



# THE ASIA MARITIME TRANSPARENCY INITIATIVE

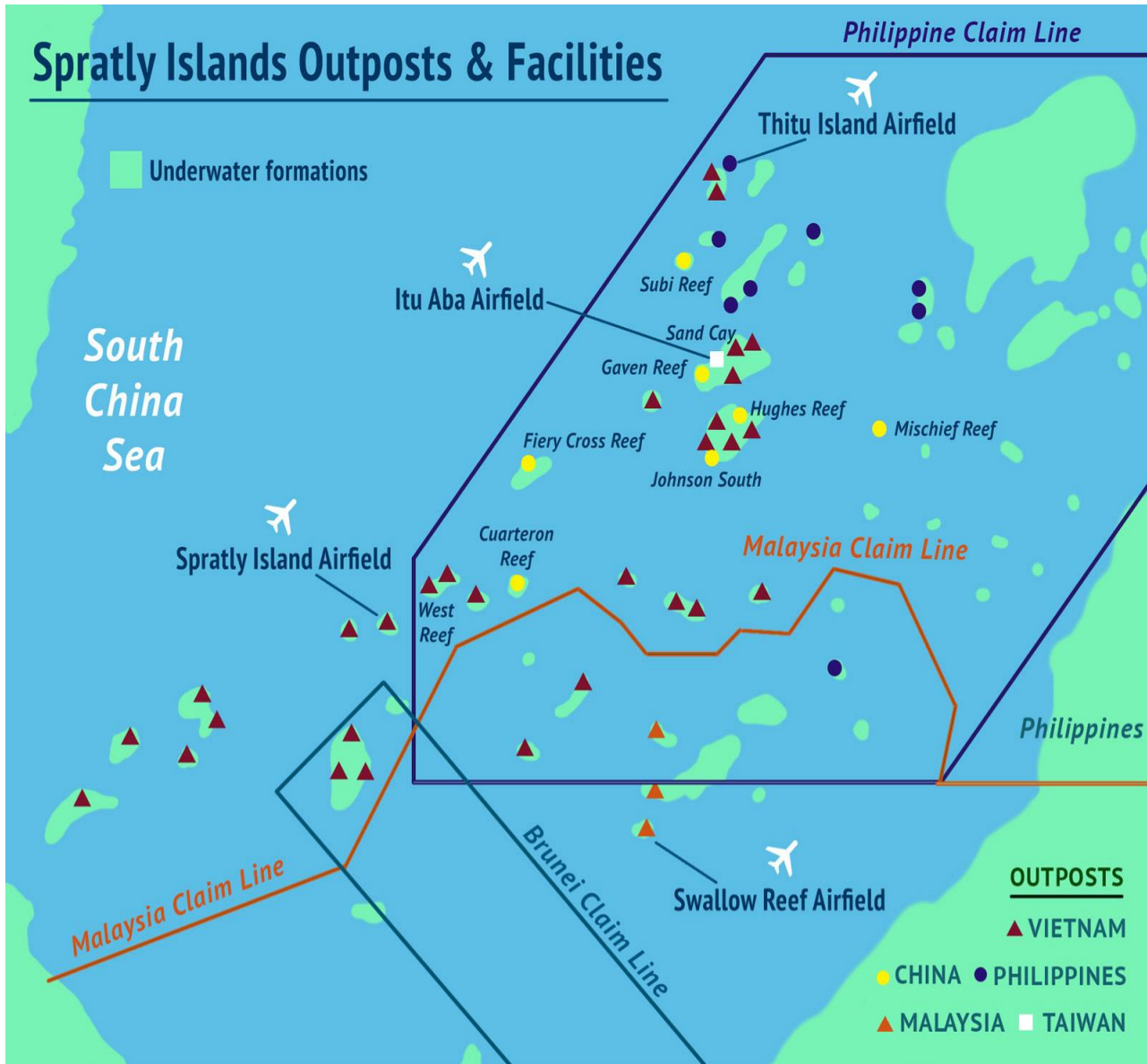
*ZACK COOPER*



**Established in 2014 by the  
Center for Strategic and  
International Studies  
(CSIS)**

**Promotes openness and  
exchange in maritime  
Asia:**

- **Satellite imagery**
- **Maps and diagrams**
- **Expert analysis**



## Tracking Reclamation: New Updates

Estimated landmass for China's reclaimed reefs:

### Subi Reef

3,950,000 sq. meters

### Hughes Reef

76,000 sq. meters

### Cuarteron Reef

231,100 sq. meters

### Gaven Reef

136,000 sq. meters

### South Johnson Reef

109,000 sq. meters

### Fiery Cross Reef

2,740,000 sq. meters

### Mischief Reef

5,580,000 sq. meters

**\*Summer 2015 Estimate**



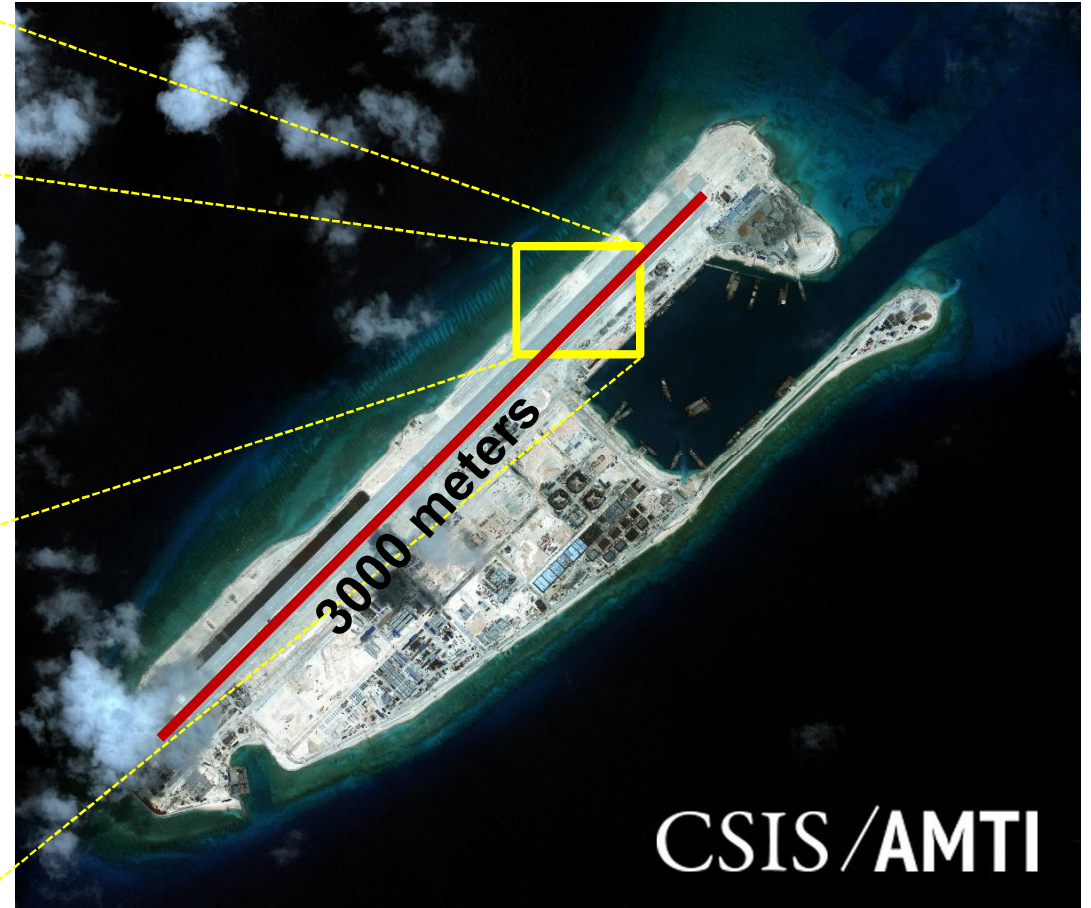
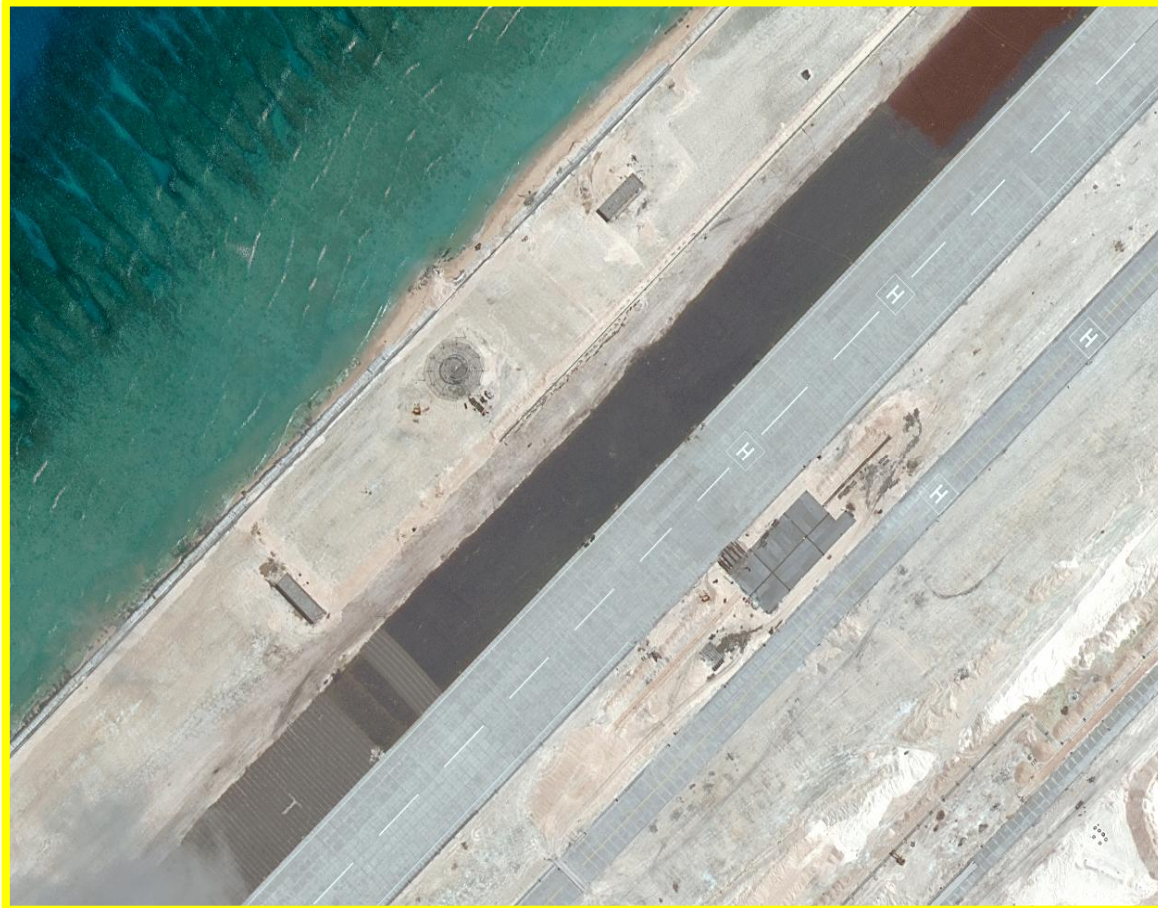


Fiery Cross Reef. January 22, 2006.



Fiery Cross Reef. September 3, 2015.





Fiery Cross Reef. September 3, 2015.



