



Non-Traditional Security Issues and the South China Sea

Shaping a New Framework for Cooperation

Edited by
Shicun Wu and Keyuan Zou

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES AND THE SOUTH CHINA SEA SHAPING A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR COOPERATION

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While there is abundant literature discussing non-traditional security issues, there is little mention of such issues existing in the South China Sea. This area is vulnerable to natural hazards and marine environmental degradation. The marine ecosystem is threatened by various adverse sources including land-based pollution, busy shipping lanes, and over-exploitation activities which threaten the security of the surrounding population. This area is also threatened by piracy and maritime crimes but law enforcement becomes difficult due to unclear maritime boundaries. This volume is designed to explore the security cooperation and regional approaches to these non-traditional security issues in the hope to build a peaceful environment and maintain international and regional security and order in the South China Sea region.

Not about conflict but cooperation! This book could transform our thinking about the South China Sea.

Stein Tønnesson, Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO),
Norway and Uppsala University, Sweden

Non-Traditional Security Issues in the South China Sea represents a timely and much-needed compendium of scholarly perspectives on critically important yet oft-neglected, if unconventional, security issues in the context of arguably the Asia-Pacific's most troublesome and sensitive maritime flashpoints. While the issues covered are diverse - encompassing security cooperation, combating piracy, environmental security, energy issues and the impacts of climate change - the quality of the contributions included is consistently excellent and together provide vital insights and avenues for cooperation in this sensitive potential arena for conflict. An essential read for anyone interested in the South China Sea and Asia-Pacific security issues more widely conceived.

Clive Schofield, University of Wollongong, Australia

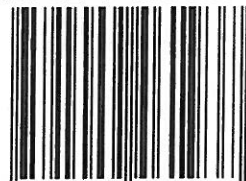
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Edited by

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Chapter 1

Non-Traditional Security Issues in the South China Sea: Seeking More Effective Means for Cooperation

Shicun Wu and Keyuan Zou

Introduction and Background

Non-traditional security has been a catch word after the 9/11 terrorist attack. Also it becomes a main concern of the international community as non-traditional security threats will for sure endanger world peace and security. Although there is no accurate definition on "non-traditional security issues", the issues usually refer to those emerging and new issues concerning security such as terrorism, sea piracy, human trafficking, mass pollution, epidemics, etc. While there is abundant literature discussing non-traditional security issues in various ways and on various topics, there is little mention of such issues existing in the South China Sea. In order to fill the gap, this edited volume has accommodated contributing papers with high quality from well-known scholars around the worldwide academic community.

As we know, the South China Sea is a semi-enclosed sea¹ vulnerable to natural hazards and marine environmental degradation. Although it possesses one of the most diverse biological marine ecosystems in the world, marine scientists have often warned us that the marine ecosystem is threatened by various adverse sources including land-based pollution, busy shipping lanes, and over-exploitation activities, thus threatening the security of human population in the littoral states around the South China Sea. What makes the existing situation plausibly worse is the increasing threat of global warming to the marine environment. Existing evidences have showed that climate change caused ocean changes such as the increase of the sea water temperature, sea level rise, changes in ocean circulations, and negative impact on marine ecosystems and species. Associated is the frequency of natural disasters such as tsunamis which will predictably occur in the South China Sea with devastating impacts on the littoral states and peoples. Recently a report was issued to confirm potential risk of tsunamis along the entire Pacific, including the South China Sea and pointed out that the subduction zones in the South China Sea could rupture and then cause large tsunamis in the future.

1 For a definition on semi-enclosed sea, see Article 122 of the LOS Convention.

Due to the territorial and maritime disputes in the South China Sea, governments of the littoral states encourage their fishermen to fish in the disputed areas as a symbol of sovereignty demonstration and a means of claim consolidation, but such scramble of marine resources exacerbates the depletion of the resources and causes unsustainability in the South China Sea contrary to the principle of sustainable development. The South China Sea is also exposed to pollution caused mainly by oil spills from deliberate discharging, oil tanker spillage and/or collision or illegal oily waste disposal. The recent incidents include the crude oil spill near the Vietnamese coast in 2006.

