

附錄：南海各方行為宣言

DECLARATION ON THE CONDUCT OF PARTIES IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

The Governments of the Member States of ASEAN and the Government of the People's Republic of China,

REAFFIRMING their determination to consolidate and develop the friendship and cooperation existing between their people and governments with the view to promoting a 21st century-oriented partnership of good neighbourliness and mutual trust;

COGNIZANT of the need to promote a peaceful, friendly and harmonious environment in the South China Sea between ASEAN and China for the enhancement of peace, stability, economic growth and prosperity in the region;

COMMITTED to enhancing the principles and objectives of the 1997 Joint Statement of the Meeting of the Heads of State/Government of the Member States of ASEAN and President of the People's Republic of China;

DESIRING to enhance favourable conditions for a peaceful and durable solution of differences and disputes among countries concerned;

HEREBY DECLARE the following:

1. The Parties reaffirm their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and other universally recognized principles of international law which shall serve as the basic norms governing state-to-state relations;
2. The Parties are committed to exploring ways for building trust and confidence in accordance with the above-mentioned principles and on the basis of equality and mutual respect;
3. The Parties reaffirm their respect for and commitment to the freedom of navigation in and overflight above the South China Sea as provided for by the universally

recognized principles of international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea;

4. The Parties concerned undertake to resolve their territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means, without resorting to the threat or use of force, through friendly consultations and negotiations by sovereign states directly concerned, in accordance with universally recognized principles of international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea;

5. The Parties undertake to exercise self-restraint in the conduct of activities that would complicate or escalate disputes and affect peace and stability including, among others, refraining from action of inhabiting on the presently uninhabited islands, reefs, shoals, cays, and other features and to handle their differences in a constructive manner.

Pending the peaceful settlement of territorial and jurisdictional disputes, the Parties concerned undertake to intensify efforts to seek ways, in the spirit of cooperation and understanding, to build trust and confidence between and among them, including:

- a. holding dialogues and exchange of views as appropriate between their defense and military officials;
- b. ensuring just and humane treatment of all persons who are either in danger or in distress;
- c. notifying, on a voluntary basis, other Parties concerned of any impending joint/combined military exercise; and
- d. exchanging, on a voluntary basis, relevant information.

6. Pending a comprehensive and durable settlement of the disputes, the Parties concerned may explore or undertake cooperative activities. These may include the following:

- a. marine environmental protection;
- b. marine scientific research;
- c. safety of navigation and communication at sea;
- d. search and rescue operation; and
- e. combating transnational crime, including but not limited to trafficking in illicit drugs, piracy and armed robbery at sea, and illegal traffic in arms.

The modalities, scope and locations, in respect of bilateral and multilateral cooperation should be agreed upon by the Parties concerned prior to their actual implementation.

7. The Parties concerned stand ready to continue their consultations and dialogues concerning relevant issues, through modalities to be agreed by them, including regular consultations on the observance of this Declaration, for the purpose of promoting good neighbourliness and transparency, establishing harmony, mutual understanding and cooperation, and facilitating peaceful resolution of disputes among them;

8. The Parties undertake to respect the provisions of this Declaration and take actions consistent therewith;

9. The Parties encourage other countries to respect the principles contained in this Declaration;

10. The Parties concerned reaffirm that the adoption of a code of conduct in the South China Sea would further promote peace and stability in the region and agree to work, on the basis of consensus, towards the eventual attainment of this objective.

Done on the Fourth Day of November in the Year Two Thousand and Two in Phnom Penh, the Kingdom of Cambodia.