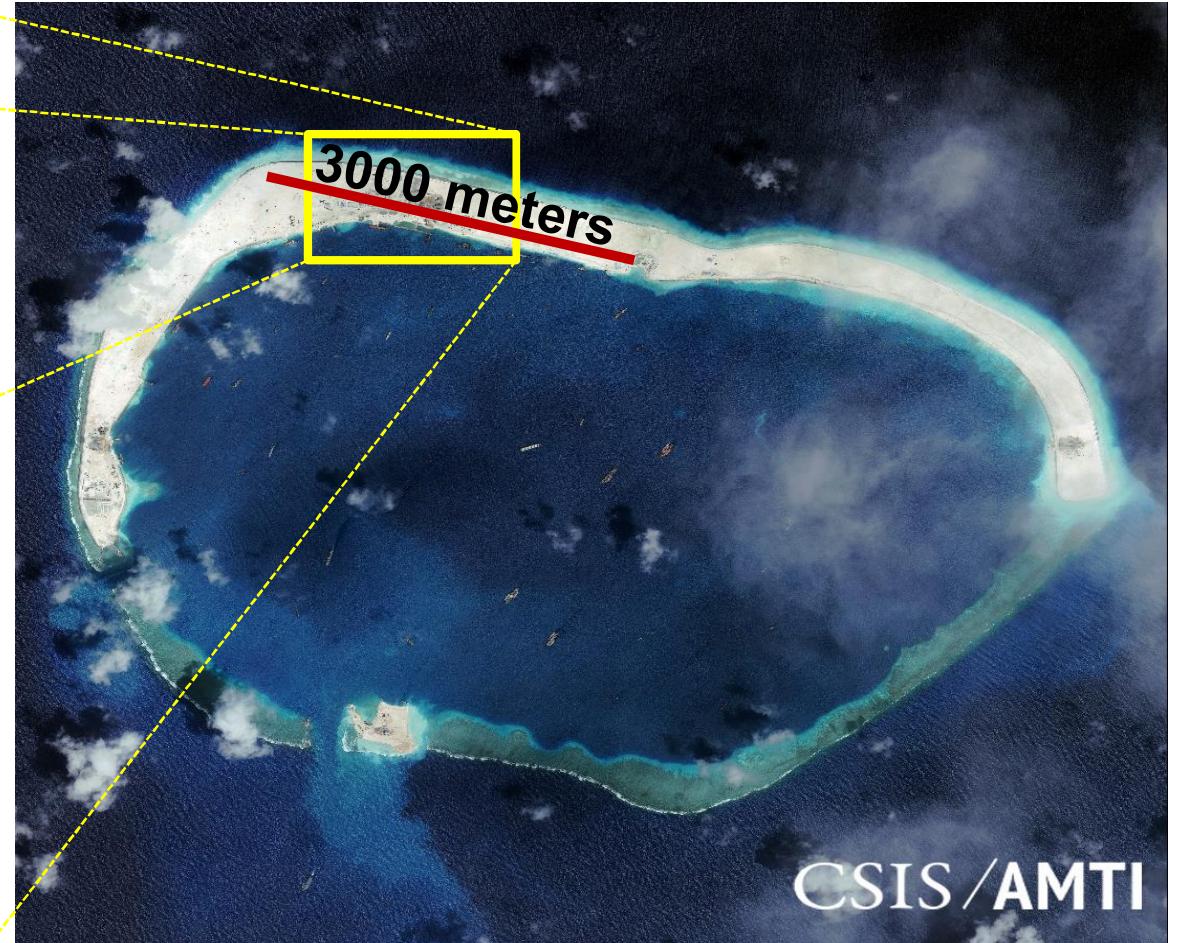


Mischief Reef. January 24, 2012.



Mischief Reef. September 8, 2015.





Mischief Reef. September 8, 2015.





Subi Reef. August 8, 2012.



Subi Reef. September 3, 2015.





Subi Reef. September 3, 2015.

