Recent Developments in the East China Sea

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CHINESE PATROLS IN JAPANESE WATERS

- First Chinese patrol in 12nm territorial waters around Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands in December 2008.
- Three subsequent patrols in territorial waters prior to Japanese government purchase of islands in September 2012.
- Chinese patrols in Japanese waters show an uptick during some politically sensitive incidents.
- Chinese incursions in the territorial waters have diminished since October 1, 2013.
- Chinese incursions and Japanese intercepts are mostly predictable and professional. Risk of accident is low unless a third factor is introduced such as fishing boats or activists seeking to land on the islands.
CHINESE PATROLS IN JAPANESE WATERS

September 2012 to October 2013
(http://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/senkaku/index.html) (Japan CG)

- Sep 2012: Japan purchases Senkaku/Diaoyu
- Dec 2012: Abe’s LDP wins majority in Japan parliament
- Feb 2013: Abe accuses CCP of stirring anti-Japanese sentiments to gain legitimacy
- Apr 2013: 3 Abe ministers visit Yasukuni; media tries to land on islands; Abe says mulling troops on islands
- Aug 2013: 3 Abe ministers visit Yasukuni; Abe sends homage as LDP president
CHINESE PATROLS IN JAPANESE WATERS

- Dec 2013: Abe visits Yasukuni shrine
- Feb 2014: US and Japan run Iron Fist Exercise, simulating invasion of an island
- Apr 2014: Japan MOD announces plans to strengthen garrison of southern islands with anti-ship missiles
- May 2014: Abe delivers keynote speech at Shangri-La Dialogue
- Jul 2014: Abe administration decides to allow SDF right to collective self defense
- Aug 2014: 146 Diet members, including 2 cabinet ministers, visit Yasukuni

CHINESE PATROLS IN JAPANESE WATERS

October 2013 to September 15, 2014

http://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/senkaku/index.html (Japan CG)

- Uptick in patrols in territorial waters after Pres. Obama’s Japan visit (April 23-25)
- Significant drop in number of PRC ships in both contiguous zone and territorial waters in May
- Escalation in PRC presence from mid-August to present (ships and patrols)

Data through September 15, 2014

(http://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/senkaku/index.html) (Japan CG)
CHINESE SHIPS IN JAPANESE WATERS
SEP 2012 - OCT 2013

Number of Chinese ships

Data through October 2013 from http://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/senkaku/index.html (Japan CG)
CHINESE SHIPS IN JAPANESE WATERS
OCT 2013 – MID-SEP 2014

- Number of ships in territorial waters
- Number of ships in contiguous zone

Data through 15 Sep 2014 from http://www.kaiho.mlit.go.jp/senkaku/index.html (Japan CG)
OVERLAPPING ADIZ IN THE EAST CHINA SEA

South Korea ADIZ

China ADIZ

Japan ADIZ

Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands
TRENDS IN AIR ACTIVITY AROUND JAPAN

- PRC sorties rose by 78% in 5 months following declaration of ADIZ in November 2013 (compared to 5 months prior)
- Evidence that PRC aircraft may be intercepting Japanese aircraft with higher frequency
- Since establishment of ADIZ, PRC intercepts increasingly executed by J-11 fighters
- Expanded PRC activity intended in part to demonstrate sovereignty, may signify improved operational ability


RECENT AIR ACTIVITY AROUND JAPAN

- Chinese aircraft seen only near Senkaku/Diaoyu islands
  - Chinese aircraft
  - Russian aircraft
- No records of PRC planes transiting Miyako Strait in latest Japanese MOD report
  - First seen July 2013 (1 Y-8)
  - Chinese planes in Miyako Strait last seen March 9, 2014

RECENT AIR ACTIVITY AROUND JAPAN

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<th>Time period</th>
<th>Russia</th>
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<th>North Korea</th>
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<tr>
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<td>519</td>
<td>1</td>
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※ Data by country includes estimation

- Number of Chinese air incursions show an uptick after declaration of the ADIZ

April 2013 - March 2014: Japan scrambles jets against Chinese planes 415 times, up 36% from 306 in the previous year.

Chinese aircraft in the region identified by JSDF include:
- Y-12 belonging to China's State Oceanic Administration (SOA) spotted on 13 separate instances between December 2012 and March 23, 2014, near the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands (only once violated 12nm zone in Dec 2012)
RECENT AIR ACTIVITY AROUND JAPAN

- Other aircraft spotted by JSDF:
  - Formation of 2 H-6 bombers & 2 Y-8 surveillance aircraft seen 3 consecutive days passing through Miyako Strait starting October 27, 2013
  - 1 Y-8 and 2 H-6 bombers transit Miyako Strait March 9, 2014
  - Tu-154 intelligence gathering aircraft on 4 different occasions during November 2013
  - A Y-15 belonging to SOA spotted near Senkaku/Diaoyu islands in January 2014
  - J-11 fighters intercept Japanese patrol planes in May 2014
  - Tu-154 intelligence gathering aircraft intercepted in June 2014, Chinese scramble two fighters in response
CHINA’S DECLARED ACTIVITY IN THE ADIZ

- **December 2013:** China MND releases numbers on its activity after establishment of ADIZ
  - Monitored 800 foreign warplanes between Nov 23, and Dec 22, 2013
  - China sent 51 of its own aircraft on 87 policing or patrolling missions
  - 56 airlines from 23 countries reported 21,475 scheduled flights

- **January 2014:** Information about patrols in ADIZ
  - Claims “routine patrols have beefed up China’s effective control over ADIZ”
  - Multiple types of Chinese aircraft used to monitor, identify, track and warn multiple types of foreign military planes entering the ADIZ

- **August 2014:** Chinese MND releases information on intercepts against Chinese aircraft
  - China reports that Japanese F-15s “twice attempted to approach Chinese patrol planes conducting routine patrol of the ADIZ”

**Source:** [http://eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/index.htm](http://eng.mod.gov.cn/Press/index.htm) (PRC MND)
CHINESE MILITARY ACTIVITY AROUND JAPAN

- Chinese naval vessels routinely conduct exercises through diverse routes between the East China Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

- The Chinese navy and air force conduct frequent training and information gathering activities in the sea/air area surrounding Japan.

Map from Defense of Japan 2014 (Japan MOD)
Risk of accident between China and Japan exists in East China Sea, with greatest danger being an air collision.
  - This is against the background of a leader, Xi Jinping, who has a higher tolerance for risk than his predecessors.

Attention should be paid to deterring “gray zone” incidents and preventing escalation of such incidents if they occur.

There is a pressing need for risk avoidance measures between China and Japan, especially hotlines (navy, air force, coast guard), agreement on air intercept procedures and other rules of the road.

China believes it has changed the status quo in its favour in the East China Sea.
  - Pressure and coercion have enabled China to make progress and it sees no reason to make concessions.
  - Chinese believe the shifting balance of power and internal factors in Japan will lead Tokyo to accommodate to China.

Can the US change China’s calculus and strategy?
  - Reputational cost, strengthen US-Japan alliance, counter-balancing, TPP.