參考文獻

一、中文部分

- Eric A. Mcvaddon (1999), 國防部史政編譯局譯,〈二十一世紀的中共軍隊與周邊國家：環顧周邊安全〉,《二十一世紀台海兩岸的軍隊》,7-100,台北：國防部史政編譯局,2000年。
- 于有慧(1998),〈國際因素對當前中共外交政策的影響〉,《中國大陸研究》,4(6),7-18。
- 于有慧(2000),〈中共獨立自主外交政策的持續與轉變〉,《中國大陸研究》,43(6),1-19。
- 于有慧(2001),〈後冷戰時代中共新安全觀的實踐與挑戰〉,《中國大陸研究》,44(2),57-76。
- 于鐵軍(2002),〈進攻性現實主義、防禦性現實主義和新古典現實主義〉,《世界經濟與政治》(北京),5,29-34。
- 中華人民共和國國務院新聞辦公室(1995),〈中國的軍備控制與裁軍〉,《人民日報》,1995年11月17日,版1、3。
- 中華人民共和國國務院新聞辦公室(1998),〈中國的國防〉,《人民日報》,1998年7月28日,版1、3、4。
- 中華人民共和國國務院新聞辦公室(2000),〈2000年中國的國防〉,《人民日報》,2000年10月17日,版2-4。
- 中華人民共和國國務院新聞辦公室(2002),〈2002年中國的國防〉,《人民日報》,2002年12月10日,版5-7。
- 中華人民共和國國務院新聞辦公室(2004),〈2004年中國的國防〉,《人民日報》,2004年12月28日,版14-16。
- 中華人民共和國外交部(2004),〈中國對當前國際形勢的看法〉,《中華人民共和國外交部網站》,
<http://big5.fmprc.gov.cn/gate/big5/www1.fmprc.gov.cn/chn/wjdt/wjzc/t3464.htm>, accessed: 20040713。
- 毛澤東(1940),〈新民主主義論〉,《毛澤東選集第二卷》,623-670,北京：人民出版社,1966年。
- 毛澤東(1974),〈關於三個世界劃分問題〉,《毛澤東外交文選》,600-601,北京：中央文獻出版社,1994年。
- 王元綱(2003),〈樂觀的現實主義：國際關係守勢現實主義之評析〉,《國際關係學報》,18,台北：國立政治大學外交學系(即將出版)。
- 王緝思(1998),〈國際關係理論與中國外交研究〉,資中筠(主編),《國際政治理論探索在中國》,295-317,上海：上海人民出版社。
- 亓成章、何中順(1998),《時代特徵與中國對外政策》,北京：經濟科學出版社。

- 石之瑜（2000），〈現實主義國際政治學的知識脈絡〉，《問題與研究》，39（7），37-53。
- 石之瑜（2000），〈解讀「大國外交」：論兩岸的差異〉，《政治科學論叢》，13，148-153。
- 列寧（1917），〈打著別人的旗幟〉，《列寧全集第二十一卷》，115-135，北京：人民出版社，1958年。
- 列寧（1919），〈帝國主義是資本主義的最高階段〉，《列寧全集第二十二卷》，179-297，北京：人民出版社，1958年。
- 江澤民（1992），〈加快改革開放和現代化建設步伐，奪取有中國特色社會主義事業的更大勝利〉，《中國共產黨第十四次全國代表大會文件匯編》1-58，北京：人民出版社，1992年。
- 江澤民（1997），〈高舉鄧小平理論偉大旗幟，把建設有中國特色社會主義事業全面推向二十一世紀〉，中共中央文獻研究室編，《十五大以來重要文獻選編（上）》，1-51，北京：人民出版社，2000年。
- 江澤民（2002），〈全面建設小康社會，開創中國特色社會主義事業新局面：江澤民在中國共產黨第十六次全國代表大會上的報告〉，《中國網》（<http://big5.china.com.cn/chinese/zhuanti/233876.htm>, accessed: 20040713）。
- 李志剛（2003），《中共處理南海爭端的可能模式》，高雄：國立中山大學大陸研究所碩士論文。
- 李愛華（1997），《走出冷戰：世界大勢與中國對外戰略》，山東：濟南出版社。
- 宋燕輝（2000），〈東協與中共協商南海區域行為準則及對我可能影響〉，《問題與研究》，39（4），17-39。
- 周煦（1993），〈「十四大」後的中共外交政策：持續與轉變〉，《中國大陸研究》，36（1），51-59。
- 林文程（2000），〈中共對信心建立措施的立場及作法〉，《戰略與國際研究》，2（1），83-129。
- 林正義（1998），〈一九九五～一九九六年台海危機：美國國會的反應〉，林正義編，《中美關係專題研究：1995-1997》，145-184，台北：中研院歐美所。
- 邱坤玄（1999），〈結構現實主義與中共大國外交格局〉，《東亞季刊》，30（3），23-38。
- 明居正（2002），〈面向 21 世紀的中共外交戰略：認知與對策〉，宋國誠編，《21 世紀中國（卷二）：全球化與中國之發展》，217-253，台北：國立政治大學國際關係研究中心。
- 俞正梁（1998），《大國戰略研究：未來世界的美、俄、日、歐盟和中國》，北京：中央編譯出版社。
- 俞邃（1998），〈世界格局與大國關係若干問題探討〉，《現代國際關係》，2，38-44。
- 唐家璇（1994），〈當前形勢和我國對外關係〉，《解放軍報》（北京），1994年3月7日，第3版。
- 徐堅、郭鎮遠（2004），〈從國際形勢看 21 世紀頭 20 年中國的歷史機遇〉，《國際

