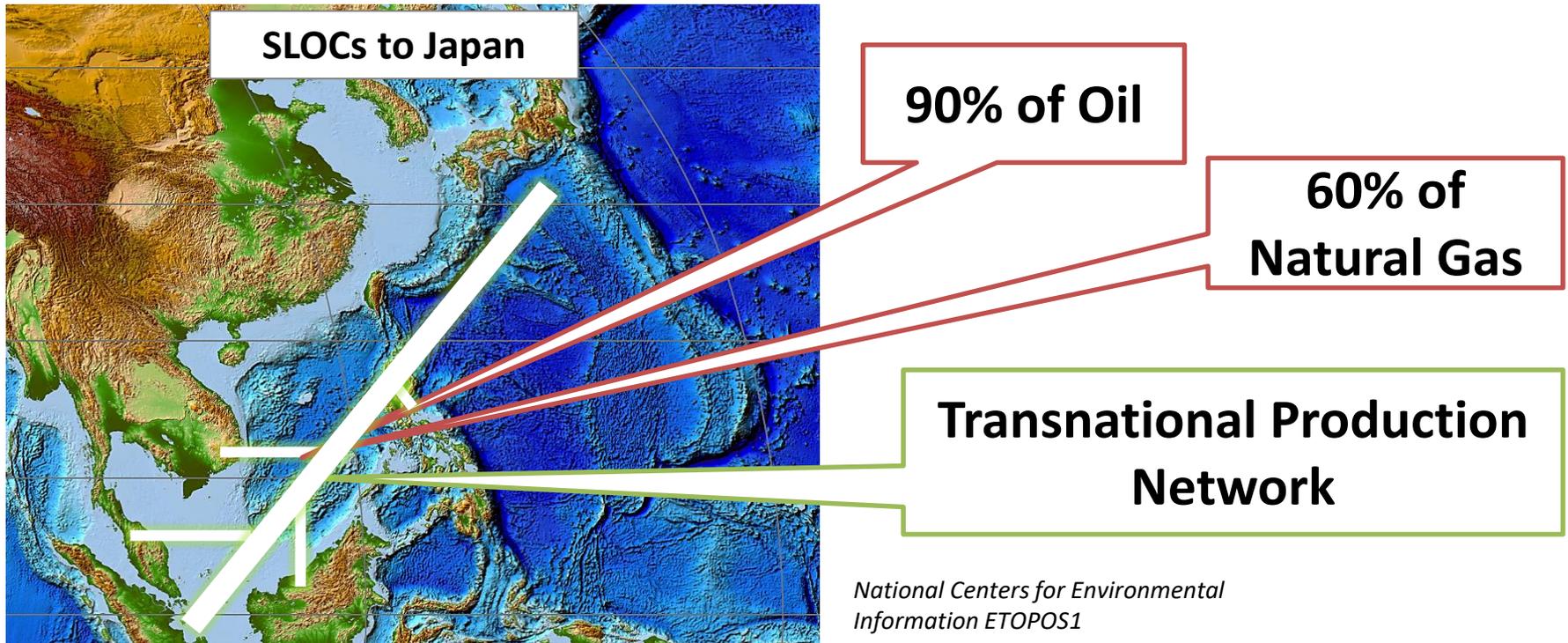
*Areas of the sea as defined in Article 2 (2) of the Exclusive Economic Zone and Continental Shelf Act (Japan Coast Guard, Pamphlet)



National Centers for Environmental Information EPTOS2 cited in Matsuzawa (2005)

- **6th largest gross area of EEZ and territorial sea combined (4.47 mil km²)**
- **4th largest volume of water (15.8 million km³)**

