

Regional Preventive Diplomacy : The Role of ASEAN in Managing Tensions in the Wider Asia-Pacific Region - Japanese View -

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Ms Takako ITO
Charge d'Affaires, Mission of Japan to ASEAN

Global Security Environment and Challenges

➤ In the 21st century, we are facing:

- Rapidly changing global balance of power
 - China's increasing presence
 - US: Changing relative influence and "rebalancing policy"
 - Increasing interdependency among states ← globalization, technological development
 - More roles by non-state actors
- Threat of Proliferation of WMD ▪ ▪ ▪ NBC
- Threat of International Terrorism
- Risk to Global Commons
 - Not paying respect to existing international law: sea
 - Applicable norms to be developed: outer space, cyberspace
- Challenge to Human Security ▪ ▪ ▪ threat to the survival and dignity of individuals
- The Global Economy and its Risks

Security Environment in the Asia Pacific Region

- **Insufficient institutionalization of regional cooperation framework**
 - Diverse political, economic and social systems, diverse views on security, large-scale military forces or nuclear weapons
 - Regional security cooperation is not sufficiently institutionalized
- **North Korea's military buildup and Provocative Actions**
 - Enhanced capability of WMD (including nuclear weapons)
 - Gross violations of human rights and humanitarian concerns, including the issue of abductions
- **China's Rapid Rise and Intensified Activities in Various Areas** ✦
 - Rapid and broad advancing of military modernization without sufficient transparency
 - Attempts to change status quo by coercion based on their own assertions
 - East China Sea (Senkaku Islands, ADIZ),
 - South China Sea

Senkaku Islands (1)

➤ In light of historical facts and based upon international law, Senkaku Islands are an inherent part of the territory of Japan.

- 1895 Incorporated Senkaku Islands into Okinawa Prefecture after careful ascertainment that there had been no trace of control over Islands by others
- 1946 Japan's administration over Senkaku was suspended by GHQ (US administration over Okinawa started)
- 1951 Japan signed San Francisco Peace Treaty
 - Art.2 Returned Taiwan (Formosa) and the Pescadores
 - Art. 3 US as the sole administering authority over Nansei Shoto south of 29dgrs. north latitude • • • Senkaku was Under US administration (US military drills conducted on Senkaku Islands)
- 1968 ECAFE report on the possibility of petroleum in East China Sea
- 1971 Okinawa Reversion Agreement was signed. Senkaku was returned to Japan. China and Taiwan started to claim Senkaku Islands as their territories.

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Senkaku Islands (2)

➤ Japan will not escalate the tension.

- Even to the locked-ins by the Chinese vessel (act of war), Japanese vessels took the maximum restraint.
- “Nationalization of Senkaku Islands” is a transfer of the right to land from a private Japanese citizen to the government within its sovereign territory.

➤ Japan is ready to have a dialogue.

- Maritime passage mechanism between defense authorities to be started
- Japan-China Senior Official Level Maritime Consultation