- 問題研究》，2，9-13。
- 黃碩鳳（1992），《綜合國力論》，北京：中國科學出版社。
- 黃碩鳳（1997），《綜合國力新論》，北京：中國科學出版社。
- 黃仁偉（1997），〈試論中國在世紀之交國際環境中的深層次矛盾〉，《上海社會科學院學術季刊》，1，5-13。
- 華國鋒（1977），〈把無產階級專政下的繼續革命進行到底〉，《中國共產黨第十一次全國代表大會文件匯編》，21-46，北京：人民出版社，1996年。
- 陳宏銘（2003），〈現實主義典範的進步或退化：以 Vasques 採 Lakatos 科學研究綱領的論戰為焦點〉，《東吳政治學報》，17，53-91。
- 陳欣之（2003），〈國際安全研究之理論變遷與挑戰〉，《遠景基金會季刊》，4（3），1-40。
- 陳啓懋（1994），〈關於世界格局轉換的歷史回顧〉，《世界歷史》，1，13-19。
- 陳鴻瑜（1997），《南海諸島之發現、開發與國際衝突》，台北：國立編譯館。
- 陳偉華（2000），〈從「戰略嚇阻」論台灣『國防戰略』發展的兩難〉，《戰略與國際研究》，2（4），71-96。
- 陳偉華（2001），〈傳統嚇阻在理論上的辯證〉，《戰略與國際研究》，3（2），153-175。
- 斯大林（1924），〈論列寧主義基礎〉，《斯大林全集第六卷》，62-165，北京：人民出版社，1956年。
- 張睿壯（1999），〈中國應選擇什麼樣的外交哲學？〉《戰略與管理》，1，56-65。
- 張雅君（1999），〈世紀之交中共的軍事政策與亞太安全：防禦取向模糊性的探討〉，《中國大陸研究》，42（3），25-44。
- 張雅君（1999），〈「十六大」後的中共外交：相互依賴深化下的利益、挑戰與政策取向〉，《中國大陸研究》，46（2），1-23。
- 葉自成（2001），《新中國外交思想：從毛澤東到鄧小平》，北京：北京大學出版社。
- 童振源（2003），《全球化下的兩岸經濟關係》，臺北：生智出版社。
- 董立文（1996），〈中共的全球戰略與「中國威脅論」〉，《中國大陸研究》，39（9），27-46。
- 裘兆琳（1998），〈一九九五～一九九六年台海危機：華府、北京與台北之決策失誤檢討〉，林正義編，《中美關係專題研究：1995-1997》，99-144，台北：中研院歐美所。
- 楊光斌（1999），〈西方國際關係理論與中國威脅論〉，《世界經濟與政治》（北京），4，15-19。
- 詹世亮（2000年），〈激烈動盪的1999年〉，上海國際問題研究所編，《國際形勢年鑑2000》，29-35，上海：上海教育出版社。
- 趙紫陽（1987），〈沿著有中國特色的社會主義道路前進〉，《中國共產黨第十三次全國代表大會文件匯編》，1-78，北京：人民出版社。
- 閻學通（1996），《中國國家利益分析》，天津：天津人民出版社。

- 閻學通（1997），《中國崛起：國際環境評估》，天津：天津人民出版社。
- 閻學通（1999），《中國與亞太安全：冷戰後亞太國家的安全戰略走向》，北京：時事出版社。
- 閻學通（2000），《美國霸權與中國安全》，天津：天津人民出版社。
- 鄧小平（1977），〈在中央軍委全體會議上的講話〉，《鄧小平文選第二卷》，72-84，北京：人民出版社，1994年。
- 鄧小平（1983），〈視察江蘇回北京後的談話〉，《鄧小平文選第三卷》，24-26，北京：人民出版社，1993年。
- 鄧小平（1985），〈和平和發展是當代世界的兩大問題〉，《鄧小平文選第三卷》，104-106，北京：人民出版社，1993年。
- 鄧小平（1985），〈在軍委擴大會議上的講話〉，《鄧小平文選第三卷》，126-129，北京：人民出版社，1993年。
- 鄧小平（1989），〈改革開放政策穩定，中國大有希望〉，《鄧小平文選第三卷》，315-321，北京：人民出版社，1993年。
- 鄧小平（1990），〈國際形勢和經濟問題〉，《鄧小平文選第三卷》，353-356，北京：人民出版社，1993年。
- 魯毅、顧關福、俞正梁、傅耀祖主編（1999），《新時期中國國際關係理論研究》，北京：時事出版社。
- 鄭端耀（2003），〈國際關係攻勢與守勢現實主義理論爭辯之評析〉，《問題與研究》，42（2），1-21。
- 鄭端耀（2003），〈布希政府安全戰略發展評析〉，《遠景基金會季刊》，4（2），1-38。
- 謝益顯（1993），《外交智慧與謀略：新中國外交理論與原則》，鄭州：河南人民出版社。
- 羅元錚（1997），〈樹欲靜而風不止－中國威脅論評析〉，《世界經濟與政治》（北京），7，23-26。

