

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

- negotiations on, 114, 169, 199, 277, 295
- ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea. *See* Manila Declaration
- ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting-Plus (ADMM-Plus), 14, 54, 247, 258, 259
- ASEAN-led multilateral security forums, 258
- ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (AMM), 117, 249
- ASEAN Plus Three (APT), 89, 135, 216
- ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), 6, 85, 108, 117, 119, 135, 137, 188, 210, 237, 251–52, 258–60, 281
- ASEAN–U.S. Commemorative Summit, 258
- Asia, hydrocarbon resources from, 206
- Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), 1, 134, 164
- challenge for, 123
- and China, economic nexus, 134
- claimants, 61, 123
- on Code of Conduct (COC), 13–14, 81, 90, 114, 135, 137–38, 140–43, 165, 168–69, 176, 197, 248, 250, 254, 277, 289, 295
- Community, 222
- concerns with post-Cold War, 106
- contradictions in China–Southeast Asia relations, 116–20
- on economic front, 114
- Financial Crisis (1997–98), 137
- foreign ministers, 137, 141, 249
- Maritime Forum, 248, 261, 282
- Post Ministerial Conference Plus One session in Phuket, 257
- and South China Sea dispute, 248–50
- Summits, 142, 250
- Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC), 232
- Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 216
- B**
- Baselines of Maritime Zones Act 2006, 26
- bilateral negotiation, with ASEAN claimant states, 219–21
- Brunei, responses to South China Sea, 151–53
- Bush, George W., 112
- business community, Philippines, 178
- C**
- CAA. *See* Commercial Arrangement Area (CAA)
- Cambodia, 143–44
- responses to South China Sea, 154–55
- Campbell, Kurt, 167, 251
- CBMs. *See* confidence-building measures (CBMs)
- CCG. *See* Chinese Coast Guard (CCG)
- CCP. *See* Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
- “century of humiliation”, 231
- CGA. *See* Coast Guard Administration (CGA)
- Chen Bingde, 51
- Chen Shui-bian, policy and constructing airstrip on Itu Aba, 81–84
- Chiang Kai-shek regime, 189

- 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-straits cooperation
 Ma Ying-jeou and, 84–89
 military coordination, 88
- cross-straits relations, 75, 88
 Lee Teng-hui, 77
 One China principle in, 89
 in Taiwanese domestic politics, 89–90
- Cross-Straits 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

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
- Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), 151, 168, 173, 262–63
- 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
-
- F**
- Facilitation of Cooperation on Law Enforcement in Fisheries, 93

- 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-Prosperty 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
- J**
- Japan
 - bilateral dispute with China, 272, 273, 278–80
 - interest in South China Sea, 272–73
 - legal dilemma on foreign military surveillance in EEZs, 282–83
 - and sea lane security, 276–78
- Japanese Maritime Self Defense Forces (JMSDF), 274
- surveillance activities for, 283
- Johnson Reef, 144, 251, 263
- China *vs.* Vietnam, 136
- Joint ASEAN–China Commemorative Workshop, 249
- joint development agreements (JDAs), 220
- on hydrocarbon exploration, 211
- Joint Marine Seismic Undertaking (JMSU), 82–83, 138, 148, 165, 169, 178
- joint Vietnam–Malaysia submission, 166
- K**
- 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
- L**
- 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
- M**
- Mahathir Mohamad, 215
- Mahubani, 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
- maritime jurisdiction claims
 - agreed maritime boundaries and joint arrangements, 31
 - baselines, 25–26
 - exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and, 33–34
 - historic, 29–31
 - insular status and, 27–29
 - maritime zones, 27
 - submissions to Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf (CLCS), 31–33
 - unilateral, 29
 - and United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), 25–26
- Ma Ying-jeou
 - and cross-straits cooperation, 84–89
 - South China Sea Peace Initiative, 92
- Mekong–Japan Summit Meeting, 282
- Memorandum of Understanding on Defence Cooperation (2005), 215–16
- Mercado, Orlando, 113
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of China, 53, 114, 115
 - PLA–Navy debates *vs.*, 113
- Ministry of Interior and Academia Historica, 92
- Ministry of National Defense (MND) of China, 78–79
- Mischief Reef, 107, 137, 148, 164, 165, 172, 251
 - Chinese occupation of, 167
 - Manila’s relations with Beijing, 165
 - structures on, 106
- multilateral negotiation, with ASEAN claimant states, 219–21
- Myanmar, 142
 - responses to South China Sea, 154–55
- N**
- Natalegawa, Marty, 123, 139, 154, 197
- National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 190
- National People’s Congress, 188, 202n24
- National Security Strategy, U.S., 170
- Nguyen Chi Vinh, 54
- Nguyen Dynasty of Vietnam, 193
- Nguyen Phu Trong, 55

- 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**
- Obama, Barack, 63, 109, 112, 119,
 191, 215, 217, 228–29,
 231–32, 247, 254
 trip to Philippines, 150–51
 One China policy/principle, 12, 75,
 273, 274, 279
 cross-straits 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

- 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–U.S.
coordination, 62
dynamics, 124
relations, 170, 216, 229, 236,
242
rivalry, 15–16, 121, 171–74, 242
- Sino–Vietnamese
dispute, 273
Steering Committee, 55
- South China Sea
agreed maritime boundaries and
joint arrangements, 31
baselines, 25–26
competing maritime claims in, 23,
24
conflict/instability in, 4
extended continental shelf
submissions and implications,
31–33
geographical context, 22–24
historic claims, 29–31
implications and prospects, 33–35
insular status and maritime
jurisdiction claims, 27–29
Japan interest in, 272–73
maritime zones, 27
Ma Ying-jeou and cross-straits
cooperation in, 84–89
tensions in, 8–10, 292
U.S. interests in, 231–41
- 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-straits 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**
- United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), 2–7, 23, 27, 34, 85–86, 92, 105, 106, 109, 115, 121, 122, 149, 162–63, 173, 189, 193, 208, 212, 217, 222, 235, 239, 252, 277, 293
- 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

- U.S. P-8 Poseidon surveillance aircraft, 8
- U.S.–Southeast Asia strategic relations, intensification of, 118
- V**
- Vietnam, 54, 162
- China's deployment of Hai Yang Shi You-981 (HYSY-981) oil rig, 1, 9, 34, 57–58, 90, 114, 134, 142, 188, 263
 - extended continental shelf submissions of, 32
 - Nguyen Phu Trong, 55
 - oil exploration project with India, 65
 - responses to South China Sea, 144–47
 - and South China Sea dispute, 192–93, 196
- Vietnam–China relations, 55, 56, 106, 110, 114, 144, 147
- assertiveness and regional and international security of China, 194–98
 - China's growing assertiveness, 187–90
 - crisis in, 1, 263
 - Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), 187
 - Deng Xiaoping, 186
 - Geneva Agreement, 187
 - Vietnamese survey vessels, 57, 167
 - violent anti-Chinese riots in Vietnam, 166
 - Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), 164, 173
- W**
- Wanandi, Jusuf, 107
- Wang Yi, 142, 143
- Wen Jiabao, 54, 56, 63, 188, 202n24
- White Paper on China's Diplomacy 2010, 51, 60
- X**
- Xi Jinping, 8–9, 12, 54, 57, 58, 188, 194, 292, 294
- Y**
- Yang Jiechi, 50, 139, 146, 238
- Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 139
- Z**
- Zhang Zhijun, 54
- Zone of Peace, Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), 216
- Zone of Peace, Freedom, Friendship and Cooperation (ZoPFF/C), 12, 149, 175, 221