INDEX

Note: Page numbers followed by “n” denote notes.

A
Abe, Shinzo, 5–6
ADMM-Plus. See ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus)
Agreement on Joint Crime Fighting, 88
Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ), 6, 91, 188, 294 declaration of, 276 “air-sea battle” concept, 233 airstrip on Itu Aba, constructing, 81–84
Almonte, Jose, 122
Amboyna Cay, 209
AMM. See ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM)
anti-access/area denial (A2/AD), 233 capabilities, 172 anti-China protests, 111, 127n28 in Hanoi, 145–46 anti-China security collaboration, prospect of, 230 Anti-Secession Law, 83
APT. See ASEAN Plus Three (APT)
Aquino, Benigno, 9, 56, 148, 177, 178, 188, 200n9
Arbitral Tribunal, UN, 11, 150, 175
Archipelagic Baselines Law, 175
ARF. See ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)
ARF Ministerial Meeting, 258–60
Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), 148, 172
Arroyo, Gloria Macapagal, 148, 165, 171, 174, 177
JMSU initiative, 178
ASEAN. See Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)
ASEAN Charter (2008), 138–39
ASEAN–China conflict management process, 13–14, 16, 136, 137, 140, 149, 293
Joint Working Group (JWG) on implementation of DoC, 138, 140, 249
maritime cooperation fund, 56 relations, 114, 120, 135
Senior Officials Meeting, 13, 138, 165, 249
Summit, 54, 56, 63, 249
ASEAN–China Code of Conduct (CoC), 13–14, 81, 90, 135, 137–38, 165, 168, 176, 197, 248, 250, 254, 289
**Index**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Relevant Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>114, 169, 199, 277, 295</td>
<td>negotiations on, 114, 199, 277, 295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea. See Manila Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14, 54, 247, 258, 259</td>
<td>ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus), 14, 54, 247, 258, 259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>ASEAN-led multilateral security forums, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117, 249</td>
<td>ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM), 117, 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89, 135, 216</td>
<td>ASEAN Plus Three (APT), 89, 135, 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>ASEAN–U.S. Commemorative Summit, 258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Asia, hydrocarbon resources from, 206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 134, 164</td>
<td>Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 1, 134, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>challenge for, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61, 123</td>
<td>and China, economic nexus, 134 claimants, 61, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Community, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>concerns with post-Cold War, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116–20</td>
<td>contradictions in China–Southeast Asia relations, 116–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>on economic front, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>Financial Crisis (1997–98), 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137, 141, 249</td>
<td>foreign ministers, 137, 141, 249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248, 261, 282</td>
<td>Maritime Forum, 248, 261, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Ministerial Conference Plus One session in Phuket, 257 and South China Sea dispute, 248–50</td>
<td>Post Ministerial Conference Plus One session in Phuket, 257 and South China Sea dispute, 248–50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142, 250</td>
<td>Summits, 142, 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), 232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>Baselines of Maritime Zones Act 2006, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219–21</td>
<td>bilateral negotiation, with ASEAN claimant states, 219–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151–53</td>
<td>Brunei, responses to South China Sea, 151–53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>Bush, George W., 112 business community, Philippines, 178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143–44</td>
<td>Cambodia, 143–44 responses to South China Sea, 154–55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167, 251</td>
<td>Campbell, Kurt, 167, 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>CBMs. See confidence-building measures (CBMs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>CCG. See Chinese Coast Guard (CCG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>CCP. See Chinese Communist Party (CCP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>“century of humiliation”, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>CGA. See Coast Guard Administration (CGA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Chen Bingde, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81–84</td>
<td>Chen Shui-bian, policy and constructing airstrip on Itu Aba, 81–84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Chiang Kai-shek regime, 189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Index