二、英文部分

- Adams, Karen R. (2003), "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," *International Security* 28(3): 45-83.
- Alagappa, Muhtiah (1998), "Introduction," in Muhtiah Alagappa, (ed.), *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*, 1-26, Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- ASEAN, "ASEAN Declaration on the South China Sea (1992), Manila, the Philippines, 22 July" <http://www.asean.or.id/3634.htm>, accessed: 2004/10/12.
- ASEAN, "Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea" <http://www.aseansec.org/13163.htm>, accessed: 2004/10/12.

- ASEAN, "Instrument of Extension of The Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia," (October 8, 2003), http://www.aseansec.org/politics/pol_agr2.htm, accessed: 2004/10/18.
- ASEAN, "Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, Indonesia, 24 February 1976," http://www.aseansec.org/politics/pol_agr2.htm, accessed: 2004/10/18.
- ASEAN, Protocol to Amend the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between the Association of Southeast Asia Nations and the People Republic of China," (January, 2004), www.aseansec.org/15157.htm, accessed: 2004/10/20.
- Bernstein, Richard and Ross Munro (1997), *The Coming Conflict with China*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Brooks, Stephen G. and William C. Wohlforth (2000), "Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating the Landmark Case for Ideas," *International Security* 25(3): 5-53.
- Buszynski, Leszek (2003), "ASEAN, the Declaration on Conduct, and the South China Sea," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 25(3): 343-362.
- Buzan, Barry (1991), *People, State, and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1991, 2nd edition.
- Byman, Daniel L. and Kenneth M. Pollack (2001), "Let Us Now Praise Great Man: Bring the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25(4): 107-146.
- Carter, Ashton B. and William J. Perry (1999), *Preventive Defense: A New Security Strategy for America*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- Chambers, Michael (2002), "Rising China: A Threat to Its Neighbors?" in Carolyn W. Pumphrey, (ed.), *The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications*, 65-91, Carlisle, P. A.: Strategic Studies Institute.
- Chang, Felix K. (2001), "Chinese Energy and Asian Security," *Orbis* 45(2): 211-240.
- Chen, Qimao (1999), "The Taiwan Strait Crisis: Cause, Scenarios, and Solutions," in Suisheng Zhao, (ed.), *Across the Taiwan Strait: Mainland China, Taiwan, and the 1995-1996 Crisis*, 127-159, New York: Routledge.
- Christensen, Thomas J. (1996), "Chinese Realpolitik," *Foreign Affairs* 75(5): 37-52.
- Christensen, Thomas J. (1999), "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security* 23(4): 69-74.
- Chan, Gerald (1999), *Chinese Perspectives on International Relations: A Framework for Analysis*, Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Chung, Chien-peng (2000), "The PRC's Changing Moral and Realist Perceptions Toward Territorial Disputes," *Issues & Studies* 36(5): 176-196.
- Copeland, Dale C. (2000), *The Origins of Major War*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

- Dittmer, Lowell (2001), "Reform and Chinese Foreign Policy," in Chien-min Chao and Brace J. Dickson, (eds.), *Remaking the Chinese State: Strategies, Society, and Security*, 171-189, London: Routledge.
- Dougherty, James E. and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr. (2001), *Contending Theories of International Relations: A comprehensive Survey*, 5th edition, New York: Longman.
- Dreyer, June T. (1997), "A History of Cross-Strait Interchange," in James R. Lilley and Chuck Downs, (eds.), *Crisis in the Taiwan Strait*, 13-44, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press.
- Edelstein, David M. (2002), "Managing Uncertainty: Beliefs about Intentions and the Rise of Great Powers," *Security Studies* 12(1): 1-40.
- Fairbank, John K. (1974), "Introduction: Varieties of Chinese Military Experience," in Frank Kiernan, Jr. and John K. Fairbank, (ed.), *Chinese Ways in Warfare*, 1-26, Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Fearon, James D. (1992), "Threat to Use Force: Costly Signals and Bargaining in International Crises," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Fearon, James D. (1995), "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49(3): 379-414.
- Fewsmith, Joseph and Stanley Rosen, "The Domestic Context of Chinese Foreign Policy: Does "Public Opinion" Matter?" in David M. Lampton, (ed.), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, 151-190, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fisher, Richard D. Jr. (1997), "China's Missiles over the Taiwan Strait: A Political and Military Assessment," in James R. Lilley and Chuck Downs, eds., *Crisis in the Taiwan Strait*, 167-216, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press.
- Frankel, Benjamin (1996), "Restatement the Realist Case: An Introduction," in Benjamin Frankel, (ed.), *Realism: Restatement and Renewal*, ix-xx, London: Frank Cass.
- Friedberg, Aaron L. (2002), "11 September and the Future of Sino-American Relations," *Survival* 44(1): 33-50.
- Gallagher, Michael C. (1994), "China's Illusory Threat to South China Sea," *International Security* 19(1): 169-194.
- Garver, John W. (1992), "China's Push Through the South China Sea: The Interaction of Bureaucratic and National Interests," *The China Quarterly* 132: 999-1028.
- Garver, John W. (1997), *Face off: China, the United States, and Taiwan's Democratization*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- George, Alexander L. and Richard Smoke (1974), *Deterrence in American Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, New York: Columbia University Press.