Apart from threats to the marine environment and resources, the South China Sea is also vulnerable to other threats such as piracy and maritime crimes. According to the Information Sharing Centre of the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP) in 2009,² piracy in the South China Sea hit a five-year high with tankers and large container ships most prone to attack in recent years. However, there is limitation in international law and national legislation on addressing this non-traditional security issue. The definition of piracy under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (LOS Convention) does not cover most armed maritime robbery cases occurring in the South China Sea. Piracy is not a statutory crime prescribed in the criminal code such as in China and other littoral states. Law enforcement becomes difficult due to the unclear maritime boundaries there. Piracy and maritime crimes directly threaten the safety of navigation and human life and has become a most threatening of all the non-traditional security threats to the South China Sea.

Though environmental hazards and man-made threats remind us of the importance of regional cooperation on non-traditional security, the complex geo-strategic situation in the South China Sea has considerable impact on the regional cooperative efforts. Overlapping claims by coastal states to islands, natural features and maritime zones continue to be a major challenge in regional cooperation. Unilateral acts by claimant states attempting to consolidate their claims do cause tensions from time to time. Military competition, as displayed by frequent military exercises from 2007 to 2012, also poses some obstacles for regional cooperation on non-traditional security in the South China Sea.

However, despite the threats and obstacles, the door for non-traditional security cooperation always remains open. Regional economic cooperation and integration has become a catalyst for expanding regional cooperation on non-traditional security. We believe that economic collaboration is a catalyst for expanding regional cooperation on non-traditional security. The full-scale implementation of the ASEAN-China Free Trade Zone from 1 January 2010 has provided dynamic and viable facilitation to promote security cooperation in the region. The regimes of "101+" and "103+" have also provided platforms for regional cooperation on non-traditional security. Both the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China hope that economic prosperity will inevitably penetrate into other areas of cooperation.

2 For details, see <http://www.recaap.org/> (accessed 10 January 2013).

Meanwhile, political will exists on enhancing such cooperation as the coastal states of the South China Sea face common challenges in the field of non-traditional security. In November 2002, the *Joint Declaration of ASEAN and China on Cooperation in the Field of Non-Traditional Security Issues* was adopted,³ which initiated full cooperation between ASEAN and China in the field of non-traditional security issues and listed the priority and form of cooperation. The two sides pledge to formulate measures and modalities to enhance their capacity handling non-traditional security issues so as to safeguard regional peace and security. They agree to cooperate in information exchange, personnel exchange and training, capacity-building, joint research, and other areas. The priorities at the current stage of cooperation include "combating trafficking in illegal drugs, people-smuggling including trafficking in women and children, sea piracy, terrorism, arms-smuggling, money-laundering, international economic crime and cyber crime". In addition, China and the ten ASEAN member states adopted the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea in 2002 (DOC),⁴ in which the signing states pledge to explore or undertake cooperative activities including marine environmental protection, safety of navigation and communication at sea, search and rescue operation, and combating transnational crime such as piracy and armed robbery at sea. China joined the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in 2003. These documents set forth a legal and political foundation for regional cooperation in the field of non-traditional security.

Structure and Contents

The current volume contains five parts. The first part is the introduction with the introductory chapter. The second part provides a general setting for regional cooperation in dealing with non-traditional security issues and contains three chapters. The chapter contributed by Professor Timo Kivimäki discusses joint development and security cooperation from an interpretative angle by looking at the restrictions and opportunities caused by the fact that actions communicate in international diplomacy. It looks at how joint development and security cooperation can promote practices and constructions of common realities that could be most useful for peaceful development of the South China Sea region. According to Kivimäki, in the context of territorial and maritime disputes in the South China Sea, the references in arguments for territorial sovereignty are not natural as they

3 The text is available at http://www.asean.org/resources/document-archives/item/joint-declaration-of-asean-and-china-on-cooperation-in-the-field-of-non-traditional-security-issues-6th-asean-china-summit-phnom-penh-4-november-2002-4?category_id=32 (accessed 10 January 2013).