China, 47–48
  anti-access/area denial (A2/AD), 233
  Anti-Secession Law, 83
  ASEAN and, economic nexus, 134
  assertiveness of, 187–90, 194–98, 274–76, 292
  “Charm Offensive” in Southeast Asia, 8
  Code of Conduct (CoC) negotiations with, 90, 96, 146, 150, 176, 277
  contradictions, with Southeast Asia relations, 113–16
  coping with United States, 62–63
  declaration of Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ), 276
  defence budgets, 292–93
  domestic political environment, 233
  Fisheries Administration, 169
  historical basis and expansiveness of, 116
  HYSY-981 oil rig crisis, 1, 9, 34, 57–58, 90, 114, 134, 142, 188, 263
  large-scale reclamation work, 294
  legal approach, 66
  and Manila, 56
  maritime and rhetorical assertiveness, 109
  multilateral approach, 61–62
  National People’s Congress, 106
  naval modernization, 110
  nine-dash line, 10, 30–31, 33, 65, 115, 218, 253
  One China policy, 75
  regional objectives of, 229–31
  and resource exploitation, 63–64
  regional and international security, 194–98
  South China Sea policy, 54, 238
  vs. Southeast Asian countries, 134–35
  Strategic and Economic Dialogue with, 232
  strategic miscalculation/strategic dilemma, 190–94
  threat to freedom of navigation, 233, 234, 236
  Tiananmen Square crackdown, 107–8
  use of coercion in South China Sea, 281
  China–Brunei relations, 151–53
  China–Cambodia relations, 154–55
  China–Indonesia relations, 153–54
  China–Laos relations, 154–55
  China–Myanmar relations, 154–55
  China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC), 1, 34, 64, 114, 145
  China Petroleum Corporation (CPC Taiwan), 88
  China–Philippines relations, 16, 56, 109, 147–51, 165, 166. See also Philippines
  friction in, 139
  military tensions between, 164
  China policy
   Aquino, 148
   Arroyo, 148
   Malaysia, 152
  China–Singapore relations, 153–54
  China–Southeast Asia relations, 104–5
  “Achilles heel” of, 113
  parallel and persistent concerns, 105–9
  China–Thailand relations, 154–55
  Chinese civilian maritime law enforcement vessels, 167
Chinese Coast Guard (CCG), 293
PLA-Navy and, 294
vessels, 57
Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 230
Chinese foreign policy community, 58
Chinese government vessels, 57, 167
Chinese law enforcement agencies, 54, 56
Chinese maritime strategy, 169
Chinese National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC), 206
Clinton, Hillary, 6, 50, 60, 171, 189, 200n10, 238
Coast Guard Administration (CGA), 78–79
Code of Conduct (CoC), ASEAN–China, 13–14, 56, 81, 135, 137–38, 140–43, 165, 168–69, 188–89, 197, 248, 250, 254, 289, 293
Japan’s support for, 281
negotiation with China, 90, 96, 114, 146, 150, 169, 176, 199, 277, 295
principles for, 176
Cold War, 134, 172, 275
Commercial Arrangement Area (CAA), 210
Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), 27, 32–33, 47, 86, 109–10, 115, 121, 144, 168, 175, 189, 212, 275, 280
Article 4 of Annex II, 285n6
nine-dash line map to, 257, 277, 282–83
Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), 146
confidence-building measures (CBMs), 13, 137
Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, 190
Continental Shelf Act (1966), 208
continental shelf rights, exclusive economic zone and, 28, 32, 33
Convention on the Continental Shelf (1958), 208
CPC. See China Petroleum Corporation (CPC Taiwan)
cross-strait cooperation
Ma Ying-jeou and, 84–89
military coordination, 88
cross-strait relations, 75, 88
Lee Teng-hui, 77
One China principle in, 89
in Taiwanese domestic politics, 89–90
Cross-Strait Sea Transportation Agreement, 88
Cui Tiankai, 63

D
Dai Bingguo, 54, 55, 63
Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DoC), 13, 54, 81–82, 135, 138, 169, 238, 277, 293
for cooperative activities, 140
goals of, 138
implementation of, 140–43
“self-restraint” clause, 295
del Rosario, Albert, 139, 167, 173, 280
Democratic Party of Japan, Policy Research Affairs Council, 281
Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), 79
National Security Chapter, 90
Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), 187
Deng Xiaoping, 168, 186, 199n2
Index