- George, Alexander L. and Timothy J. McKeown (1985), "Case studies and Theories of Organizational Decision Making," in Robert F. Coulam and Richard A. Smith, (ed.), *Advances in Information Processing in Organizations*, Vol. 2, 21-58, Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press.
- George, Alexander L. (1994), "Coercive Diplomacy: Definition and Characteristics," in Alexander L. George and William E. Simons, (eds.), *The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy*, 7-12, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Chen, Hurng-yu (2000), "A Comparison between Taipei and Peking in Their Policies and Concepts Regarding the South China Sea," *Issues & Studies* 29(9): 22-58.
- Chen, Hurng-yu (2000), "The PRC's South China Sea Policy and Strategies of Occupation in the Parcel and Spratly Islands," *Issues & Studies* 36(4): 95-131
- Chung, Chien-peng (1999), "The Spratlys and Other South China Sea Islands Disputes," *Journal of Social, Political & Economic Studies*, 24 (1): 17-36
- Gilpin, Robert (1981), *War and Change in World Politics*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilpin, Robert (1984), "The Richness of the Tradition of Political Realism," *International Organization* 38(2): 287-304.
- Gilpin, Robert (1996), "No One Loves a Political Realism," *Security Studies* 5(3): 3-26.
- Glaser, Bonnie S. (1993), "China's Security Perception: Interests and Ambitions," *Asian Survey* 33(3): 252-271.
- Glaser, Charles L. (1992), "Political Consequences of Military Strategy: Expanding and Refining the Spiral and Deterrence Models," *World Politics* 44(4): 497-538.
- Glaser, Charles L. (1994), "Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help," *International Security* 19(3): 50-90.
- Glaser, Charles L. and Chaim Kaufmann (1998), "What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" *International Security* 22(4): 44-82.
- Godwin, Paul (1999), "The PLA Faces the Twenty-First Century: Reflections on Technology, Doctrine, Strategy, and Operations," in James R. Lilly and David Shambaugh, (eds.), 39-63, *China's Military Faces the Future* (Armonk, N. Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Goldstein, Avery (1997), "Great Expectations: Interpreting China's Arrival," *International Security* 22(3): 36-73.
- Grieco, Joseph M. (1993), "Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation: The Limits of Neoliberal Institutionalism and the Future of Realist Theory," in David A. Baldwin, (ed.), *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate*, 301-338, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Grieco, Joseph M. (1997), "Realist International Theory and the Study of World