4 The text is available at http://www.asean.org/resources/document-archives/item/declaration-on-the-conduct-of-parties-in-the-south-china-sea-2?category_id=32 (accessed 10 January 2013).

cannot be verified like claims of existence of something objective which can be verified by referring to sense data. Territorial claims are always matters that call for interpretation. The references of these claims need to be interpreted through the logic of international law, historical practice, international recognition, etc. The practice of regional cooperation and joint development also articulates interpretations relevant to the arguments rendered by claimant States, just as historical practices articulate recognition or non-recognition. It also articulates interpretations related to the settings of the territorial claims, such as those settings that relate who negotiate with whom (can the Philippines, for example, negotiate directly with China on joint development or should it involve the ASEAN), as it also articulates realities related to the weight of different issues related to the use and management of the South China Sea.

The second chapter, contributed from Ted McDorman, a leading authority in the law of the sea studies, at first poses questions such as: Will the clarity of claims by two of the South China Sea partners that occurred in May 2009 enhance or reduce the possibility of regional cooperation respecting resolution and/or management of the South China Sea disputes? Or will the status quo continue? Then the chapter looks at these questions and explains the very limited role to be played by the United Nations Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf as regards the South China Sea. As he points out, the South China Sea has been the location of uncertain claims respecting the islets and the ocean area. This "conflict" or "dispute" situation has dominated all discussions respecting regional cooperation in the South China Sea. Efforts at management of the conflict/dispute have been undertaken by the regional States through various devices, for example, the 2002 Declaration on the Code of Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea involving the ASEAN and China. In May 2009 Malaysia and Vietnam clarified their ocean claims in the South China Sea. This was done through their joint submission of information to the Commission on the Limits of the Continental Shelf respecting the outer limit of the continental margin beyond 200-n. miles in the southern part of the South China Sea. In the Joint Submission, Malaysia and Vietnam identified 200-nm limits and an area of continental shelf (referred to as the "defined area") adjacent to these limits that might, in the future, be subject to Malaysian-Vietnam negotiation and maritime boundary agreement. In a separate submission to the Commission, Vietnam clarified its ocean claim in the central part of the South China Sea. China responded to each submission with nearly identical letters claiming that Malaysia and Vietnam had "seriously infringed" on China's "sovereignty, sovereign rights and jurisdiction" in the South China Sea. The People's Republic of China attached to its letters a map (the U-shaped dotted lines map) respecting its claims in the South China Sea. The Philippines also responded to the submissions of Malaysia/Vietnam and Vietnam with nearly identical letters noting that the areas claimed "overlap" with areas claimed by the Philippines. Finally, in May 2009, Brunei provided to the Commission preliminary notices respecting possible future submissions to the Commission of information regarding continental

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shelf areas beyond 200-n. miles.⁵ The claims of the littoral states to the South China Sea extended continental shelves become a new source of interests conflict between/among these states. It could be a barrier to the security cooperation and the chapter suggests some ways of overcoming this barrier.

The final chapter in this part is written by Ramses Amer, a well-known Swedish specialist in Southeast Asian studies. The purpose of this chapter is to assess the possible relevance of the dispute management approach of the ASEAN for the South China Sea situation. This is done by analysing the intra-ASEAN dimension as well as the foreign relations dimension from an ASEAN perspective. The first dimension is addressed by assessing the impact of the South China Sea situation on relations between the ASEAN members. Amer wisely puts emphasis on the relevance of the dispute management approach of ASEAN. The foreign relations dimension focuses on the formulation of ASEAN's common policy on the South China Sea, which relates to the intra-ASEAN dimension, and to ASEAN's dialogue with China relating to the South China Sea as this dialogue is vital for managing the overall situation in the area. The chapter is concluded by an assessment of the relevance of ASEAN's dispute management approach in the context of the South China Sea situation.