Overview

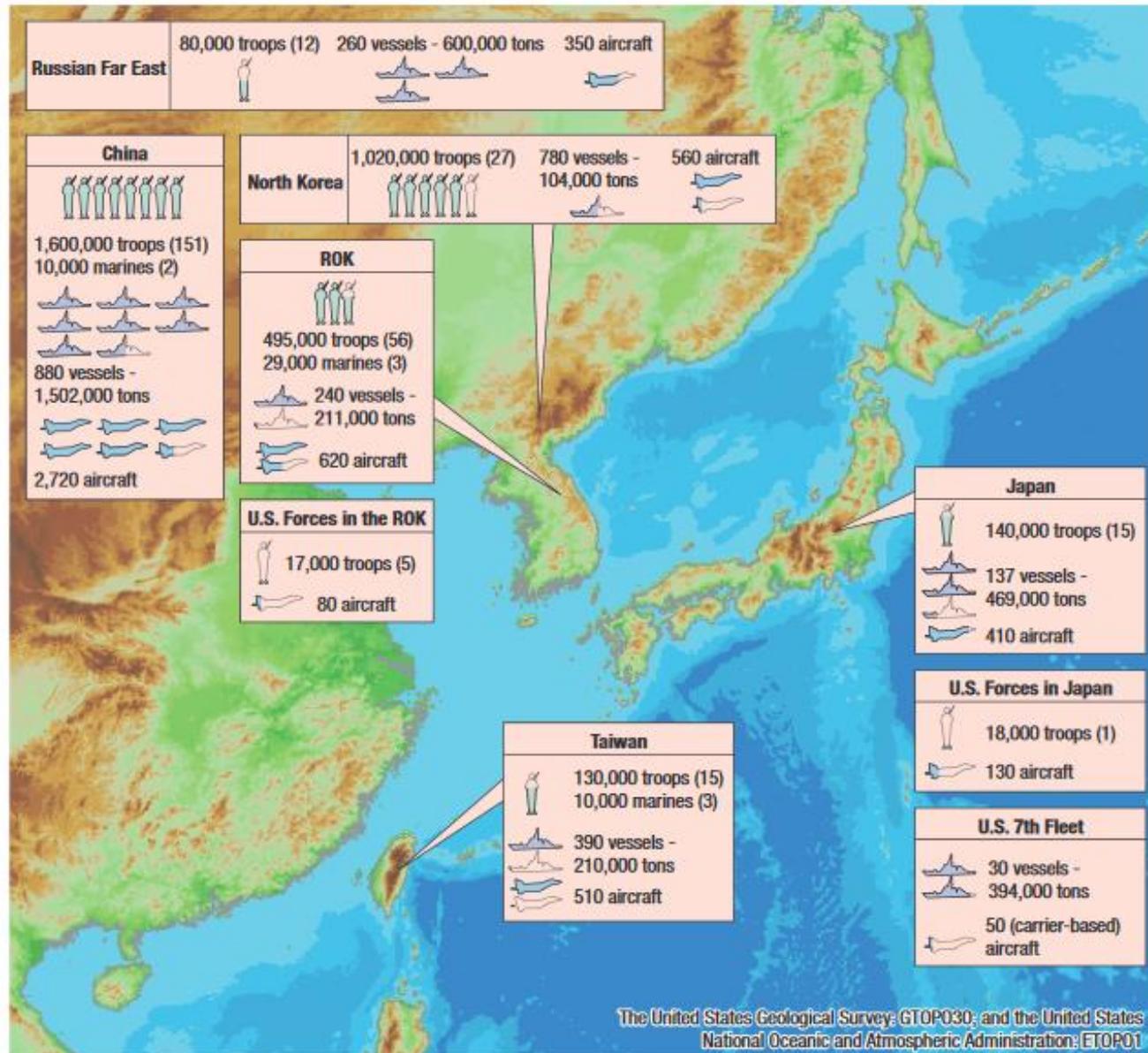


- **Approximately one-third of global trade (values: \$5.3 bil) passes through the South China Sea**