- Politics,” in Michael W. Doyle and G. John Ikenberry, (eds.), *New Thinking in International Relations Theory*, 163-201, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Herz, John H. (1950), “Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 5(2): 157-180.
- Hiramatsu, Shigeo (2001), “China’s Advances in the South China Sea: Strategies and Objectives,” *Asia-Pacific Review* 8(1): 40-50.
- Hopf, Ted (1991), “Polarity, the Offense-Defense Balance, and War,” *American Political Science Review* 85(2): 475-493.
- Jervis, Robert (1976), *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Jervis, Robert (1978), “Cooperation under the Security Dilemma,” *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.
- Jervis, Robert (1979), “Deterrence Theory Revisited,” *World Politics* 31(2): 289-324.
- Jervis, Robert (1999), “Realism, Neoliberalism, and Cooperation,” *International Security* 24(1): 42-63.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain (1998), “International Structures and Chinese Foreign Policy,” in Samuel S. Kim, (ed.), *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, 4th edition, 55-90, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain and Paul Evans (1999), “China’s Engagement with Multilateral Security Institutions,” in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, (ed.), *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power*, 235-272, New York: Routledge.
- Johnston, Alastair Iain (2003), “Is China a Status Quo Power?” *International Security* 27(4): 5-56.
- Kim, Shee Poon (1998), “The South China Sea in China’s Strategic Thinking,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 19(4): 369-387.
- Kim, Samuel S. (1994), “Chinese Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice,” in Samuel S. Kim, (ed.), *China and the World: Chinese Foreign relations in the post-cold war era*, 3rd edition, 3-36, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Kim, Samuel S. (1998), “Chinese Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice,” in Samuel S. Kim, (ed.), *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, 4th edition, 3-33, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba (1994), *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Kolodziel, Edward A. (1992), “Renaissance in Security Studies? Caveat Lector!” *International Studies Quarterly* 36(4): 421-438.
- Krasner, Stephen (1985), *Structural Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Krasnow, Jay (1997), "Spratly Islands Dispute and Oil," *The Inventory of Conflict & Environment (ICE) Case Studies*, 21,
<http://www.american.edu/projects/mandala/TED/ice/spratly.htm>, accessed:
 2004/1015.
- Krause, Keith (1996), "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods," *Mershon International Studies Review* 40 (2): 229-254.
- Kristof, Nicholas (1993), "The Rise of China," *Foreign Affairs* 72(6): 59-74.
- Kydd, Andrew (1997), "Sheep in Sheep's Clothing: Why Security Seekers do not Fight Each Other," *Security Studies* 7(1): 114-154.
- Labs, Eric J. (1997), "Beyond Victory: Offensive Realism and the Expansion of War Aims," *Security Studies* 6(4): 1-49.
- Lakatos, Imre (1970), "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes," in Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, (eds.), *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*, 91-196, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lampton, David (2001), *Same Bed, Different Dreams: Managing U.S.-China Relations, 1980-2000*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.
- Lee, Teng-hui (1995), "Always in My Heart," *The Spence T. and Ann W. Olin lecture delivered at Cornell University Alumni Reunion*,
http://www.news.cornell.edu/campus/Lee/Lee_Speech.html, accessed:
 2004/0909.
- Lee, Gerald G. (2002), "To Be Long or Not to Be Long—That is the Question: The Contradiction of Time-Horizon in Offensive Realism," *Security Studies* 12(2): 196-217.
- Legro, Jeffrey W. and Andrew Moravcsik (1999), "Is Anybody Still a Realism?" *International Studies* 24(2): 5-55.
- Leifer, Michael (1995), "Chinese Economic Reform and Security Policy: The South China Sea Connection," *Survival* 37(2): 44-59.
- Levy, Jack S. (1984), "The Offensive/Defensive Balance of Military Technology: A Theoretical and Historical Analysis," *International Studies Quarterly* 28(2): 219-238.
- Li, Nan (1996), "The PLA's Evolving Warfighting Doctrine, Strategy and Tactics, 1985-1995: A Chinese Perspective," *China Quarterly* 146: 443-463.
- Lieber, Keir A. (2000), "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security," *International Security* 25(1): 71-104.
- Lin, Cheng-yi (1997), "Taiwan's South China Sea Policy," *Asian Survey* 37(4): 323-339.
- Lynn-Jones, Sean M. (1995), "Offense-Defense Theory and Its Critics," *Security Studies* 4(4): 660-691.
- Lynn-Jones, Sean M. and Steven E. Miller (1995), "Preface," in Michael E. Brown,

- Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller, (ed.), *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporary Realism and International Security*, ix-xxi, Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press.
- Mann, James (1999), *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Mearsheimer, John J. (1995/94), "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19(3): 5-49.
- Mearsheimer, John J. (1995), "A Realist Reply," *International Security* 20(1): 82-93.
- Mearsheimer, John J. (2001), *the Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York: W. W. Norton.
- Morgan, Patrick M. (1977), *Deterrence: A Conceptual Analysis*, Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Morgenthau, Hans J. (1978), *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, fifth edition, New York: Knopf.
- Nathan, Andrew J. and Robert S. Ross (1997), *The Great Wall and the Empty Fortress*, New York: W. W. Norton.
- Odgaard, Liselotte (2002), *Maritime Security between China and Southeast Asia*, Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate.
- Organski, A. F. K. and Jacek Kugler, (1980), *The War Ledger*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Pederson, M. Susan and Stanley Weeks (1995), "A Survey of Confidence and Security Building Measures," in Ralph A. Cossa, ed., *Asia Pacific Confidence and Security Measures*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Porch, Douglas (1999), "The Taiwan Strait Crisis of 1996: Strategic Implications for the United States Navy," *Naval War College Review* 52(3): 15-48.
- Posen, Barry R. (1984), *The Sources of Military Doctrine: France, Britain, and Germany Between the World Wars*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Powell, Robert (1999), *In the Shadow of Power: States and Strategies in International Politics*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Pratt, Mark S. (1993), "U. S. Reaction to the PRC Use of Force against Taiwan," in Parris H. Chang and Martin L. Lasater, (eds.), *If China crosses the Taiwan Strait: the international response*, 35-54, Lanham: University Press of America.
- Quester, George H. (1977), *Offense and Defense in the International System*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Robinson, Thomas W. (1994), "Chinese Foreign Policy from the 1940s to the 1990s," in Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh, (ed.), *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, 555-602, New York: Oxford University Press.

