

Senkaku Islands/Diaoyu Islands issue and Nuclear Weapons States in North Asia

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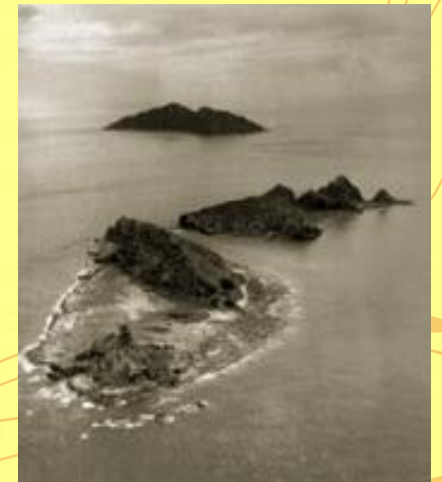


Summary

1. Senkaku Islands/Diaoyu Islands issue
 - Competing Claims
 - Escalation Potential
 - Possible solutions
2. Nuclear Weapons States in North Asia
 - China
 - North Korea/South Korea
 - Japan
3. Potential for Asian arms race?



Senkaku Islands/Diaoyu Islands issue



Competing Claims

- The Senkaku islands were claimed by Japan in January 1895 because they had been uninhabited and showed no trace of having been under the control of China.
- The dispute appears to date from the 1968 announcement by two Japanese scientists that there may be large reservoirs of oil under the continental shelf below the islands. ⇒ The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea gives a 200 nautical mile "exclusive economic zone (EEZ)" and sovereignty over the seabed resources there.
- From the end of World War II, the US occupied Okinawa and controlled the islands. The islands were returned to Japan as part of the reversion of Okinawa in 1972. Since then, the Senkaku Islands have been under the administrative control of the Government of Japan.

- The question of the development of petroleum resources on the continental shelf of the East China Sea came to the surface in the latter half of 1970 and the Government of Korea, China and Taiwan began to raise questions. ⇒ Both Chinese and Korean governments protested and reiterated their claim to sovereignty over the islands (the islands are part of Taiwan) . China argued that the Sengaku Islands do not fall under the classification of an island as defined by the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.
- Japan claims that the 1960 US-Japan Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security applies to territories (including the Senkaku Islands) under the administration of Japan. Recently, Prime Minister Aso said that Japan and the US would work together to deal with any attack by a third country on the Sengoku Islands. The islands are Japan's territory and thus subject to the security alliance with the U.S.

- The US considers that the islands an "administrative territory" of Japan (The US has not taken a definitive position on the sovereignty of the territory)
- China began to build a natural gas complex in the East China Sea and Japan started exploring for natural gas in its own EEZ in 2004 as a step to counter China's natural gas complex.
- In 2005, the Japanese government suspected China's gas wells being tested may cut into Japan's EEZ, and has demanded that China provide such information as the area covered by the projected deposits. China did not provide a substantive response straight away. China responded that "In defiance of China's legitimate proposition, the Japanese side attempts to impose its unilaterally claimed "median line" on China.



Escalation Potential

- A China-Japan conflict may become intense and disrupt the balance of alliances in Northeast Asia.
- Korea and Taiwan might side with China in a conflict, while Japan would look to the United States.
- The US might be called on to defend not only its staunch ally but also the interests of Western oil companies.

Both China and Japan need access to greater oil reserves under the Sengoku islands for economic growth and maritime interests.



Recent remarks on the Senkaku Islands/Diaoyu Islands

- February 2009: Japanese Foreign Minister Nakasone said the US recognized Japanese jurisdiction over the Senkaku Islands, where the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the US would apply. A U.S. State Department official said on the same day that the Senkaku Islands were always under the administrative jurisdiction of Japan and the Treaty would apply to them.
- March 2009: Japanese Prime Minister Aso twice referred the Senkaku Islands as Japan's territory, saying they were protected under the Japan-U.S. security treaty. He made this statement during his trip to the United States as well as in the Parliament, the first time a Japanese prime minister had made such a remark.

- March 2009: China's Foreign Ministry spokesman said "China has indisputable sovereignty over the Diaoyu Islands and adjacent islets which have been China's inalienable territory since ancient times. The Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States should not undermine the interest of any third party including China. Any attempt to cover the Diaoyu Islands under the Treaty is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese people.
- February 2009: Japan's Maritime Safety Agency stationed for the first time PLH (patrol vessels large with helicopter) in the waters of Senkaku Islands, saying that the action was aimed to defend against "invasion" from Chinese marine survey ships.