For Japan

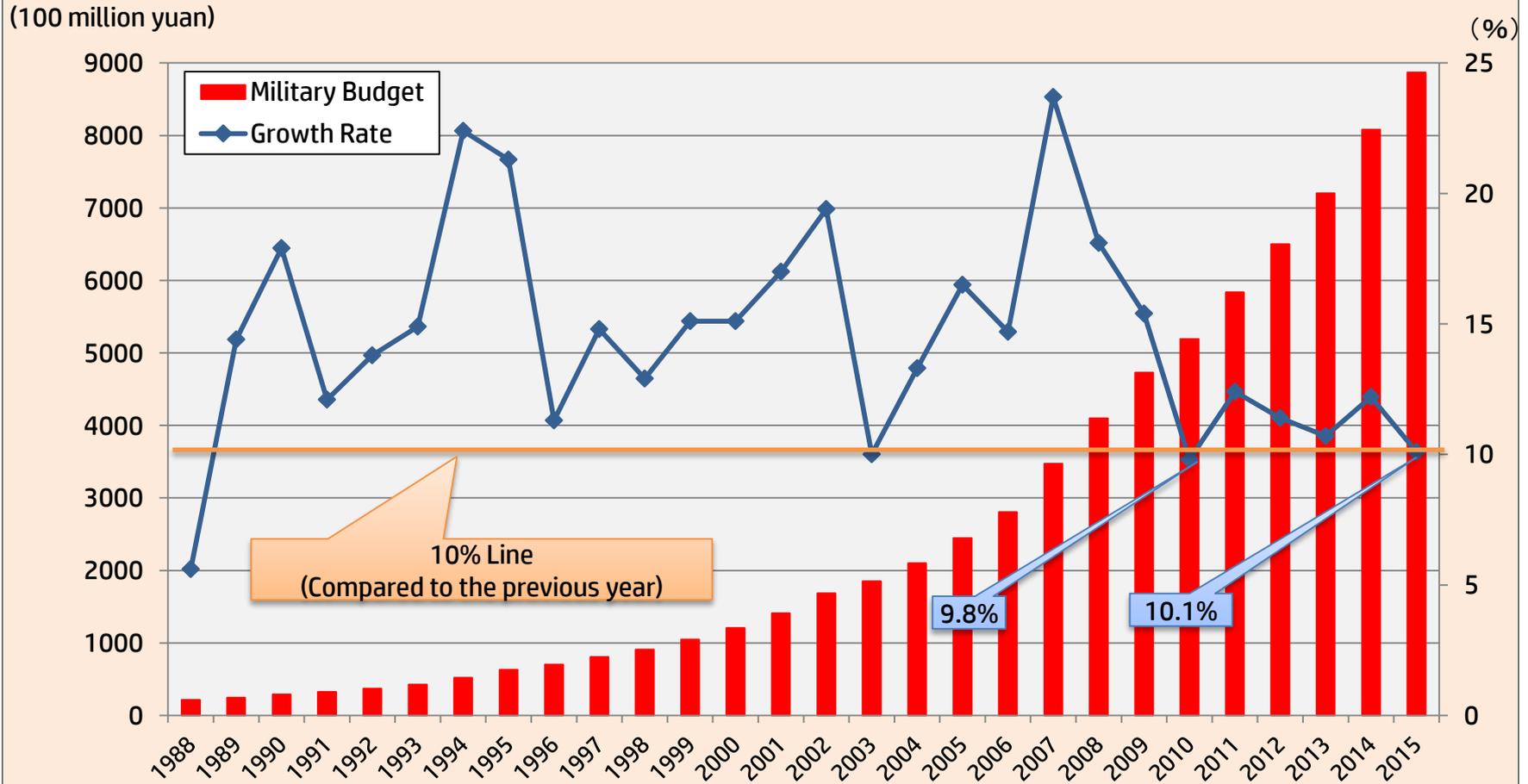
- **Seaborne trade dominates 99.7% of trade (weight: 973 mil tons)**
- **Key energy imports pass through the Malacca Strait and the South China Sea**

Overview



Overview

Change in China's Announced Defense Budget



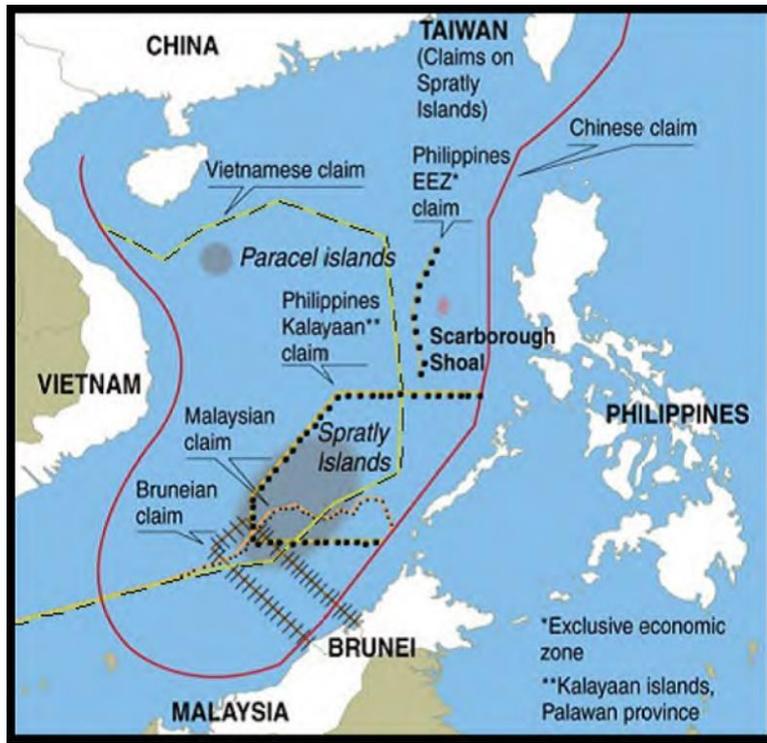
The defense budget of China is **3.3 times larger** than the defense related expenditures of Japan