The third part focuses on Regional Approaches to the Non-Traditional Security Issues and contains three chapters. The chapter contributed by Johan Saravanamuttu, a Malaysian specialist in conflict management first looks at Malaysia's foreign policy with respect to law of the sea issues, providing a brief history of various efforts at settlement of disputes in recent times by citing two examples of the adjudication of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) on the *Ligitan and Sipadan* dispute with Indonesia and the *Pulau Batu Puteh-Pedra Branca* dispute with Singapore.⁶ With respect to the South China Sea, Malaysia has staked its claims on and occupied a number of reefs and atolls based on the publication of its 1979 map, which extends its continental shelf along the Sabah and Sarawak coast into the Spratlys and Kalayaan area. As we know, there have been no legal settlements in the South China Sea on the part of Malaysia with other claimants up till now. The chapter then explores the overall approach of Malaysia towards conflict management of the disputed areas in terms of its approach to joint cooperation. The ostensible example of cooperation is Malaysia's agreement with Vietnam on joint development areas in 1992. Vietnamese-Malaysian cooperative efforts seem to emulate the joint development cooperation between Malaysia and Thailand with respect to disputed territories in the Gulf of Thailand. Malaysia's cooperation with Thailand has gone some distance with the setting up of a Malaysia-Thailand Joint Authority. With respect to the South China Sea, Malaysia has maintained possibly the most consistent cooperation with Brunei, although no agreement has been signed,

5 For relevant information, see http://www.un.org/Depts/los/clcs_new/clcs_home.htm (accessed 10 January 2013).

6 For details on these cases, see <http://www.icj-cij.org/homepage/> (accessed 13 January 2013).

while the most acrimonious relations have been with the Philippines. The signing in 2006 of an agreement between Petronas, Malaysia's oil and gas corporation, with China's Shanghai LNG company has implications for Malaysia-China South China Sea relations and suggests that cooperation rather than confrontation could be the order of the day for the two claimants. The paper finally discusses, in a constructivist vein, Malaysia's pursuance of norms and objectives directed to the emergence of a cooperative regime for claimants to assets in the South China Sea. It is suggested that such a cooperative regime itself should build upon the confidence building measures instituted by ASEAN through an obeisance to UNCLOS and the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea.

The second chapter of this part, contributed by Mingjiang Li touches upon the theme of security cooperation in the South China Sea by looking at goodwill and political willingness of the South China Sea littoral states as for substantive cooperation to occur among the claimant parties in the disputes, a significant catalyst is needed. The chapter analyses some of the possible catalysts that might prompt various parties in the South China Sea to join hands in the area of non-traditional security cooperation and even joint exploitation of natural resources. The major potential catalysts under discussion include the growth of China's capability in exploring the South China Sea, converging economic interests, and mainland China-Taiwan cooperation. The chapter argues that there is much that China can do to push for a cooperative regime in the South China Sea.

In the last chapter of this part, Nong Hong reviews the early negotiation process of the UNCLOS III (1973-1982) to the recent developments in the South China Sea including the 2001 EP-3 and the 2009 "Impeccable" incident and finds that there has been vague interpretations of the navigation regime in the LOS Convention and there is continuous debate among the academics and policy makers on how to balance coastal states' interests and the doctrine of "freedom of navigation". For that reason, her chapter takes a comparative approach by studying the case of the Arctic and the South China Sea which share many similar features, e.g., sovereignty disputes and multiple maritime claims, competition for resources, geopolitics significance, important existing and potential international shipping routes, and threats to maritime security. The chapter elaborates interpretations of the navigation regime by some important countries such as Canada, China, and the United States, and all three play a dual role as both a coastal state and a user state. The author suggests three steps in bridging the gap of the different interpretations on the navigation regime. First, a bilateral coordination mechanism should be initiated between relevant states to build up mutual confidence. Second, third party compulsory forums under the LOS Convention should play its role in defining the scope of freedom of navigation in a foreign state's EEZ and in addressing the ongoing contention due to advanced development in military technology. Third, "transformation of ways of thinking theory" should be introduced to the policy makers and scholars on the South China Sea and the Arctic as a foundation to lead their policy and research direction in seeking maximizing consensus and bridging the gap on many issues including navigation and maritime security.

