

2015

## Bridging Troubled Waters: China, Japan, and Maritime Orderin the East China Sea, by James Manicom

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### Recommended Citation

Bradford, John and Portzer, Joelle (2015) "Bridging Troubled Waters: China, Japan, and Maritime Orderin the East China Sea, by James Manicom," *Naval War College Review*: Vol. 68 : No. 1 , Article 12.  
Available at: <https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/nwc-review/vol68/iss1/12>

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the holy war and holy nation” coupled with apocalyptic ideas to “metastasize” into “Fascism, Nazism, and racial extermination.” So too was the Russian Revolution a religious civil war, the Bolshevik cause as messianic and millenarian in vision as it was antireligious in doctrine. Anti-imperial and anticolonial movements in Africa and elsewhere were also parts of this postwar “worldwide millenarian upsurge.” Similarly, the war led to a proliferation of “charismatic, fundamentalist, [and] traditionalist forms of faith” within Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Moreover, the defeat and geographical division of the Ottoman Empire created not only the modern Middle East but also, according to Jenkins, modern Islam. The loss of a geopolitical center and the caliphate resulted in a “postwar search for new sources of authority [that] led to the creation or revival of virtually all the Islamic movements that we know in the modern world.”

Like many of the book’s broadest claims, this last one falls a little short. Still, Jenkins’s book is important and timely. The Great War might not have been a “war of religion” per se, but Jenkins shows how for its participants it was certainly religious. Most of all, Jenkins reminds us, as sectarian fighting continues over national boundaries drawn following that century-old war, of the continued relevance of religion’s global effects.

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Manicom, James. *Bridging Troubled Waters: China, Japan, and Maritime Order in the East China Sea*. Georgetown Univ. Press, 2014. 280pp. \$54.95

As the world reacts to an increasingly powerful and assertive China, East Asia’s maritime frontiers are emerging as friction points that threaten regional stability. James Manicom’s *Bridging Troubled Waters* presents a timely analytical history of Sino-Japanese relations in the East China Sea and makes important contributions to understanding the prospects for maritime cooperation. The book authoritatively documents new insights regarding this complex state of evolving affairs, one that has included elements of cooperation, compromise, competition, and conflict. It employs a helpful analytical framework from which to argue for optimism, by demonstrating that Chinese and Japanese leaders have historically been able to manage tensions by decoupling material issues from strategic and symbolic differences. Manicom has a PhD from Flinders University in Australia and is an expert in East Asian security, specializing in maritime issues. A research fellowship at the Ocean Policy Research Foundation in Tokyo and trips to China and Japan positioned him well to deliver this systematic analysis.

Manicom constructs a unique matrix for evaluating the value of maritime space vis-à-vis national objectives and applies this construct to motivations for cooperation versus conflict. Manicom then uses this framework to interpret case studies from the Sino-Japanese maritime relationship, examining the dispute over islands in the East China Sea, fisheries management, agreements governing research at sea, and cooperative arrangements in the Chunxiao gas field. Building on the insights delivered by these case studies, the book’s final chapter and conclusion focus on the current political dynamics in the Sino-Japanese maritime relationship and

assess the prospects for successful management of tensions through a shared-jurisdiction arrangement that satisfies both countries' territorial objectives.

The book is a densely packed, academic work. The opening chapter, in which Manicom lays his theoretical foundations and analytical framework, will demand particular effort from readers seeking immediate, practical insights. However, this academic investment is well worth the effort. The follow-up analysis is exceptionally insightful for not only academics but also policy makers, strategists, and military professionals. Its tone, however, reflects the fact that the author did most of his research in Japan (only five of the twenty-six interviews were conducted in Beijing), and Manicom seems intermittently challenged to shake a Japanese perspective.

A more significant shortfall is that the book qualifies its strong case for optimism with two significant caveats. First, Manicom notes that past cooperation has only resulted when "material issues have been separated from the more symbolic aspects of [Sino-Japanese] relations" and that the countries have the greatest difficulty finding paths to cooperation over contested symbolic and strategic issues. Second, he qualifies his optimism also by stating that tensions will be sufficiently managed to prevent war only so long as "the leaders of each state can exercise the necessary leadership to manage their respective national pressures." These caveats are of great concern, because leaders in both nations may find it increasingly difficult to manage the growing nationalistic demands of their constituents. Furthermore, because the years of cooperative efforts expertly documented in Manicom's case studies have taken the edge off

many of the material issues, the remaining tension points are predominantly strategic and symbolic in nature. Still, despite these criticisms, the lessons contained in Manicom's insightful analysis will be of great value to those seeking to understand Sino-Japanese tensions and other maritime disputes.

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Westad, Odd Arne. *Restless Empire: China and the World since 1750*. New York: Basic Books, 2012. 515pp. \$32

The Norwegian historian Odd Arne Westad, in this well-written history of China over the past 250 years, tells the story from a broad global perspective. His approach tracks that of his earlier works on the Cold War, where he placed a binational rivalry into a larger world context. Similarly in this work, he sees the principal driver of China's modern experience as relentless internationalization. However, China is more than just a country. It is, as Lucien Pye once described it, "a civilization-state, pretending to be a nation-state." Imperial in every respect, it pushed out, and the world has pushed back, powerfully, since 1750.

However, the adjective "restless" in the title is an understatement. No country's modern history has been more tumultuous or more violent. Westad describes episodes, including the worst, that occurred in the time of "peace" that the Communist regime was supposed to usher in. The most deadly and destructive of modern China's encounters with the world, Westad astutely notes, was between 1937 and 1945—its war with