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

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

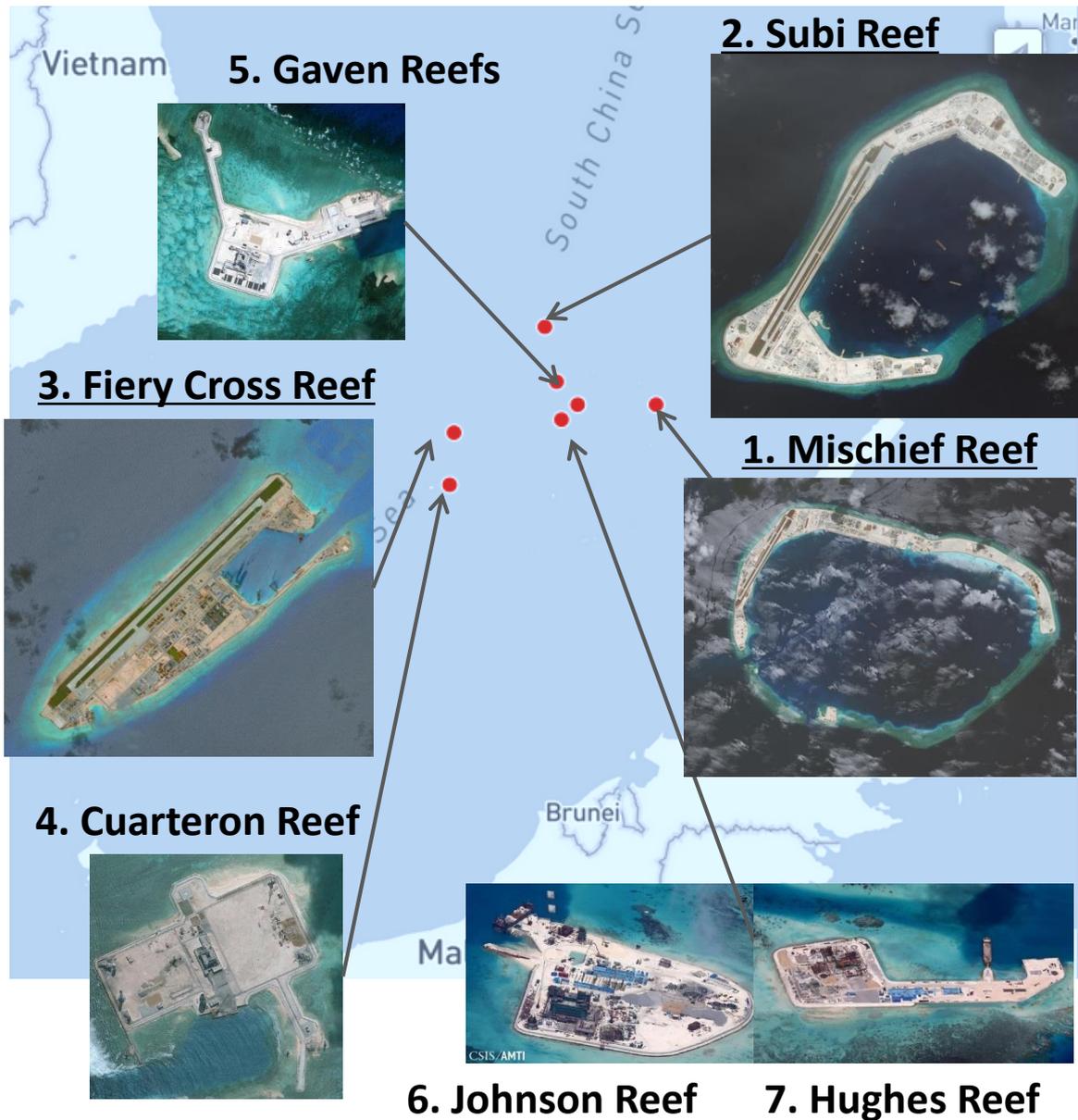
***Two digit increase** since 1989, except 2010