The fourth part specifically addresses the lingering issue on piracy and maritime crimes and contains three chapters too. In the first chapter, Sam Bateman and Jane Chan offer the reader some basic information provided by the International Maritime Bureau which recorded a number of incidents of piracy and armed robbery against ships in the South China Sea in 2009 and finds that there was an increase in the number of attacks in Malaysian waters during the year. It is noted that most of these attacks were in East Malaysian waters either in or near the South China Sea. This chapter briefly analyses each of the attacks that occurred in the South China Sea. On the basis of this analysis, it identifies some reasons for the increased attacks, and recommends possible ways of overcoming the problem. Some similarity in the causal factors, including the impact of the downturn in international shipping as a consequence of the global financial crisis, are also noted between the situation in the South China Sea and that off the Horn of Africa. Lastly, the chapter notes that the increased incidence of piracy and armed attacks against ships in the South China Sea demonstrates the importance of cooperation between neighbouring countries to maintain good order at sea.

Following Sam and Jane, Robert Beckman and Tara Davenport look at the problems of the international community in dealing with the threat of Somali piracy in the Gulf of Aden which have demonstrated the need for international cooperation to deal with piracy and maritime crimes such as the hijacking of ships and the holding of ships and crew members for ransom. States in East and Southeast Asia should act now to put measures in place to enable them to cooperate to deal with such threats as well as other threats to the safety of international maritime navigation. As suggested by Beckman and Davenport, this will require states in the region to take at least three types of measures. First, they should review and update their national legislation on piracy and armed robbery at sea. Second, they should expand the activities of the Information Sharing Centre established under the ReCAAP Agreement so that it can deal not just with piracy and armed robbery at sea, but also other threats to the safety of international maritime navigation. Third, they should address the issue not just as a piracy problem, but in the wider context of jurisdiction over international crimes and over transnational organized crime. Therefore, they should cooperate to ratify and effectively implement the 1988 SUA Convention, the 2005 SUA Protocol, the 1979 Hostages Convention and the 2000 Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

The final chapter, contributed by Andrew Erickson and Austin Strange, discusses the dramatic rise of piracy in the waters off of Somalia in 2008, combined with United Nations Security Council resolutions designed to empower other nations to fight that piracy, presented China with an historic opportunity to deploy a naval force to the Gulf of Aden. The chapter examines the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN)'s Gulf of Aden mission and its implications for counter-piracy mission in the South China Sea. The chapter has four substantial sections. The first section examines the mission itself, mainly in terms of capabilities, rules of engagement, counter-piracy methods and tactics, situational awareness and control, logistics support, and cooperation with other navies. The second

section addresses the issue of what that can account for China's decision to send its naval force to fight piracy in the Gulf of Aden, with particularly reference to factors such as leadership endorsement, bureaucratic imperatives and interagency coordination, and availability of capabilities. The third section discusses the lessons that can be or have been learned, and rooms for improvement. The final section explores the implications of the Gulf of Aden mission for counter-piracy in the South China Sea. This section compares the Gulf of Aden deployment with possible counter-piracy mission in the South China Sea, highlight differences and similarities in issue areas such as piracy or terrorism as a threat to shipping, operational environment, capabilities, rules of engagement, situational awareness and control, logistics support, and cooperation and coordination with other navies.

Despite the efforts so far made by the international community and the decrease of piracy incidents in the Somali Waters, piracy remains resilient and is on the rise in other places like the Gulf of Guinea.⁷ The piracy incidents also occur from time to time in the South China Sea. It is perceived that the fight against piracy is a long-term task for the world community including the countries adjacent to the South China Sea.