- Rose, Gideon (1999), "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy," *World Politics* 51(1): 144-172.
- Rosenau, James N. (1994), "China in a Bifurcated World: Competing Theoretical Perspectives," in Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh, (ed.), *Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*, 524-551, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rosenberg, David (2002), "The Rise of China: Implications for Security Flashpoints and Resource Politics in the South China Sea", in Carolyn W. Pumphrey, (ed.), *The Rise of China in Asia: Security Implications*, 229-262, Carlisle, P.A.: Strategic Studies Institute.
- Ross, Robert S. (1997), "Beijing as a Conservative Power," *Foreign Affairs* 76(2): 33-44.
- Ross, Robert S. (2000), "The 1995-96 Taiwan Strait Confrontation: Coercion, Credibility, and the Use of Force," *International Security* 25(2): 87-123.
- Ross, Robert S. (2002), "Navigating the Taiwan Strait: Deterrence, Escalation Dominance, and the US-China Relations," *International Security* 27(2): 48-58.
- Roy, Denny (1994), "Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security," *International Security* 19(1): 149-168.
- Roy, Denny (1998), *China's Foreign Relations*, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England: Macmillan Press.
- Roy, Denny (2000), "Tensions in the Taiwan Strait," *Survival* 42(1): 76-96.
- Salameh, Mamdouh G. (1995), "China, Oil and the Risk of Regional Conflict," *Survival* 37(4): 133-146.
- Schweller, Randall L. (1996), "Neorealism's Status-Quo Bias: What Security Dilemma?" *Security Studies* 5(3): 90-121.
- Schweller, Randall L. (1998), *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Scobell, Andrew (2001), "The Chinese Cult of Defense," *Issues & Studies* 37(5): 100-127.
- Scobell, Andrew (2003), "China's Strategy toward the South China Sea," in Martin Edmonds and Michael M. Tsai, (eds.), *Taiwan's Maritime Security*, 40-51, New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Shambaugh, David (1997), "The United States and China: Cooperation or Confrontation?" *Current History* 96(611): 241-245.
- Shlapak, David A. (2000), *Dire Strait?: Military Aspects of the China-Taiwan Confrontation and Options for U.S. Policy*, Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand.
- Shelling, Thomas C. (1960), *The Strategy of Conflict*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Shelling, Thomas C. (1966), *Arms and Influence*, New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sheng, Lijun (1992), "China's View of the War Threat and Its Foreign Policy," *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies* 11(3): 47-62.
- Shulsky, Abram N. (2000), *Deterrence Theory and Chinese Behavior*, Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand.
- Snyder, Glenn H. (1961), *Deterrence and Defense: Toward a Theory of National Security*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Snyder, Jack (1991), *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Spirtas, Michael (1996), "A House Divided: The Tragedy and Evil in Realist Theory," *Security Studies* 5(3): 385-423.
- Stinchcombe, Arthur L. (1987), *Constructing Social Theories*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Storey, Ian J. (1999), "Creeping Assertiveness: China, the Philippines and the South China Sea Dispute," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 21(1): 95-118;
- Studeman, Michael (1998), "Calculating China's Advances in the South China Sea: Identifying the Triggers of "Expansionism"," *Naval War College Review* 51(2): 68-90
- Sun, Kuan-Ming (1995), "Policy of the Republic of China towards the South China Sea," *Marine Policy* 19(5): 401-409.
- Sutter, Robert G. (1998), "Domestic Politics and the U.S.-China-Taiwan Triangle: The 1995-1996 Taiwan Strait Conflict and Its Aftermath," in Robert S. Ross, (ed.), *After the Cold War: Domestic Factors and U.S.-China Relations*, 70-106, Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- Swaine, Michael D. (2001), "Chinese Decision-Making Regarding Taiwan, 1979-2000," in David M. Lampton, (ed.), *The Making of Chinese Foreign and Security Policy in the Era of Reform*, 289-336, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Taliaferro, Jeffery W. (2000), "Security Seeking under Anarchy: Defensive Realism Revisited," *International Security* 25(3): 128-161.
- Tangredi, Sam J. (2002), "Sea Power: Theory and Practice," in John Baylis, et al., (eds.), *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies*, 113-136, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Tønneson, Stein (2003), "Sino-Vietnamese Rapprochement and the South China Sea Irritant," *Security Dialogue* 34(1): 55-70.
- Valencia, Mark J. (1995), *China and the South China Sea Disputes*, New York: Oxford University Press for the International Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Valencia, Mark J., Jon M. Van Dyke, Noel A. Ludwig (1999), *Sharing the Resources*