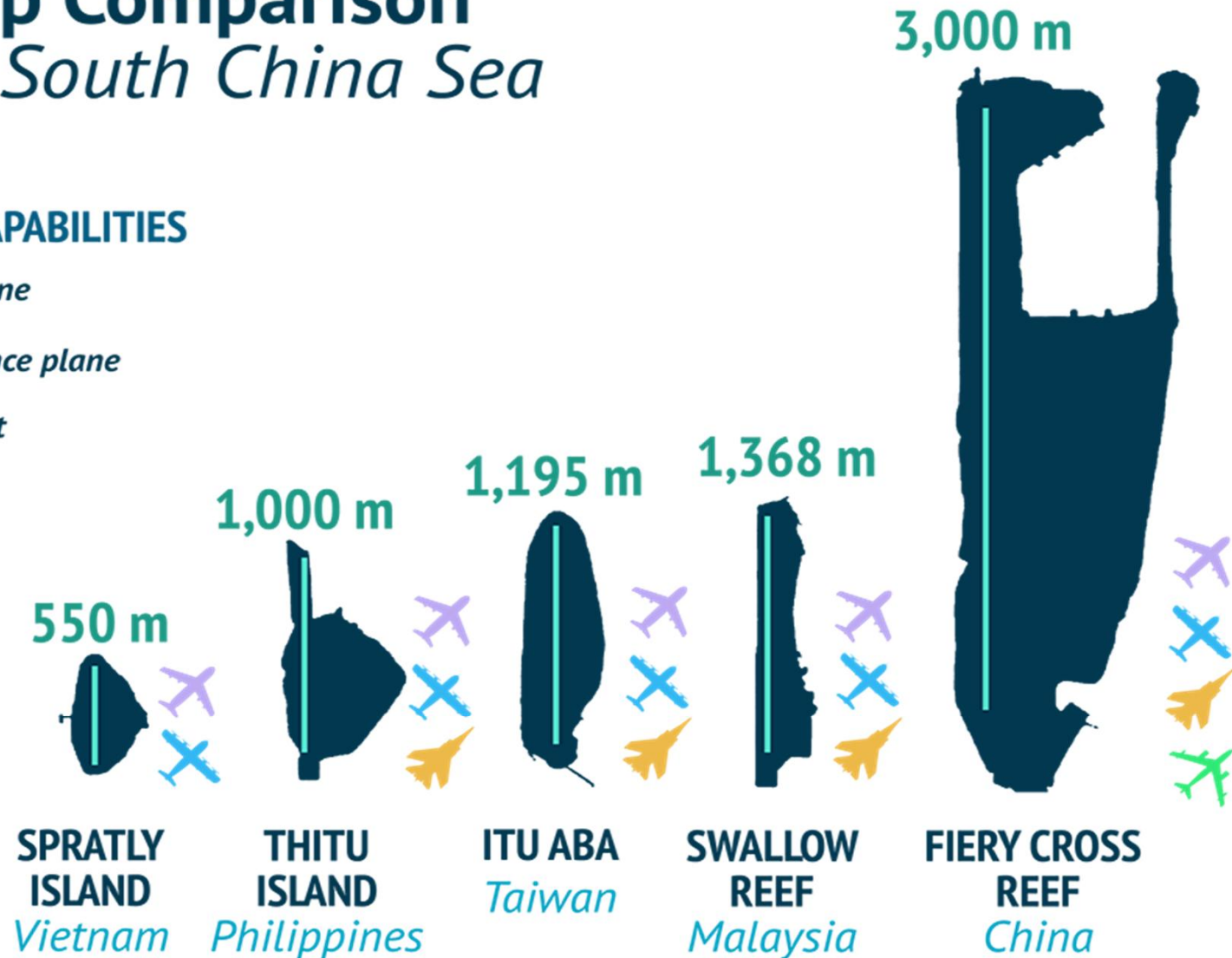




# Airstrip Comparison *in the South China Sea*

## AIRCRAFT CAPABILITIES

-  Cargo plane