Possible solutions

- Japan's proposal is to divide the sea equally between the two countries. This would put China's claim only three miles from Japanese territory. This proposal has not been accepted by China.
- China's offers is to jointly develop the oil field but this has been rebuffed by Japan.

Nuclear Weapons States in North Asia

China

China has developed and possessed weapons of mass destruction (including chemical and nuclear weapons). China is estimated to have an arsenal of about 150 nuclear weapons(1999). This matches the Chinese government statement that it possesses the smallest nuclear arsenal amongst the five major nuclear-weapon states.

- 1951: China signed a secret agreement with the Soviet through which China provided uranium ores in exchange for Soviet assistance in the nuclear field.
- 1953: The Chinese had initiated research leading to the development of nuclear weapons through the 1953 technology transfer agreements initiated with the USSR.
- 1957: China and Soviets signed an agreement on new technology for national defense including Soviet nuclear assistance.
- Late 1950s: China began developing nuclear weapons with substantial Soviet assistance.
- October 1964: China successfully exploded its first atomic bomb
- October 1966: China launched its first nuclear missile
- June 1967: China detonated its first hydrogen bomb
- 2005 /2006: Department of Defense's annual report suggested that China had 250-296 launchers with 793-916 missiles of seven types. Approximately 105 are thought to be armed with nuclear warheads.

China's Missile Inventory	Launcher	Missiles	Estimated Range
DF-5/CSS-4 ICBM	20	20	8,460+ km
DF-4/CSS-3 ICBM	10-14	20-24	5,470+ km
DF-3/CSS-2 IRBM	6-10	14-18	2,790+ km
DF-21/CSS-5 MRBM Mod 1/2	34-38	19-50	1,770+ km
JL-1 SLBM	10-14	10-14	1,770+ km
DF-15/CSS-6 SRBM	70-80	275-315	600 km
DF-11/CSS-7 SRBM	100-120	435-475	300 km
JL-2 SLBM	DEVELOPMENTAL		8,000+ km
DF-31 ICBM*	DEVELOPMENTAL		7,250+ km
DF-31A ICBM	DEVELOPMENTAL		11,270+ km
Total	250-296	793-916	

* China defines the DF-31 as a long-range ballistic missile, not an intercontinental ballistic missile.

Source: [U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Secretary of Defense, *Military Power of the People Republic of China, 2006, May 23, 2006*, p. 50](#). Colors and notes added. Table reproduced and further analyzed in [Hans M. Kristensen, et al., *Chinese Nuclear Forces and U.S. Nuclear War Planning*, Federation of American Scientists and Natural Resources Defense Council, November 2006](#), p. 38.

- China is firmly committed to the policy of **no-first-use of nuclear weapons** at any time and under any circumstances (Only for retaliation against strategic and tactical attacks)
- Why is China strengthening its nuclear arsenal?
 1. China may simply wish to update their aging weapons systems and replace them with more modern systems.
 2. China may be seeking a stronger fighting capacity to increase the survivability of its nuclear deterrent. As other countries (particularly the United States) continue to increase their military capabilities, China may feel more vulnerable.

Is China prepared to use nuclear weapons against the US if China is attacked by the US during a confrontation over Taiwan?



North Korea/South Korea

- **North Korea** announced that it completed its nuclear development program and become to possess nuclear bombs in February 10, 2005.
- **South Korea** planned to send a domestically built satellite into orbit on its rocket Korea Space Launch Vehicle-1 (known as Naro-1) in August 2009. This was South Korea's first rocket launch. However, space officials aborted the rocket launch just minutes before liftoff. The reason was not immediately provided.

Chronology of North Korea's missile program

- Aug. 31, 1998: North Korea fires suspected missile (**Taepodong-1 missile**) over Japan and into the Pacific Ocean, calling it a satellite.
- Sept. 13, 1999: North Korea pledges to freeze long-range missile tests.
- March 10, 2003: North Korea fires a land-to-ship missile off east coast into waters between the Korean peninsula and Japan.
- October 2003: North Korea fires two land-to-ship missiles.
- May 2005: North Korea fires a short-range missile into waters between the Korean peninsula and Japan.
- July 5, 2006: North Korea launches seven missiles into waters between the Korean peninsula and Japan, including **a long-range Taepodong-2**.
- July 15, 2006: U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 1695 demanding North Korea halt missile program.
- Oct. 9, 2006: North Korea conducts **underground nuclear test blast** after citing "extreme threat of a nuclear war" from U.S.
- Oct. 15, 2006: U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 1718 condemning test, imposing sanctions and banning North Korea from activities related to its nuclear weapons program, including "their means of delivery."

