

The Rise of China and Japan's Responses Give Up Defensive Policy, Amend Constitution

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Examples of Chinese Expansion

China seems to have been expanding her sphere of influence taking advantage of the world's preoccupation with the North Korean crisis. I will cite a couple of instances as evidence. China unilaterally declared the middle line air route over the Taiwan Strait at the beginning of this year. I guess the Chinese intention is isolating Kinmen and Matsu islands from Taiwan. Those islands already depend on water supply from Mainland China. When I was a student of the U.S. Defense University in Washington DC, the final war game was held before graduation in 1994. The scenario was to ascertain US reaction after China seized Kinmen and Matsu islands. Almost all participants responded that the U.S. should react based on Taiwan Relations Act. China may test the U.S. reaction using salami-slicing tactics like this - first test waters by seizing just these two islands to provoke a crisis.

On January 11, Chinese Shang-class nuclear powered submarine submerged in a contiguous zone near Taisho Island of the Senkaku Islands. China has been conducting a series of friendly diplomatic overtures to attract Japan to its "One Belt, One Road" initiative. China always approaches Japan when the U.S.-China relationship becomes strained such as after the Tiananmen Square incident and, these days, the trade war with the U.S. But we should not overlook China's increasing military activities aimed at snatching the Senkakus from Japan. On March 30, the U.S. think-tank Project 2049 published "White Warships and Little Blue Men - The Looming 'Short, Sharp War' in the East China Sea over the Senkakus."

One of the purposes of the latest submarine passage may have been to test Japan's submarine detection capabilities. When I was the Director of Defense Intelligence in November 2004, a Chinese Han-class nuclear submarine intruded into Japanese territorial waters. Shang-class nuclear submarine is much quieter. Had the submarine not been detected, China could have



Jin (Type 094)-class ballistic missile nuclear submarine

planned to intrude into Japan's territorial waters around the Senkakus next time, again using a variant of "salami-slicing" tactics.

The United States used Taisho Island,

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approached by the Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) submarine in January, and Kuba Island as firing ranges even after China began to make territorial claims to the Senkakus in 1971. Given that the United States cannot possibly use any island under China's sovereignty as a firing range, Washington undoubtedly recognized the Senkakus as under Japan's sovereignty then. Since 1978, however, U.S. forces have never notified the Japanese government of the use of the two islands as firing ranges, meaning U.S. forces suspended the use. It is natural for us to suspect that the Chinese and the U.S. did some deals regarding the Senkakus before China and the United States agreed, in December 1978, to establish their diplomatic relations. Tibetan activists have also not received Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) support since those days.

If China seizes the Senkakus, it will be a logical next step for China to try seizing the main island of Okinawa. China has been spreading disinformation in this regard, saying "Majority of Okinawans wants independent Okinawa." Thus, in 2012, Global Times published a headline saying "On March 4, 2006, there was a referendum in

Okinawa. 75% of people demanded the independent and resumption of a free traffic with China. 25% wanted to belong to Japan but agreed with autonomy." But the fact is that Okinawa conducted no such referendum on that day. The actual fact is that the great majority of Okinawans still want to belong to Japan. People's Daily had earlier submitted an article claiming that Okinawa's sovereignty was not determined yet on (May 8, 2013).

In January, USS Hopper conducted Freedom of Navigation Operation near Scarborough Shoal, which the U.S. Navy used as their firing range until 1980s. Those facts indicate that China advanced and filled the gap after the U.S. retreated. I have had strategic talks with Commander Seventh Fleet who told me 'We lost the South China Sea.' China intends to create SSBN (nuclear-powered, ballistic missile-carrying submarine) sanctuary in the strategic triangle consisting of Paracels, Spratly and Scarborough Shoal because the maximum range of JL-III is possibly 12,000 kms onboard the improved Jin-class SSBN and will be able to reach the continental US. The South China Sea, therefore, is the optimal launch area for submarine based Chinese inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). Hence, its criticality for China.

Six Belts & Three Roads

Chinese One Belt & One Road (OBOR) is actually 'Six belts & Three roads'. Six Belts consist of Mongolia-Russia, Central/Western Asia, New Eurasia Land Bridge (rail-road), Indochina Peninsula Corridor, China-Pakistan Corridor toward Pakistan's Gwadar and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Corridor. The last three roads are for overcoming Chinese Malacca Strait dilemma. China and India had a standoff over Doklam because China wants to construct a road.

Three Roads consists of Indian Ocean to Africa and Mediterranean, Oceania/Southern Pacific possibly extending to Latin America and Arctic. China has constructed a military base in Djibouti and militarized artificial islands in the South China Sea because of the First Road. Chinese ships have surveyed Benham Rise, the gateway of Second Road to extend Oceania/South Pacific and named after a U.S. Navy Admiral. The Philippines Government admitted that China surveyed Benham Rise without permit. Chinese icebreaker, named Xue Long (Snow Dragon) has deployed to the Arctic six times since 1999 and China has already commissioned 8,000-tonnes new icebreaker recently. Chinese Coast Guard surveillance ships have invaded Japanese territorial waters near both Tsugaru and Tsushima Straits last year. Those phenomena are explained by the Third Road. Thus, most of recent Chinese military activity is explained by the Chinese desire to safeguard these new roads and belts initiatives.

