

## Book Review

### ***China's Air Defense Identification Zone: Implications and Associated Issues***

Emily Carpenter (Ed.). New York:

Nova Science Publishers, Inc. 2015. vii + 128 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-63482-925-0

Taisaku Ikeshima

The People's Republic of China (China) attracts daily attention from international observers who are concerned about whether its behaviour befits a responsible power comparable to the United States. Reports indicate that, in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP), China's gross domestic product (GDP) has already exceeded that of the United States. Other examples of China's economic superiority/ascendancy include China's establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), and the inclusion by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of the Chinese yuan into the basket of the Special Drawing Rights (SDRs).

However, these events may simply reflect the challenge posed by China to the existing economic order, known as the Bretton Woods system, which was established under the strong initiative of the United States after the Second World War. Political and military power still plays a major role in world politics. International order was largely established by, and is currently based on, international law, which has been primarily dictated by the status of power relations at the time when the relevant rules and regulations were introduced. The current order of a region is also founded in the historical development of its affairs, so that its stability becomes the status quo. This state of affairs can be changed when economic growth leads to the rise of a new challenger seeking a more favourable order. In light of the country's history, China's rise might be best viewed as a 're-rise' (the Third Armitage-Nye Report of 2012) or a 'return' (H. Kissinger's *On China*, 2012).

In this regard, China's unilateral announcement of an Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) was regarded as challenging the status quo of the East China Sea (ECS), where China and Japan are disputing the question of territorial sovereignty over a group of islands known as Senkaku in Japanese and Diaoyudao/Diaoyutai in Chinese/Taiwanese. This abrupt action, when China has

termed as the taking a ‘defensive emergency measures’, is disturbing the status quo in the region, inviting anger and protest from not only nearby states such as Japan and South Korea, but also the United States, which basically created regional order in the 1950s and maintained it through the Cold War to the present day. These countries are deeply concerned about this assertive unilateral action by China’s empowered People’s Liberation Army (PLA), in territorial maritime affairs. This kind of action can also be seen in China’s recent reclamation activities in the South China Sea, including the construction and fortification of reefs and islets of the Spratly Islands, whose territorial sovereignty is disputed by countries such as Vietnam and the Philippines.

Against this background, the book under review, *China’s Air Defense Identification Zone: Implications and Associated Issues*, is a useful and informative monograph that addresses several important current issues that should be discussed by the United States Congress, such as the notion of the ADIZ and the territorial and maritime disputes in the region. As very few academic books thoroughly discuss the concept of the ADIZ within the framework of international law and politics, the present volume is a welcome addition. With its detailed index and coordinated format, including endnotes, the volume will be especially useful for researchers, students, and experts in such areas as territorial and maritime disputes, military and security studies, and East Asian studies.

The volume comprises three chapters: the first focuses on China’s ADIZ, the second on the Senkaku Islands dispute, and the third on maritime territorial disputes in East Asia. The chapters are derived from United States Congressional Research Service (CRS) reports that deal with these issues for the reference of Congress, with some slight modifications and augmentation. Therefore, the reader will inevitably find that issues in East Asia are discussed from the American point of view.

In Chapter 1,<sup>1</sup> which focuses on China’s ADIZ, Rinehart and Elias propose policy options and congressional oversight after discussing the historical background of the Chinese ECS ADIZ and its impacts on the states/parties concerned, such as Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Suggested congressional actions include ‘legislation, hearings, and other options that could focus on addressing the [Chinese] ECS ADIZ, U.S. military contacts with the PLA, strategic reviews of policy, crisis-management and confidence-building measures, international institutions and rules, alliance with Japan and South Korea, and standards and procedures at the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization]’ (p. 35). The chapter concludes by suggesting that, although the ADIZ issue ‘is not central to’ US-China relations or China’s overall foreign and defence policies, related Chinese actions and approaches will meaningfully influence ‘the narratives surrounding its rise to major power status’ (p. 43) and, more narrowly, observers’ interpretation of ‘the decision to designate the ECS ADIZ in late 2013’ as defensive or coercive in nature (p. 44).

In Chapter 2,<sup>2</sup> regarding the territorial dispute among Japan, China, and Taiwan over the Senkaku/Diaoyudao/Diaoyutai Islands, Manyin concisely explains the obligations of the United States under Article V of the Japan-US Mutual Security Treaty of 1960, which stipulates that the

United States is obliged to protect 'the territories under the Administration of Japan' 'in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes'. After discussing the historical development of the territorial conflicts over the Senkaku Islands between Japan and China, which largely began with the 1971 Okinawa Reversion Treaty, the chapter reconfirms the United States' continued acknowledgment of Japan's administration of the Islands, despite China's attempts to exploit the 'U.S. distinction between sovereignty and administrative control' (p. 64) over the disputed islets through assertive unilateral actions such as patrol.

In Chapter 3,<sup>3</sup> Dolven, Manyin, and Kan examine, as pressing challenges for US policy-makers, the territorial maritime disputes in the East and South China Seas in light of various US interests in maintaining of the regional peace and stability, free and lawful commerce along the sea lanes, and other military and security relations with other states in the region. Stressing China's increasingly aggressive or coercive behaviour through its enforcement agents and naval abilities, the chapter suggests several policy options regarding US relations with the states concerned in these disputes, including China, Japan, South Korea, and the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The chapter makes special reference to the possibilities of the United States acceding to the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), a greater US military presence in the disputed region, and efforts to lower tensions through political and legal mechanisms.

The book under review provides a general legal, political, geopolitical, and military/security description of these pressing issues as presented by the CRS for congressional consideration, including detailed chronological and geographical data and accompanying maps in monochrome (plus one colour map of the ADIZ). In addition to various policy options suggested by the authors, each chapter includes a wide range of comments and writings by scholars, officials, and journalists, all chronologically ordered and neatly organized, principally for further discussion in Congress. Therefore, the main contribution of this book is to present a semi-official standpoint concerning territorial maritime issues in East Asia, as well as the current situation and future outlook of US policies on these issues.<sup>4</sup>

The reasoning behind the policy suggestions in this book could have been enhanced by additional legal analysis of these issues, such as referencing major representative works on international law. Moreover, further discussion of the consequences of China's alleged attempt to change the status quo and current legal order, which is the most fundamental challenge presented here, could have broadened the arguments and made them more profound from a legal viewpoint. However, this may have exceeded the scope of the book.

## Endnotes

- 1 This chapter is based on the US CRS Report of R43894, written by Ian E. Rinehart & Bart Elias, 'China's Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ)', 30 January 2015, at <<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R43894.pdf>> (accessed 5 January 2016).
- 2 This chapter is based on the US CRS Report of R42761, written by Mark E. Manyin, 'Senkaku (Diaoyu/Diaoyutai) Islands Dispute: U.S. Treaty Obligations', 22 January 2013, at <<https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42761.pdf>> (accessed 5 January 2016).
- 3 This chapter is based on the US CRS Report of R42930, written by Ben Dolven, Mark E. Manyin & Shirley A. Kan, 'Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia: Issues for Congress', 14 May 2014, at <<https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=754436>> (accessed 5 January 2016). This report (R42930), however, has three different versions dated on 23 January 2013, on 30 January 2013, and on 14 May 2014, respectively.
- 4 For a legal analysis of the concept of ADIZ, see Taisaku Ikeshima, 'China's Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) and its Impact on the Territorial and Maritime Disputes in the East and South China Seas', *Transcommunication*, Vol. 3, 2015, pp. 151-170.