E
East Asia Summit (EAS), 56, 135, 210, 247, 248, 253, 254, 258, 260, 274
East China Sea nexus, 278–82
economic nexus, ASEAN vs. China, 134
eleven-dash line, 30
Eminent Persons Expert Group, 142
energy resources, 64
Estrada, Joseph, 107
Exchange of Letters (EoL), 210, 211
exclusive economic zone (EEZ), 1, 3, 5, 106, 114, 115, 134, 163, 175, 235, 241
concept of, 27
and continental shelf rights, 28, 32, 33
establishment of, 277
freedom of navigation in, 291
Japan’s legal dilemma on foreign military surveillance in, 282–83
rights of foreign countries in, 278
of Southeast Asian claimants, 186, 193
Vietnam, 144, 145
Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum, 261
Expanded ASEAN Seafarers Training Program, 261
Five Power Defence Arrangements, 215
freedom of navigation, 95, 282, 291
China’s position on, 236
support of Japan for principle of, 274, 277, 283
threat to, 7, 50, 233, 234
United States and, 6, 189, 238–39, 252–54, 259
free trade agreements, 191
Fu Ying, 140, 167
G
Geneva Agreement, 187
Global Financial Crisis, 8
Goh Chok Tong, 107
Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, 229–30
Guang Da Xing No. 28 Incident, 93
H
Hagel, Chuck, 14, 254, 261, 262
Hu Jintao, 54, 188, 194
Hun Sen, 141
Husky Energy, 206
hydrocarbons, 292
extraction of, 291
I
Impeccable Incident, 234, 235, 256, 277, 280, 283
increased rotational presence (IRP), 173
India–Vietnam oil exploration project, 65
Indonesia
China. See China–Indonesia relations
responses to South China Sea, 153–54
Indonesia–Vietnam continental shelf boundary, 31
International Court of Justice (ICJ), 11, 25–26, 209
International Crisis Group, 111
International Maritime Organization, 180n2
International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme, 215
international security, China, 194–98
International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS), 5, 11, 57, 118, 147, 150, 166, 217–18, 239, 263, 293
intra-ASEAN differences, 117–18
Itu Aba
constructing airstrip on, 81–84
garrison on, 74
replacing marines with coast guard personnel on, 76–81
joint Vietnam–Malaysia submission, 166
Kalayaan Island Group (KIG), 29, 147, 163–64, 257
Kerry, John, 255
Kuomintang (KMT) garrison on Itu Aba, 74
government, making claims to South China Sea, 193
Lahad Datu incursion, 213–14
Laos responses to South China Sea, 154–55
Law of the Republic of China, 77
Law on the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone, 249
Lee Hsien Loong, 134
Lee Kuan Yew, 6
Lee Teng-hui, policy on South China Sea dispute, 76–81
Liang Guanglie, 54
Ligitan–Sipadan dispute, 212
Li Keqiang, 188
Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG), 4
Mahathir Mohamad, 215
Mahbubani, Kishore, 193
Malaysia
Baselines of Maritime Zones Act 2006, 26
continental shelf claim, 208
diplomatic negotiations (bilateral/multilateral), 219–21
disputes and disagreements with, 166
engagement with China, 216, 217
extended continental shelf submissions of, 32
gas production rate, 206
hedging/bandwagoning, 214–17
interests and claims, 205
joint development agreements, 211
legal recourse, 217–19
national defence policy of, 208
Peta Baru or “New Map”, 29
responses to South China Sea, 151–53
stake for, 206–7
understanding territorial claims, 207–10
Malaysia–China relations, 151–53, 214–15, 226n44
trade, 217
Manila Declaration, 13, 137, 138, 164, 176, 250
Marcos, Ferdinand, 163
marine law, Vietnam, 144
marines with coast guard personnel on Itu Aba, replacing, 76–81

N
Nguyen Tan Dung, 9, 14, 145
Nguyen Thien Nhan, 55
nine-dash line, 10, 89, 154
map, 2, 5, 30–31, 33
in South China Sea map, 65
1992 consensus, 77, 82, 84, 88, 97n14

O
trip to Philippines, 150–51
One China policy/principle, 12, 75, 273, 274, 279
cross-strait relations, 88, 89
interpretations of, 77, 89

P
Panetta, Leon, 253
Paracel Islands, 2, 5, 11–12, 36n5
dispute, 273, 274
Pedra Branca/Pulau Batu Puteh, issue of, 218–19
People’s Liberation Army (PLA), 51, 107, 136, 169
power projection capabilities, strengthening of, 110
People’s Liberation Army-Navy (PLA-Navy), 79, 107, 164, 187, 190, 233, 236, 277
and Chinese Coast Guard, 280, 294
vs. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) debates, 113
People’s Republic of China (PRC), 1, 47, 75, 134, 187, 188, 195, 228, 247, 274, 275
“One China” principle, 89, 279
South China Sea policy, 237
Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA), 293–94
Petronas Carigali–Murphy Oil concession, 210
Pham Binh Minh, 146
Phnom Penh, 141
Philippine Coast Guard (PCG), 93
Philippines, 161–63
Aquino visit to China, 56
Archipelagic Baselines Law, 175
Beijing and, 56
bilateral alliance with United States, 174
China and. See China–Philippines relations
Chinese law enforcement agencies against, 54
claims, merits of, 172
Constitution, 173
defining national interests of, 174–77
deteriorating security seascape, 166–71
diplomacy, 173, 176–77
domestic drivers of, 177–79
exclusive economic zone (EEZ), 137
geographic configuration of, 161
Sino–U.S. competition, impact of, 171–74
maritime environment on, 161–62
Mutual Defense Treaty with United States, 173, 178
regional security and stability, 176
responses to South China Sea, 147–51
sea lines of communication (SLOCs), 162
shipping in, 161
territorial claims in South China Sea, 163–66
Philippines–China bilateral agreement 1995, 176
Index