The last part of this book is concerning environmental security in the South China Sea and contains four chapters. The first chapter, written by Keyuan Zou, a co-editor of this book, addresses the issue of sustainability in the South China Sea. The terminology "sustainability" is a loose term widely used in academia as well as in governments and international organizations. While there is controversy regarding its definition, it is generally admitted that it has become one of the most popular terms used in international politics. Its comparable term is "sustainable development" which is more concrete and relatively easier to explain. However, the above two terms are usually interchangeably used. Having discussed the definition of sustainable development, the chapter turns to discuss how the concept or principle of sustainable development applies to the management of natural resources in the South China Sea. It is strongly suggested that for the benefit of our future generations and for the protection of the marine environment, all unilateral resource development activities should be ceased in the disputed areas in the South China Sea. For this reason, a moratorium is recommended to be introduced to the South China Sea by learning from the good state practices in the Antarctic.

In the next chapter, energy analyst Thomas Grieder explores the potential opportunities of energy cooperation in the South China Sea. Despite increasing oil and gas demand among littoral states, competing sovereignty claims over sedimentary basins continue to restrict exploration of the South China Sea and Gulf of Thailand. Nevertheless, in certain areas of the sea governments have succeeded in reaching bilateral agreements to jointly explore and develop hydrocarbon

7 For details, see International Crisis Group, *The Gulf of Guinea: The New Danger Zone*, 12 December 2012, available at <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/media-releases/2012/africa/the-gulf-of-guinea-the-new-danger-zone.aspx> (accessed 15 January 2013).

resources. The chapter examines the reasons for the success and failure of these joint initiatives and evaluates the role national and international oil companies can play in aiding or undermining agreements. It argues that stable political relations between states, the establishment of equitable structures to manage cooperation and the devolution of responsibility to national and international oil companies to implement initiatives, are key ingredients of success.

The third chapter in this part is contributed by Robin Warner, addresses a new issue in the field of non-traditional security, i.e., the climate change and its maritime security implications for the South China Sea. The multi-dimensional impacts of climate change will have potentially destabilizing consequences for many maritime regions. This chapter explores some of the likely impacts and consequences of climate change for the maritime security of South East Asia and the South China Sea. The depletion or even collapse of major fisheries will result in declining food security in regions such as South East Asia which are heavily dependent on fisheries as a basic source of protein for their populations. Rising sea levels could contribute to increases in the movement of displaced populations and related transnational criminal activities such as people smuggling. The damage and destruction to coral reefs and other marine ecosystems associated with increased ocean acidity is likely to erode the economic security of regional States in South East Asia by removing vital fisheries habitats and sources of tourist industry income. The increased frequency and severity of weather related disasters linked to climate change may lead to loss of dwellings and the spread of disease in the South East Asian region and the need for augmented disaster relief services. In the face of such severe weather events offshore energy installations may be more vulnerable to damage and provide less reliable sources of energy. The chapter examines some of the collaborative mechanisms which could be implemented among States and regional organizations to alleviate some of the worst effects of climate change on maritime security in the South East Asian region and in the South China Sea. These could include joint development and conservation arrangements for fisheries and the introduction of transboundary marine environmental protection measures such as marine protected areas and transboundary environmental impact assessment of proposed activities and projects. Multilateral mechanisms for hydrocarbon exploitation and ocean energy development could avert future energy supply downturns. The establishment of further cooperative maritime surveillance and enforcement arrangements between States in the South East Asian region and in the South China Sea may assist in combating the increase in transnational criminal activity at sea. Enhanced criminal justice cooperation relationships between States in the region would complement cooperative law enforcement efforts at sea. Cooperative resettlement arrangements between regional and extra-regional States for populations displaced by sea level rise or natural disaster is an important component of any plan to tackle the adverse security implications of climate change. Finally, the author correctly points out that climate change represents a complex non-traditional threat to the security of many regions including South East Asia and the South China Sea. It will demand innovative and multilateral

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solutions from States in the region and beyond cooperating with relevant regional and global organizations with the appropriate expertise and resources.