- July 14, 2007: North Korea shuts down its main Yongbyon reactor, later starts disabling it.
- Sept. 19, 2008: North Korea says it is restoring a key atomic reactor.
- Oct. 11, 2008: U.S. removes North Korea from a list of states that sponsor terrorism.
- April 5, 2009: North Korea launches long-range rocket **(a Taepodong-2 missile that has a range of 4,000 to 6,500 kilometers).**
- April 13: The U.N. Security Council adopts a presidential statement condemning North Korea's rocket launch.
- April 14: North Korea quits six-party nuclear talks and vows to restart its nuclear facilities in protest against the U.N. statement.
- May 25: North Korea conducts its **second nuclear test.**
- June 12: **The U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 1874 sanctioning North Korea for its nuclear test.**
- July 2: North Korea test-fires four short-range missiles.
- July 4: North Korea fires several missiles, believed to be banned ballistic missiles

Sources: South Korean defense and foreign ministries and presidential office, AP



North Korea's rationale

- The North Korean foreign ministry claimed that the US and South Korea were using military drills as part of a plan to launch a nuclear strike. It is an invasion rehearsal.
- North Korea has accused US President Barack Obama of plotting a nuclear war on North Korea by reaffirming a US assurance of security for South Korea.



Other concerns

- Kim may be planning to invade South Korea again--this time using nuclear weapons.
- US – South Korea Summit meeting was held in June 2009. The joint statement : "A warning to North Korea" characterizing the promise of a continued "nuclear umbrella". Obama warned that North Korea is a "grave threat" and vowed to defend South Korea.
- However, there would be little sense in North Korea launching a missile on South Korea or Japan because North Korea will only face immediate and massive retaliation.
- North Korea calls for direct nuclear talks with US and offered the US direct negotiations "with everything on the table" but reiterated it will not re-engage in six-party talks over its nuclear weapons programs. While the Americans insist six-party compliance is non-negotiable.

South Korean and North Korean relations

Relations between the two Koreas remain technically at war. The relations have been tense since President Lee Myung-bak took office in South Korea in February 2008. He abandoned late ex-President Kim Dae-jung's "Sunshine Policy" of encouraging reconciliation with aid.



What is the Sunshine Policy?

- The Sunshine Policy is the mainstay of South Korea's North Korea policies aimed at achieving peace on the Korean Peninsula through reconciliation and cooperation with the North.
- The Korean Government felt it was necessary to persuade North Korea on the benefits that they would be reaping from exchanges with the South rather than apply hostile pressure or an economic blockade.
- Reunification still remains the most important national objective and aspiration of Koreans. But it cannot be realized without first putting an end to the cold-war confrontation with the North and establishing solid peace on the peninsula.
- Kim Dae-jung adopted the Sunshine Policy based on three principles: zero-tolerance for aggression, renunciation of unification through absorption, and an active drive for reconciliation and mutual exchange.



- The Sunshine policy led in 2000 to a historic summit between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jong Il.
- South Korea became North Korea's second largest trade partner following China.
- Over one million South Korean tourists have been to the Kungang mountain resort located in North Korea developed by South Korean Hyundai-Asan Group.
- Fifteen South Korean companies are now operating their own factories in Kaesung Special Economic Zone in North Korea.
- At least fourteen thousand members of the separated families were able to meet each other.

Meanwhile, North Korea conducted secret programs of enriching uranium for developing nuclear weapons.



It seemed that there were no direct relations between the Sunshine policy and North Korea's secret WMD programs.

But it is also difficult to deny that the Sunshine policy failed to deter North Korea's goals to develop and possess weapons of mass destruction.

Kim Dae-jung aids Korean unity in life and death - 21 Aug 09

http://news.google.com/news?q=US+South+Korean+summit&rls=com.microsoft:en-au:IE-SearchBox&oe=UTF-8&sourceid=ie7&rlz=1l7SKPB&um=1&ie=UTF-8&hl=en&ei=i3mOSrygOYH-sQOsvljiCQ&sa=X&oi=news_group&ct=title&resnum=4



Japan

(Prospects for becoming a nuclear power)

Japanese nuclear weapons program

Japan's post-war policy on nuclear weapons and non-proliferation has been to reject officially a military nuclear program. Japan has consistently pledged to forswear nuclear weapons. Nevertheless, evolving circumstances in Northeast Asia, particularly North Korea's nuclear test in October 2006 and April 2009, and China's ongoing military modernization drive have raised new questions about Japan's vulnerability to potential adversaries and, therefore, the appeal of developing an independent nuclear deterrent.