- of the South China Sea*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Van Evera, Stephen (1997), *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.
- Van Evera, Stephen (1998), "Offense, Defense, and the Causes of War," *International Security* 22(4): 5-43.
- Van Evera, Stephen (1999), *Cause of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Vasquez John A. (1997), "The Realist Paradigm and Degenerative versus Progressive Research Programs: An Appraise of Neotraditional Research on Waltz's Balancing Proposition," *American Political Science Review* 91(4): 899-912.
- Walt, Stephen M. (1985), "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power," *International Security* 9(4): 208-248.
- Walt, Stephen M. (1987), *The Origins of Alliances*, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.
- Walt, Stephen M. (1991), "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 211-239.
- Walt, Stephen M. (1997), "The Progressive Power of Realism," *American Political Science Review* 91(4): 931-935.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. (1959), *Man, the State and the War: A Theoretical Analysis*, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. (1979), *Theory of International Politics*, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Waltz, Kenneth N. (1991), "Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory," in C. P. Kindleberger, (ed.), *The Evolution of Theory in International Relations*, 21-38, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Wang, Yuan-kang (2004), "Offensive Realism and the Rise of China," *Issues & Studies* 40(1): 173-201.
- Wang, Yuan-kang (2004), "Taiwan's Democratization and Cross-strait Security," *Orbis* 48(2): 293-304.
- Wang, Yuan-kang (2002), "Preserving Peace in the Taiwan Strait," *Chinese Political Science Review* 33: 149-174.
- Whiting, Allen S. (1996), "Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy after Deng," *China Quarterly* 142: 297-316.
- Whiting, Allen S. (1998), "Chinese Foreign Policy: Retrospect and Prospect," in Samuel S. Kim, (ed.), *China and the World: Chinese Foreign Policy Faces the New Millennium*, 4th edition, 287-308, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Whiting, Allen S. (2001), "China's Use of Force, 1950-1996, and Taiwan," *International Security* 26(2): 103-131.

- Wolfers, Arnold (1962), "The Balance of Power in Theory and Practice," in Arnold Wolfers, *Discord and Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Womack, Blantly (1993) "China and Southeast Asia: Asymmetry, Leadership and Normalcy," *Pacific Affairs* 76(4): 529-548
- Wu, Samuel S.G., Bruce Bueno De Mesquita (1994), "Assessing the Dispute in the South China Sea: A Model of China's Security Decision Making" *International Studies Quarterly* 38(3): 379-403.
- Wu, Xinbo (1998), "China: Security Practice of a Modernizing and Ascending Power," in Muhtiah Alagappa, (ed.), *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*, 115-156, Stanford California: Stanford University Press.
- Xinhua, "China, Southeast Asia conclude strategic partnership pact," (October 8, 2003), http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/en/doc/2003-10/08/content_270030.htm, accessed: 2004/10/18.
- Yaniv, Avner (1987), *Deterrence without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy*, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books.
- You, Ji (1995), "A Test Case for China's Defence and Foreign Policies," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 16(4): 375-403.
- You, Ji (1997), "Making Sense of War Games in the Taiwan Strait," *Journal of Contemporary China* 6(15): 287-305.
- You Ji (1997), "A Blue Water Navy: Does It Matter?" in David S. G. Goodman and Gerald Segal, (eds.), *China Rising: Nationalism and Interdependence*, 71-89, New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Zakaria, Fareed (1992), "Realism and Domestic Politics," *International Security* 17(1): 177-198.
- Zakaria, Fareed (1998), *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Zhang, Shu Guang (1992), *Deterrence and Strategic Culture: Chinese-American Confrontations, 1949-1958*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Zhao, Quansheng (1996), *Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy: The Micro-Macro Linkage Approach*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Zhao, Suisheng (1992), "Beijing's Perception of the International System and Foreign Policy Adjustment in the Post-Cold War World," *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies* 11(3): 70-83.
- Zhao, Suisheng (1999), "Military Coercion and Peaceful Offence: Beijing's Strategy of National Reunification with Taiwan," *Pacific Affairs* 72(4): 495-512.