-  Surveillance plane
-  Fighter jet
-  Bomber







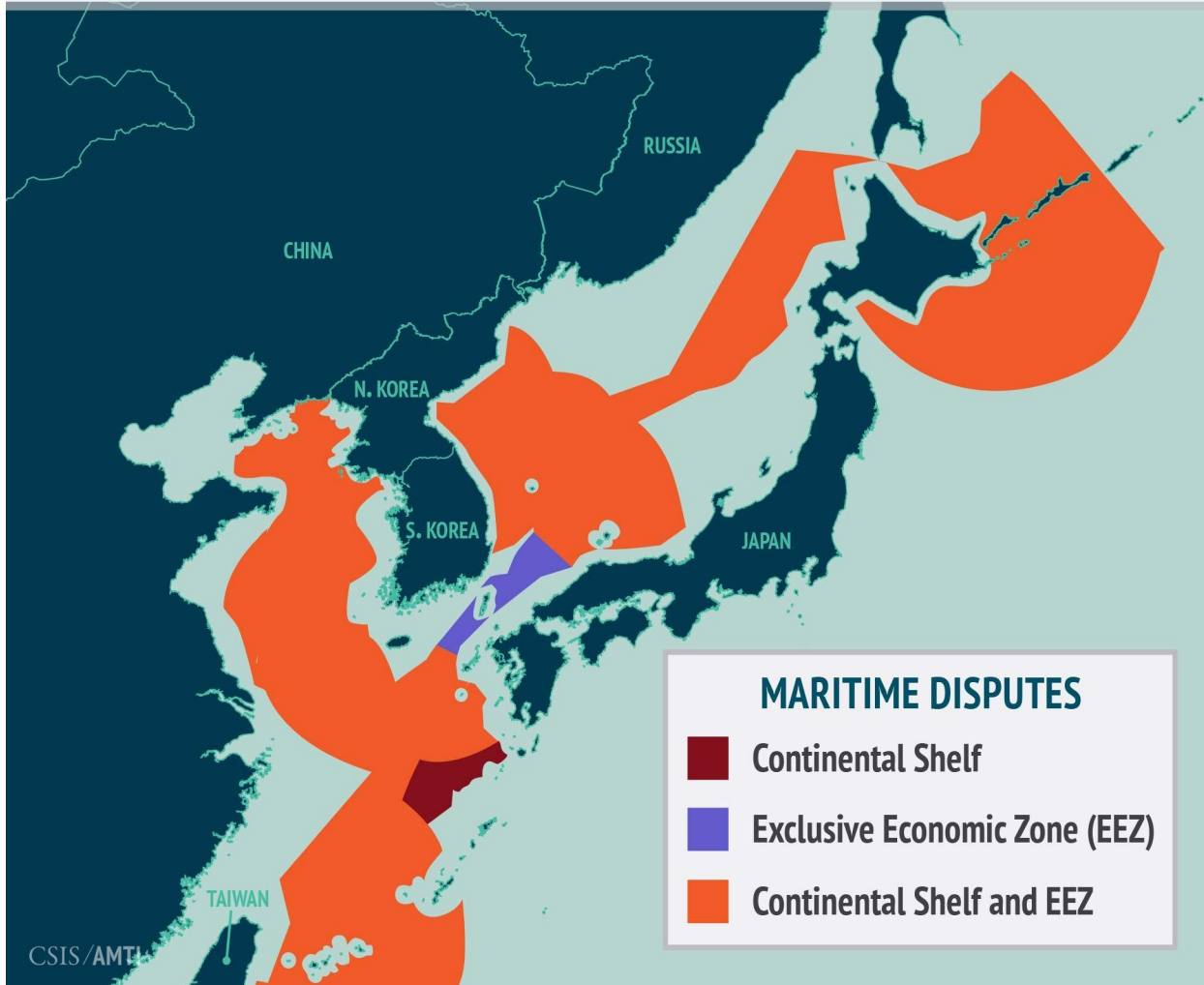
## Which Spratlys Don't Get a Territorial Sea?