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**

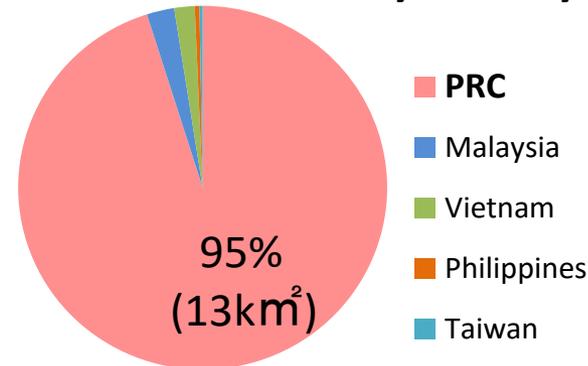
South China Sea ②



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

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/>

South China Sea ④

China's Strategy to Gain Sea Control



Source: Vice Adm. (Ret.) Yoji Koda

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



Wisdom of the Ancients for Today

The mantis stalks the cicada, unaware of the oriole waiting in the backdrop.

(This image describes those shortsighted people wanting to hurt others, unaware of greater lurking dangers.)

— By Zhuang Zi
(370-287 B.C., a philosopher during the Warring States Period)



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

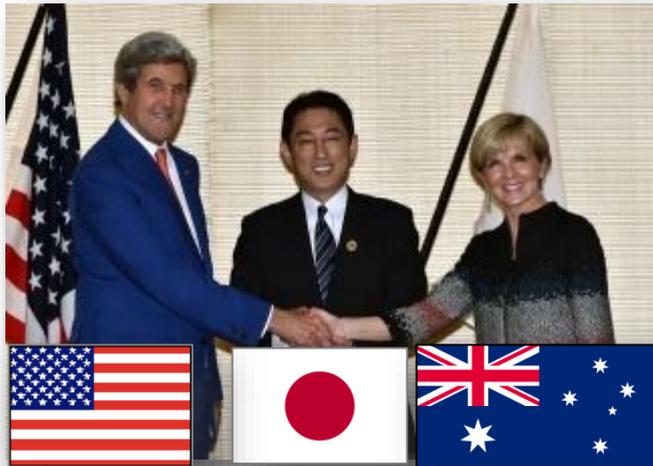
Post-Arbitration ① Legal/Diplomatic Approach



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 final award of the arbitration... amounts to **nothing more than a piece of paper.** (Dai Bingguo July 5)

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)

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)

Post-Arbitration ② Capacity-building (the Philippines)

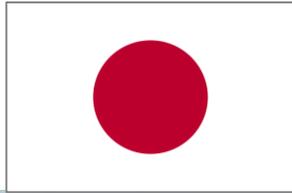


Photo: Japan Maritime Self Defense Force

- Providing 10 patrol vessels (agreed in 2013) and two more large patrol vessels (agreed in 2016)
- Defence equipment transfer agreement (Feb. 2016)
- Leasing five TC-90 training airplanes (May 2016)



- Donated two decommissioned Heavy Landing Crafts (LCHs) (Nov 2015) and sold three more (May 2016)