Philippines Treaty Limits, 26, 163–64
Philippines–U.S. Bilateral Strategic Dialogue, 172–73
Pillay, Kohilan, 208
principles for a code of conduct, Philippines–China bilateral agreement on, 176

Q
Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010, 170

R
Reagan, Ronald, 251
regional security
  China, 194–98
  forums, 197
  and stability of Philippines, 176
Republic Act No. 3046, 38n28
Republic Act No. 9522, 38n29, 164
Republic of China (ROC), 2, 162, 274, 275. See also Taiwan
Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) naval exercise, 236
Royal Malaysian Armed Forces (RMAF), 207

S
San Francisco Peace Treaty, 274, 275, 283
Sanya naval base, 110–11
Scarborough Shoal, 36n7, 140, 141, 164, 167
sea lane security, Japan and, 276–78
Senior Officials Meeting (SOM), ASEAN–China, 13, 138, 165, 249
Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute, 272, 273, 275, 276, 279
Shangri-La Dialogue, 4, 9
Singapore, responses to South China Sea, 153–54
Sino–Japanese confrontation, 1 relations, 275
Sino–Vietnamese dispute, 273
Steering Committee, 55
South China Sea
South China Sea dispute
  ASEAN and, 248–50 geopolitical significance of the, 2–8 Japan and, 272–83 risks and dangers, 14–16
South China Sea Peace Initiative, 92
Southeast Asian claimants, 47, 63–64
   exclusive economic zone (EEZ) of, 186, 193
   People’s Republic of China (PRC) and, 50
South Vietnam, liberation of, 187
Spratly Islands, 2, 5, 11
Strategic and Economic Dialogue with China, 232

T
Taiwan, 199n1
   challenges and opportunities, 89–94
   Chen Shui-bian. See Chen Shui-bian
   Lee Teng-hui. See Lee Teng-hui
   Ma Ying-jeou and cross-strait cooperation, 84–89
   policy, 74–76
   Tang Fei, 78
Terumbu Layang-Layang (Swallow Reef), 209
Thailand, responses to South China Sea, 154–55
Tiananmen Square crackdown, 107–8
Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), 191, 217
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), 232, 250, 257
Treaty of Paris limits, 164

U
   Article 3 of, 39n34
   Article 6 of, 25
   Article 47 of, 26, 38n25
   Article 57 of, 39n36
   Article 60 of, 29
   Article 76(10) of, 43n70
   Article 121 of, 28
   Article VII/Article VIII of, 31, 217–18, 261
   ratification of, 164
   U.S.–ASEAN relations, 250
   U.S. concerns and policy responses, 251–56
United States
   bilateral relationships with ASEAN states, 262
   interests in South China Sea, 231–41
   International Military Education and Training programme, 215
   maritime cooperation, 262
   ratification of UNCLOS, 283
U.S.–ASEAN
   Dialogue, 259–60
   Enhanced Partnership, 257–58
   Leaders’ Meeting, 247–48, 253, 258–60
U.S.–ASEAN relations
   ASEAN and South China Sea dispute, 248–50
   South China Sea and recent developments in, 256–64
U.S. Energy Information Agency, 4
U.S.–Japan
   security cooperation, 274
   security treaty, 191, 279
U.S.–Malaysia military-to-military relations, 215
U.S. Navy strategy, 170
U.S.–Philippine military-to-military, 164, 172
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.S.</strong> P-8 Poseidon surveillance aircraft, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>U.S.–Southeast Asia strategic relations, intensification of,</strong> 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vietnam</strong>, 54, 162</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>