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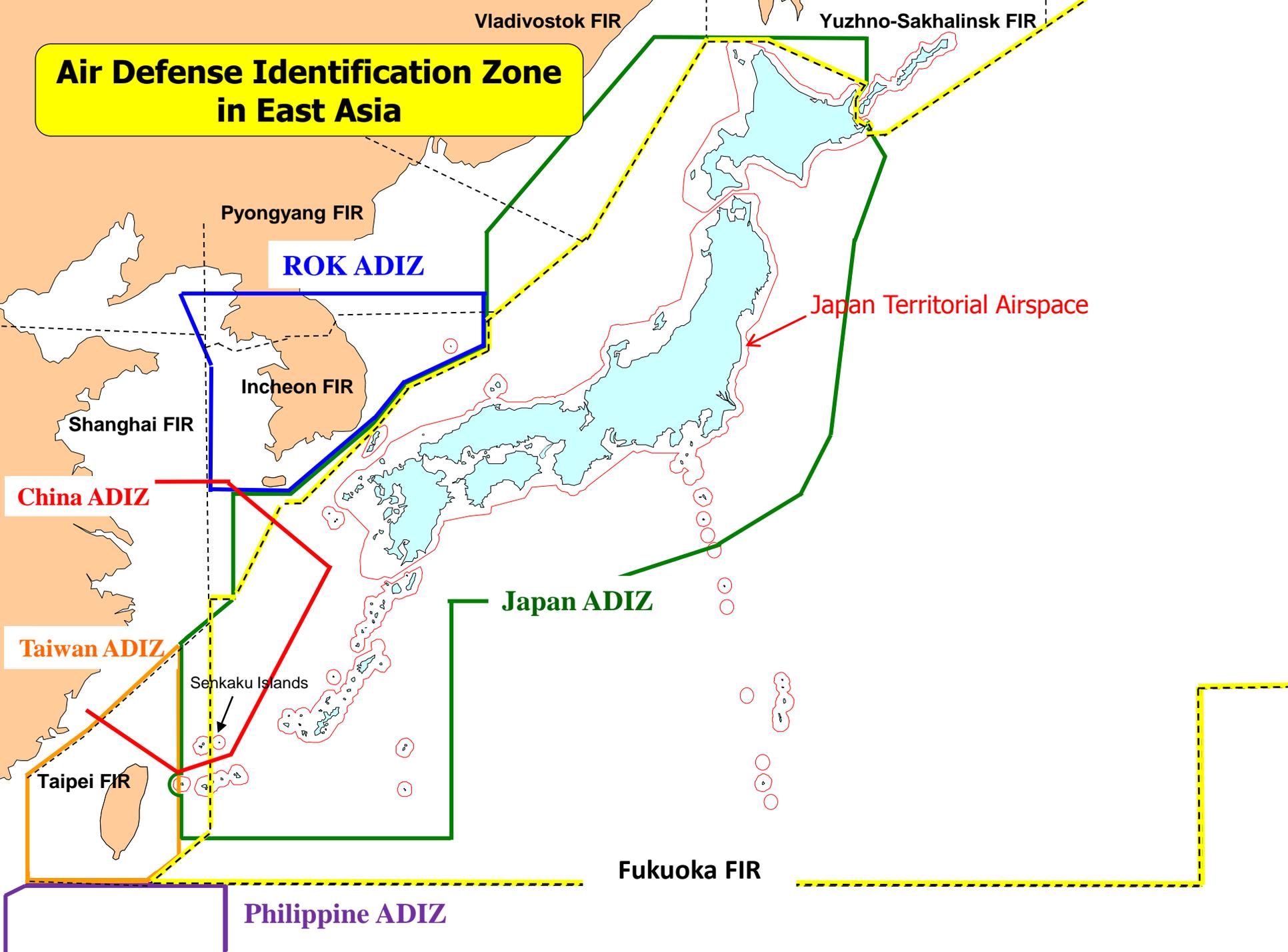
Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ)

On 23 November 2013, Ministry of National Defense of PRC announced the “East China Sea Air Defense Identification Zone”

➤ **What is ADIZ by China?**

- Unilateral imposition of its own rules upon aircraft flying in international airspace.
 - Abide by Chinese rules (MND is responsible) in the international airspaces
 - Provide Identifications (Flight plan, Transponder ID, Logo)
 - Follow the instructions of the Chinese MND
- “Defensive emergency measures” will be taken by Chinese Armed Forces in case the rules are not observed
- Profoundly dangerous acts that unilaterally change the status quo, escalate tension and may cause unintended consequences.

Air Defense Identification Zone in East Asia



What are the problems of China's ADIZ?

- **Unduly infringe the freedom of flight in international airspace**
 - Applied to all aircrafts that fly international airspace in the designated area (not just the aircraft approaching towards the territorial airspace)
 - Unilaterally impose the rules set by China
 - “Defensive emergency measures” will be taken and its contents are not clear.
- **Describe Senkaku Islands as if they were a part of China's “territorial airspace”**

Japan's Security Policy

- ◆ Japan, based on the policy of “Proactive Contribution to Peace”, will contribute even more actively to the peace and stability of the region and the world.
 - (1) Established the **National Security Council (4/Dec/2013)**
 - (2) Adopt the **National Security Strategy (17/Dec/2013)**
 - (3) Adopt the new **National Defense Program Guidelines (17/Dec/2013)**
 - (4) Consider exercising **the right of collective self-defense** and participating in the **UN collective security measures** in relation to the Constitution (**within what other countries can do under international law**), etc...
- **Japan's peaceful orientation will never sway.**
- ◆ Japan will continue to explain with high transparency to relevant countries.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

I. Purpose

Basic Recognition

- Environment concerning Japan's security becomes ever more severe.
- Japan should play an even more proactive role as a major global player in the international community.



- NSS lays out fundamental policies on national security centering around diplomatic and defense policies.
- With the NSC as the control tower, the GOJ will implement national security policies in a more strategic and structured manner through a whole-of-government approach.

National Security Strategy (Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

II. Fundamental Principles of National Security

1. Principles Japan upholds

- Japan will continue its path of peace (exclusively national defense-oriented policy; not becoming a military power that poses a threat to other countries; Three Non-Nuclear Principles).
- Japan will continue to be a major player in world politics and economy.
- As a “**Proactive Contributor to Peace**” based on the principle of international cooperation, Japan will contribute even more proactively in securing peace, stability and prosperity of the international community, while achieving its own security and peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

2. Japan's National Interests and National Security Objectives

【National Interests】

- Ensure its survival while maintaining its own peace and security.
- Achieve the prosperity of the nation and its people.
- Maintain and protect international order based on rules and universal values.