The last chapter of this part and also this book, contributed by Lingjie Kong, deals with the issue of environmental impact assessment (EIA) and environmental sustainability. Degradation of the marine environment pushes the law of the sea to develop both substantial and procedural measures to safeguard marine environmental sustainability. Ill-planned and non-planned activities, land, sea or sea-bed based, become one of the main forces behind marine pollution. This is particularly true for the South China Sea, which is bordered by many densely populated countries with fast developing economies. Environmental impact assessment, as an effective precautionary tool in evaluating and monitoring potential harm of planned activities, has been rapidly and widely integrated into the national, regional and international legal regimes. Unfortunately, such a tool has not been legally or technically available for the South China Sea. Under the international legal regime, EIA obligations and procedures in the law of the sea have many defects and gaps, due to the rudimentary and unelaborated EIA provisions in the LOS Convention. Under the regional legal regime, in contrast to other regional seas, the concerned parties of the South China Sea have not concluded a convention on environmental protection or other legal instrument on EIA. Under the domestic legal regime, differences and conflicts exist between national EIA regulations in the region. Under such circumstances, to safeguard the environmental sustainability of the South China Sea, it is suggested that an effective and feasible marine EIA legal framework should be established either on bilateral, regional or international levels. A comparative study of relevant sources of international law on EIA can help us identify and elaborate on the key elements of such an EIA legal framework.

Final Remarks

By presenting the above to the reader, we have to confess that it is not possible for us to include all the non-traditional security issues which may be related or not related to the South China Sea. Issues such as human trafficking and drug trafficking, though important issues in the Southeast Asian region and addressed in the 2002 Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, may not be imminent issues existing in the South China Sea. Some issues such as environmental emergency response are not discussed due to the limited space and coverage of the book. The editors are only able to highlight and select the most important and timely issues and together with the indispensable and significant contributions from well-established scholars to make the book become a reality.

The distinction between the present book and existing books including our previously co-edited book *Maritime Security in the South China Sea* (Ashgate 2009) is apparent. This book is more focused on non-tradition security issues. Though there is a small portion of overlapping such as in the combat of sea piracy with

our co-edited book, the present book includes three updated chapters such as implications of piracy in Somali for the South China Sea and the implementation of the ReCAAP. Another difference lies in the fact that the present book is more focused on the South China Sea per se while our 2009 book has a broader coverage including the Malacca Straits and the Southeast Asia region. There are books either on the South China Sea or on non-traditional security issues, but the editors (perhaps due to the limit of our knowledge) have not yet come across any published book specifically dealing with non-traditional security issues in the South China Sea. The book is able to include contributions from different approaches and the editors and contributors are from 10 countries representing different disciplines, thus making the book inter-disciplinary while focusing on one theme – non-traditional security issues in the South China Sea.

Turning to the prospects for regional cooperation in dealing with non-traditional security issues, there are a couple of suggestions from the editors. First, littoral states to the South China Sea should sit together and make joint efforts in actively and seriously addressing non-traditional security issues in the South China Sea so as to help build up a peaceful environment and maintain international and regional security and order. Second, regional cooperation on non-traditional security should adhere to the principle of mutual benefit, mutual confidence, friendship and equitability. Third, it is important to define the areas of regional cooperation in the South China Sea and move forward to effectively implement the 2002 DOC. Fourth, specific measures needs to be identified in developing cooperation on non-traditional security, such as the maintenance of the safety and security of navigation, search and rescue joint operations, humanitarian aid and marine environmental protection in the South China Sea.

It is our hope that this book can make a humble contribution, in addition to its academic value, to promoting regional cooperation on non-traditional security as it addresses the non-traditional security in the South China Sea, and has identified and highlighted areas of cooperation and specific measures to be needed for non-traditional security cooperation. Finally we express our gratitude to contributors to the book and the publisher. Without their genuine contributions and efforts, it would be not possible that the book could come into being.

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