The three non-nuclear principles

Japanese governments have consistently upheld the position embodied in the three non-nuclear principles. The tenets state:

Japan shall neither possess nor manufacture nuclear weapons, nor shall it permit their introduction into Japanese territory

(nonpossession, nonproduction, and nonintroduction of nuclear weapons).

Japan's nuclear capacity

Historically, the Japanese program to develop nuclear weapons was conducted during World War II in response to the perceived threat of its enemies (principally the United States) obtaining such a weapon first and using it against Japan. Japan's nuclear energy infrastructure makes it eminently capable of constructing nuclear weapons at will.



- Japan's technological advancement in the nuclear field, combined with its stocks of separated plutonium, have contributed to the conventional wisdom that Japan could produce nuclear weapons in a short period of time. Japan could make nuclear weapons if Japan were to invest the necessary financial and other resources.
- However, the ability to develop a few nuclear weapons versus the technological, financial and manpower requirements of a full nuclear deterrent should be considered.
- The 1995 JDA report stated that Japan's geography and concentrated populations made the political and economic costs of building the infrastructure for a nuclear weapons program "exorbitant." If Japan would want weapons with high reliability and accuracy, then more time would need to be devoted to their development unless a weapon or information was supplied by an outside source.



Legal and political restraints

- Public opinion: Pacifist sentiment remains significant.
- Constitutional constraints: There are several legal factors that could restrict Japan's ability to develop nuclear weapons. The most prominent is Article 9 of the Japanese constitution that outlaws war as a "sovereign right" of Japan and prohibits "the right of belligerency."

However, the current interpretation of the constitution would allow the development of nuclear weapons for defensive purposes.

Beginning with Prime Minister Kishi in 1957 and continuing through Abe in 2006, Japanese government has repeatedly asserted that **Article 9 is not the limiting factor to developing nuclear weapons**. Japanese policy may be revised on account to the threat of a North Korean nuclear attack.

Remarks on Japan's nuclear development

- In June 1974: Japanese Prime Minister Hata told reporters that "it's certainly the case that Japan has the capability to possess nuclear weapons but has not made them."
- In April 2002: Liberal Party president Ichiro Ozawa claimed that Japan could produce "thousands of nuclear warheads" from plutonium extracted from the spent fuel of its more than 50 commercial nuclear reactors to deter Chinese threats. "If China gets too inflated, Japanese people will get hysterical. It would be so easy for Japan to produce nuclear warheads."
- In May 2002: Chief Cabinet Secretary Fukuda said Japan's peace constitution did not preclude nuclear weapons, and that the times have "changed to the point that even revising the constitution is being talked about. Depending upon the world situation, circumstances and public opinion could require Japan to possess nuclear weapons."

- March 2003: US Vice President Cheney apparently stated that North Korea's development of nuclear weapons and missiles may trigger an arms race in East Asia, and that "Japan may be forced to consider whether or not they want to readdress the nuclear issues."
- In October 2004: A panel of academics, business leaders, and former government officials called for Japan to consider acquiring the ability to launch pre-emptive military strikes. Japan should obtain a first-strike capability, allowing it to hit enemy missile bases to prevent an attack. This recommendation would be certain to anger Asian neighbors specially China and North Korea. The panel, however, came out against Japan having nuclear weapons, saying it must not pose a threat to neighboring countries.
- Japan's nuclear technology and ambiguous nuclear inclinations have provided a considerable nuclear potential, becoming a

"Paranuclear state"



Potential for Asian arms race?

- China's military build up could start an arms race in Asia
- The North Korean nuclear threat could start an arms race in Asia (U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates, May 2009)
- A Japanese decision to develop nuclear weapons would be the development of a regional arms race. A nuclear-armed Japan could compel South Korea to develop its own program, encourage China to increase and improve its nuclear arsenal and possibly inspire Taiwan to pursue nuclear weapons.
- If the United States and China engaged in any bilateral strategic or nuclear consultations, Japan as well as Taiwan may develop a more independent defense posture.
- North Korea alone or if the two Koreas unify while North Korea still holds nuclear weapons and the new state opts to keep a nuclear arsenal, Japan may develop a more independent defense posture.

Conclusion

What does it all mean?????



End of lecture