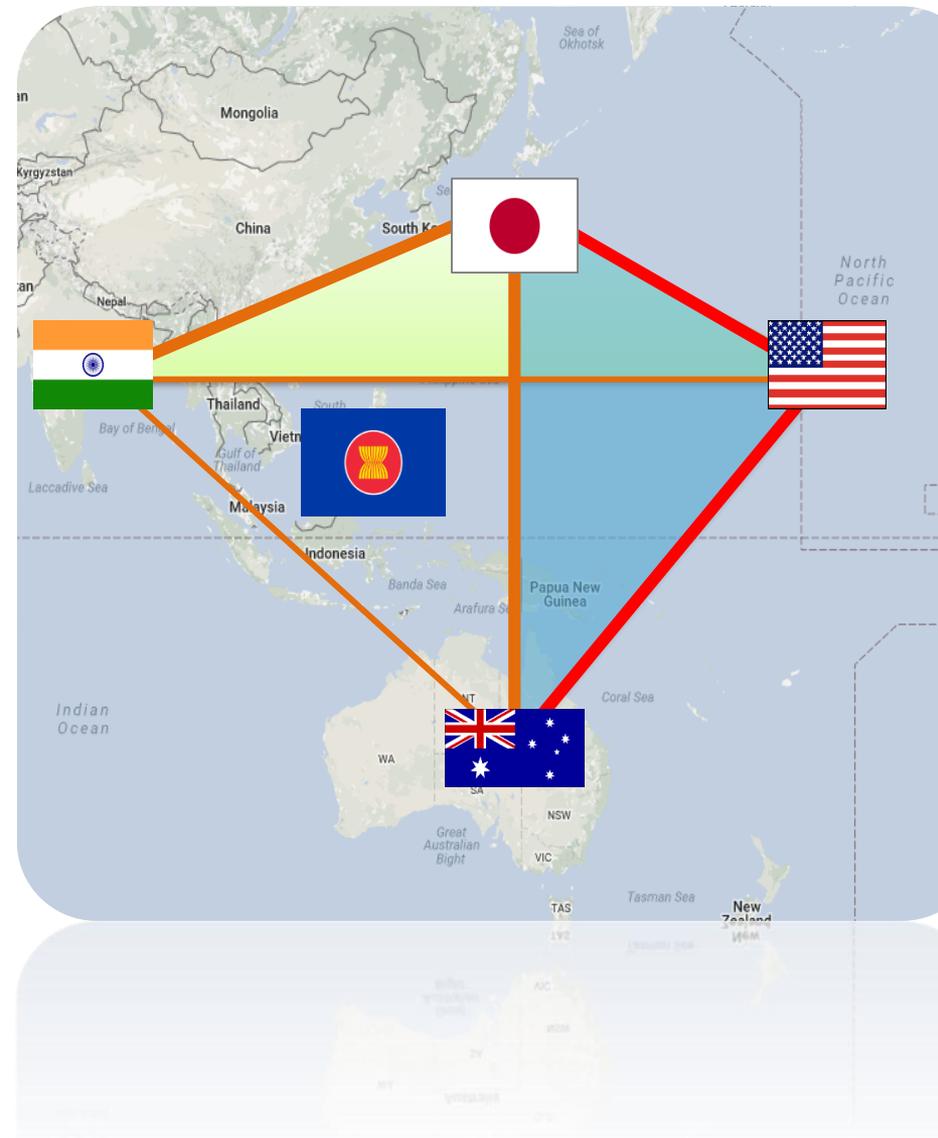


Photo: Royal Australian Navy



- Handed over a C-130 transport aircraft (April 2016) & Coast Guard Cutters (2011, 2013, 2016)
- Providing \$42 million under the Southeast Asia Maritime Security Initiative (FY 2016)

Post-Arbitration ③ Military Presence



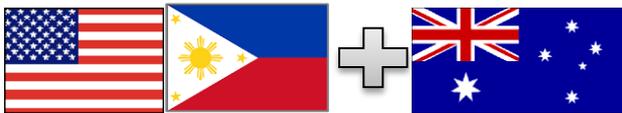
Japan's involvement in multilateral joint drills (Jan. 2016~)

Date	Name	Participants	Venue
Jan.	JPN-US-AUS joint exercise	US, AUS	Indian Ocean
Jan-Feb	Cobra Gold	US, THA, etc	Thailand
Feb.	Cope North Guam	US, AUS	Guam
Feb-Jun	International Mine Countermeasures	US, etc.	Arabian Peninsula
Apr.	KOMODO	IDN, US, etc.	Indonesia
May	ADMM Plus, Maritime security, Counter-terrorism	AUS, US, NZ, IND, etc.	Brunei & Singapore
Jun	Malabar	US, IND	Western Pacific
Jul.-Sep	Pacific Partnership	US, AUS, UK, ROK, NZ	Southeast Asia
Oct	KAKADU 2016	AUS, US, IND, ROK	Australia

Post-Arbitration ④ Military Presence

➤ Joint drills (bilateral and trilateral)

- **Balikatan**



with Australia (since 2014)

- JMSDF&PN (June 2015)
- JCG&PCG (July 2016)



- **Talisman Saber**



with Japan (since 2015)

- **Malabar**



**only 2007* The image shows the national flags of Australia and Singapore arranged horizontally. A grey plus sign is placed between the two flags.