Given that China has built a military base in Djibouti to secure the sea route from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean Sea, it is clear that the "One Belt, One Road" initiative is designed to expand Chinese influence not only economically but also politically and militarily. Chinese expansion pattern is as follows: Firstly, China invests money; then, Secondly people (workers)

and, finally, dispatches troops using the excuse of protecting workers.

Strategy to Counter Chinese Expansion

In order to cope with the rise of an increasingly aggressive China, we have to formulate the Democratic Security Diamond Concept, called Quad amongst the U.S., Japan, Australia and India, based on Free and Open Trade Indo-Pacific Strategy. France and UK may join that in order to reverse Chinese Unified Front Strategy. South China Sea is the connection between Indian and Pacific Oceans. Indian Prime Minister Modi is conducting 'Act East Policy'. In January this year, top Navy officials of four countries had a panel discussion in New Delhi. When China intruded into Doklam last year, U.S. and Indian aircraft carriers and Japanese helicopter carrier named Izumo conducted a Joint Naval Exercise in the Indian Ocean. State-guided Chinese daily Global Times warned India "Don't bank on US and Japan, you'll lose". Only Japanese Ambassador in India, Kenji Hiramatsu criticized China in August, saying 'Do not change status by force'.

The Indian Government allows only Japanese investment in infrastructure in North Eastern India, which makes Indian troops' transportation easier. That was also discussed in the joint statement when Prime Minister Abe visited India last September.

In March, Japan Institute for National Fundamentals had a conference with Indian think tank, Vivekananda International Foundation, where Indian participants were strongly concerned about Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The prevailing mood was – China wants put stones like the String of Pearls to encircle India, whereas, we also would like to put stones to counter encircle those. That was the essence of the strategic situation in the Indo-Pacific Ocean.

My Suggestions

My personal suggestion for fostering Japanese defence is – First, we have to abolish so-called 'Exclusively Defence Oriented Policy (EDOP)', which is derived from Article 9 of the current Constitution. It is easy to understand that no boxer would ever win by only defensive means.

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Strategic Defense, which allows tactical offense should replace EDOP that was established by then Japanese Defence Minister Nakasone in 1970 and that is badly outdated in the current security situation. In 1970, there were no threats over cyber and space domains, where advantage lay overwhelmingly with offensive side. Due to the EDOP, Japanese Aegis destroyers installed with Mk. 41 Vertical Launching System (same as the U.S. Aegis destroyers) cannot launch Tomahawk long range cruise missiles. Also, Japanese Self Defence Forces (JSDF) have not been equipped with long-range cruise missiles, which the Government submitted in the defence budget of 2018. But the reason for jettisoning EDOP is to regain islands, which the enemy may assault and for protecting Aegis destroyers undertaking the ballistic missile defence (BMD) mission. We cannot say those are for attacking enemy's missile sites because of EDOP. Recently, media has discussed that Izumo class helicopter carriers would carry F-35Bs, however, Minister of Defence Onodera is reluctant because this plan might violate EDOP.

Second, we should amend our current Constitution, especially Article 9, whose second paragraph states 'land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.' General MacArthur demanded this clause. About 70% of Japanese Constitutional scholars believe JSDF is unconstitutional. That is why Prime Minister Abe proposed an idea to add the third paragraph to authorize the SDF. An amendment to the Constitution needs to be initiated by a two-thirds majority of the members of both the Diet's chambers, then ratified by a majority of voters in a national referendum.

The Preamble to the Constitution should also be revised. It states, 'we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world.' No such peace-loving states are surrounding us. Then, Commander Alfred Hussey, US Navy drafted the Preamble to the Constitution within a week by copy and paste mixture of American Declaration of Independence (Blessings of liberty...and do ordain and establish this Constitution), Atlantic Charter in 1941 (Free of want and fear), and Teheran Declaration in 1943 (of tyranny and slavery oppression and intolerance). Dr. Samuel Huntington has stated that the Japanese Constitution was derived from American eradication policy. The current Constitution was authorized in 1946. Two years later, in 1948, the Indian Constitution was authorized. However, the Indian Constitution has been revised more than hundred times, whereas, Japanese Constitution has never been revised.

Anyhow, the biggest deficit of Japanese defence is its fixed factor. No matter how threats provoke and expand their military capabilities including nuclear capability, Japanese defence policy is always fixed. The nuclear principle, EDOP, and current Constitution has remained static for decades. This does not create deterrence capability against threats. It is time to change that rigid attitude.