【National Security Objectives】

- Strengthen the deterrence and prevent direct threats from reaching Japan.
- Strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance and enhancing trust and cooperative relationships with other partners to improve the regional security environment.
- Build a peaceful, stable and prosperous international community.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

IV. Japan's Strategic Approach to National Security (1)

1. Strengthening and Expanding Japan's Capabilities and Roles

- **Strengthen diplomacy** which is indispensable to realize national security for **creating a stable international environment** (including diplomatic creativity, negotiating power and soft power).
- **Steadily develop its defense force** and build **a comprehensive defense posture for responding seamlessly to an array of situations.**
- Strengthen efforts for **the protection of its territorial integrity** to be able to **respond seamlessly** to a variety of contingencies.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

1. Strengthening and Expanding Japan's Capabilities and Roles

- Ensure maritime security by leading the maintenance and development of "Open and Stable Sea" based on the rules of law, etc.
- Establish a clear set of principles on overseas transfer of defense equipment, adapting to the new security environment.
- Strengthening cyber security, measures against international terrorism, intelligence functions, stable use of outer space, and technological capabilities.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

IV. Japan's Strategic Approach to National Security (2)

2. Strengthening the Japan-U.S. Alliance

- Elevate the effectiveness of the Japan-U.S. security arrangements and realize a more robust alliance.
- Promote the revision of the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation.
- Strengthen security cooperation such as Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), maritime security, outer space, and cyberspace.
- Steadily implement the realignment of the U.S. forces in Japan in accordance with the existing bilateral agreements to migrate the impact of U.S. forces on local communities, including Okinawa, while enhancing deterrence of the Alliance.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

IV. Japan's Strategic Approach to National Security (2)

3. Strengthening Diplomacy and Security Cooperation with Partners for Peace and Stability

- Strengthen cooperation with countries sharing universal values and strategic interests such as the **ROK**, **Australia**, **ASEAN** countries and **India**, among others.
- With **China**, construct a “Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests” and encourage China to play a responsible and constructive role for regional peace, stability and prosperity.
- Urge **North Korea** to take concrete actions towards a comprehensive resolution of outstanding issues of concern, such as abductions and nuclear and missile issues.
- Utilize multilayered **frameworks for regional cooperation** (APEC, EAS, ARF etc.) and **trilateral frameworks** (Japan-U.S.-ROK, Japan-U.S.-Australia, Japan-U.S.-India, Japan-China-ROK).

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

IV. Japan's Strategic Approach to National Security (3)

4. Active Contribution to International Efforts for the Peace and Stability

- Strengthen diplomacy at the United Nations, including active contributions to UN efforts for the maintenance and restoration of international peace and security. Strive to achieve UNSC reform.
- Strengthen the rule of law in the international community, especially on the sea, outer space and cyberspace.
- Lead international efforts on disarmament and non-proliferation, including the efforts to seek “a world free of nuclear weapons.”
- Further cooperate for U.N. peacekeeping operations. Promote the utilization of ODA and capacity building assistance in security-related areas.
- Promote international cooperation against international terrorism.

National Security Strategy

(Cabinet Decision: December 17, 2013)

IV. Japan's Strategic Approach to National Security (3)

5. Strengthening Cooperation Based on Universal Values to Resolve Global Issues

- Support democratization, development of legal structures, ODA on human rights and issues on women.
- Lead efforts on the MDGs and the post-2015 development agenda and mainstream “human security”.
- Strengthen the free trading system; responding to energy and environmental issues (a proactive strategy for countering global warming); and enhancing people-to-people exchanges.

6. Strengthening Domestic Foundation and Promoting Domestic and Global Understanding

- Maintain and enhance defense production and technological bases; boost capacity to communicate with the world, reinforce social infrastructure; and enhance knowledge base.

Is Japan returning to Militarism?

Yasukuni Shrine Issue

- What is “Yasukuni Shrine”?
 - Built in 1869 for the war dead after Meiji Restroration
 - 2.46 mil. war dead were enshrined
- Freedom of Religion, Separation of State and government
- No protests to Japanese PMs visits to Yasukuni before 1985
- What did PM Abe say after visiting Yasukuni?
 - Japan must never wage a war again...I have renewed my determination before the souls of the war dead to firmly uphold the pledge never to wage a war again.
- Japan will continue its path of a peaceful country after WWII
 - Peace, democracy and human rights are an important part o the Japanese people’s identity

What can ASEAN do for Preventive Diplomacy?

- **Send its message for peace and security, and oppose the change of status quo by force or threat of use of force**
 - rule of law
 - peaceful resolution of conflict in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law
- **Continue to provide regional institution for CBM, networking of people (ARF, EAMF etc.)**
- **Provide opportunities for dialogue and cooperation**
Maritime security, PKOs, non-proliferation and disarmament, counter-terrorism, transnational crime etc.

Thank You

Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Japan

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/index.html>

Prime Minister's Office

<http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/index-e.html>

Mission of Japan to ASEAN

<http://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/home.html>