➤ Increasing presence of JMSDF

P-3C patrol aircraft make transit through the South China Sea, including the Philippines and Vietnam.

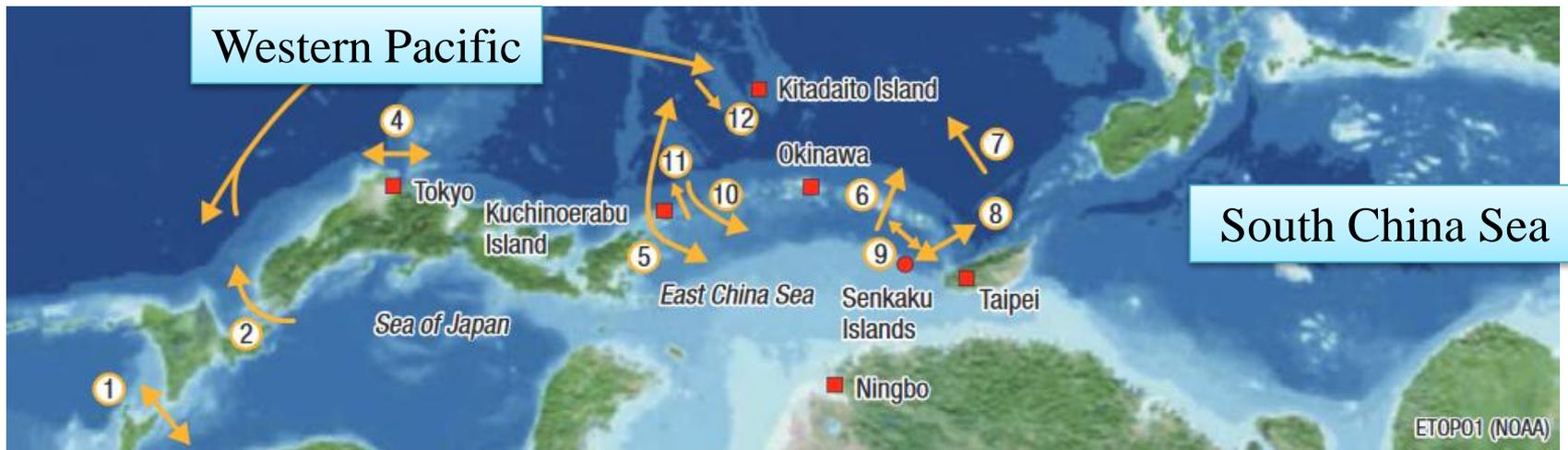
April 3, 2016: Japanese submarine with destroyers, Subic Bay

April 13, 2016: Two destroyers, Cam Ranh Bay

April 26, 2016: Hyūga-class helicopter destroyer, Subic Bay

May 29, 2016: Uraga, the mother ship and Takashima, a minesweeping vessel, Cam Ranh Bay

East China Sea ①



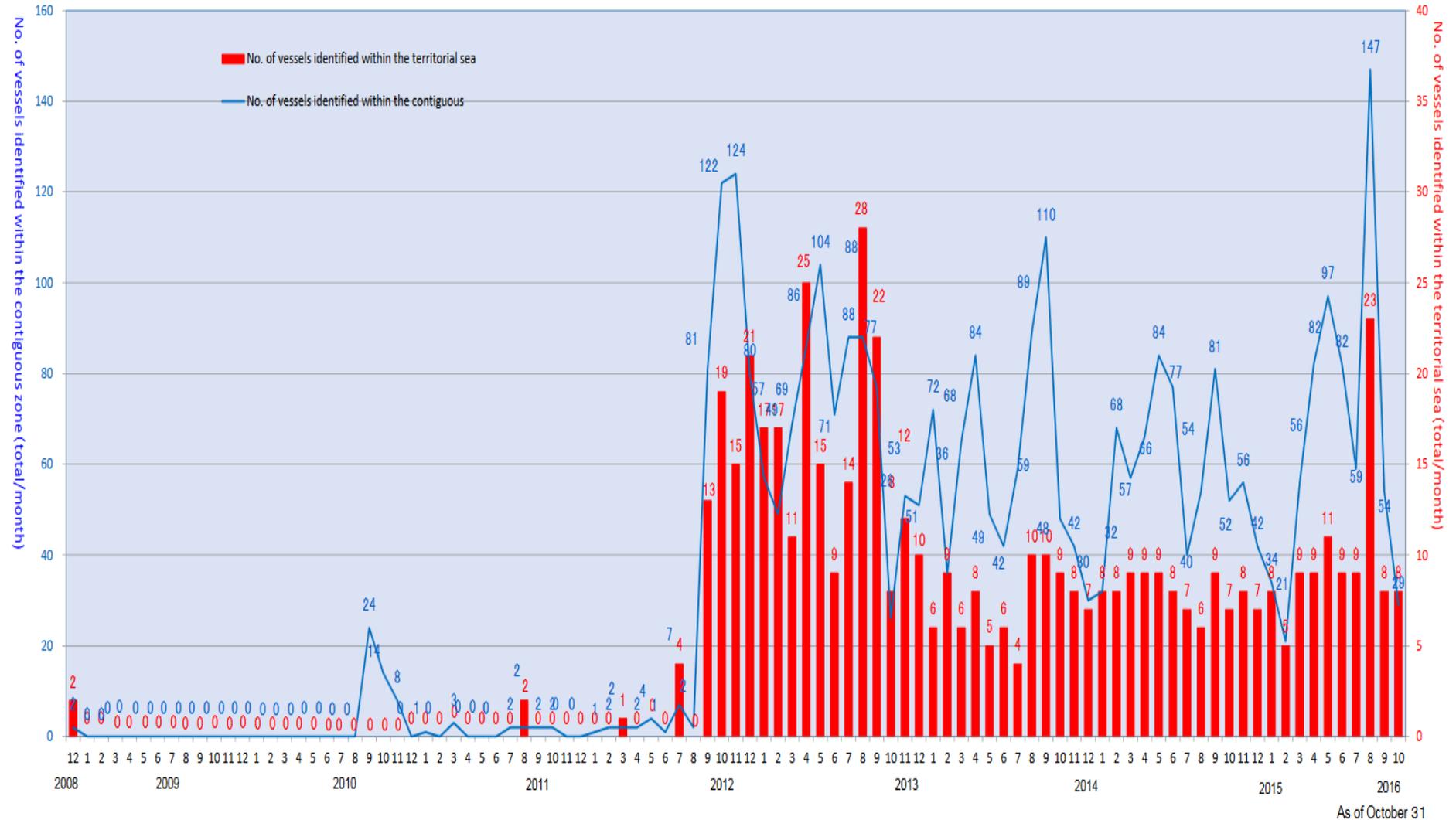
- **Unilateral action to change the status quo by force and intimidation.**
- **Challenge to the rules-based international order, not just to Japan's sovereignty.**

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]

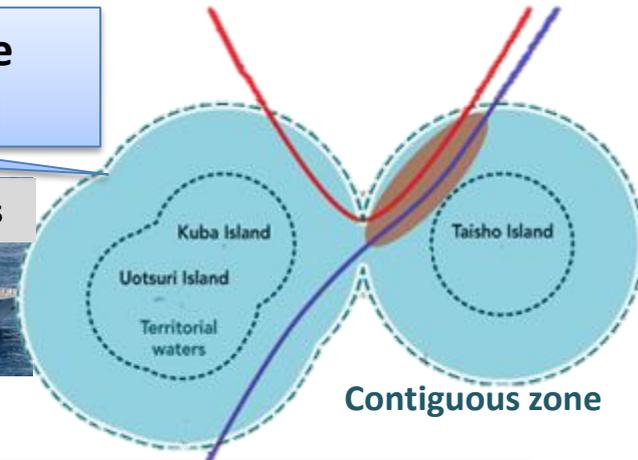
East China Sea ③



■ 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)

East China Sea ④

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]



Collision of a Chinese fishing vessel and a Greece cargo ship: Rescue by JCG

200-300 fishing vessels escorted by maximum 15 Chinese government vessels repeatedly entered Japan's territorial waters around the Senkaku Islands [4 August ~ 26 August]



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

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