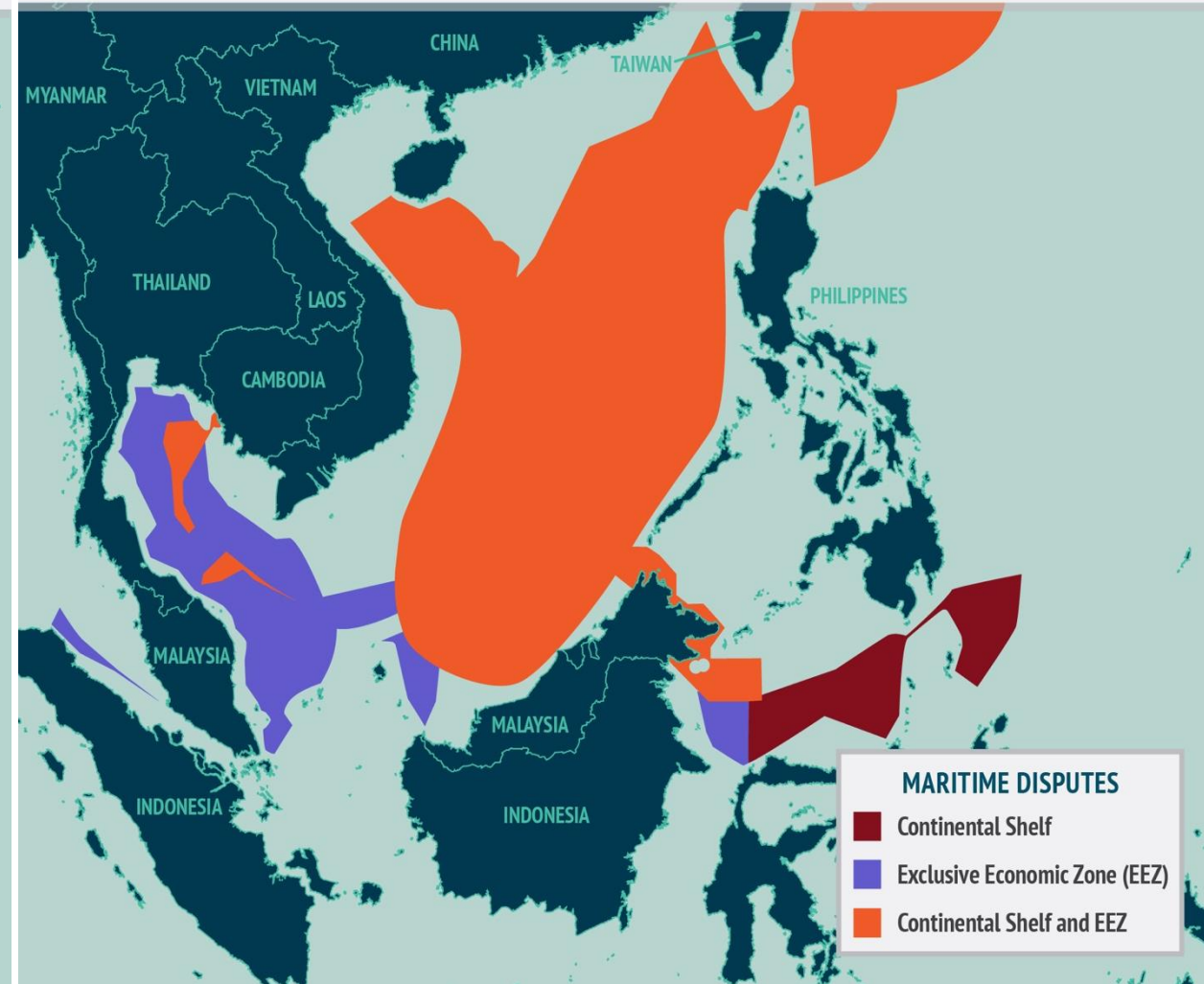




### NORTHEAST ASIA 2015



### SOUTHEAST ASIA 2015



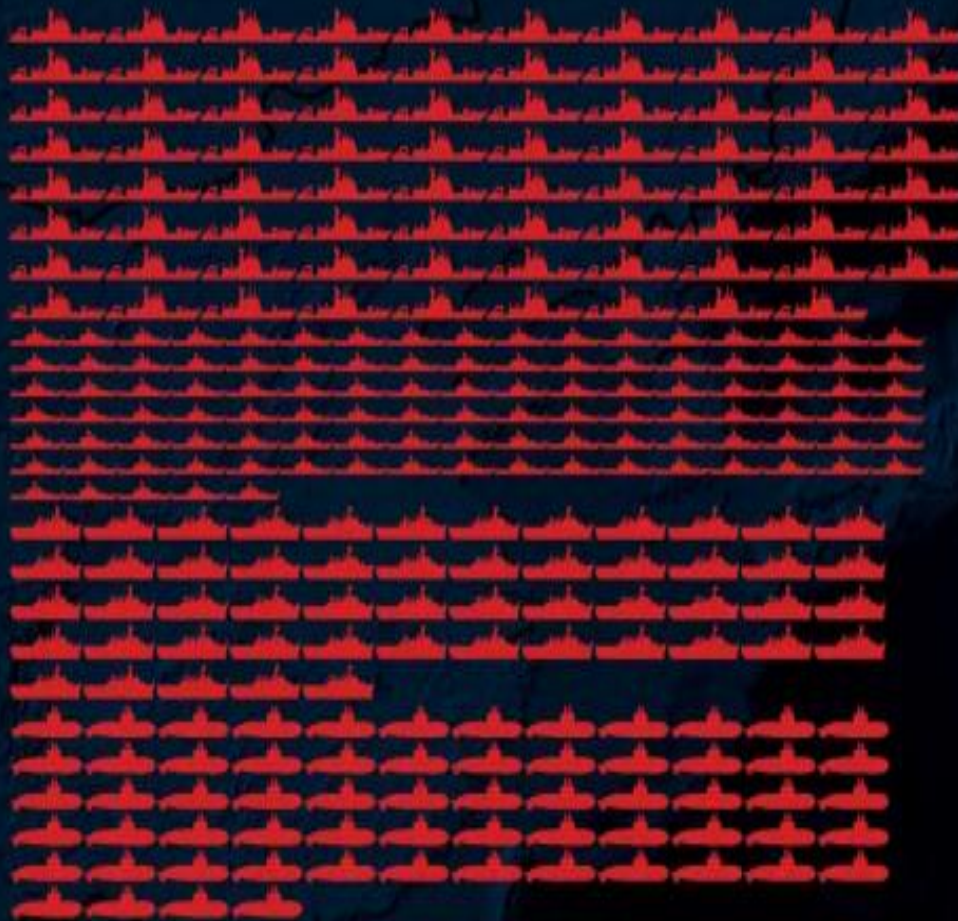




## 2015 Regional Naval Combatants Comparison

**China**  
 79 X Large Combatants  
 107 X Small Combatants  
 63 X Amphibs  
 64 X Submarines

**303**



**Japan**  
 46 X Large Combatants  
 0 X Small Combatants  
 3 X Amphibs  
 18 X Submarines

**67**



**Indonesia**  
 9 X Large Combatants  
 26 X Small Combatants  
 24 X Amphibs  
 2 X Submarines

**61**



**Vietnam**  
 2 X Large Combatants  
 24 X Small Combatants  
 8 X Amphibs  
 3 X Submarines

**37**



**Malaysia**  
 4 X Large Combatants  
 7 X Small Combatants  
 10 X Amphibs  
 2 X Submarines

**23**



**Philippines**  
 5 X Large Combatants  
 9 X Small Combatants  
 0 X Amphib  
 0 X Submarines

**14**

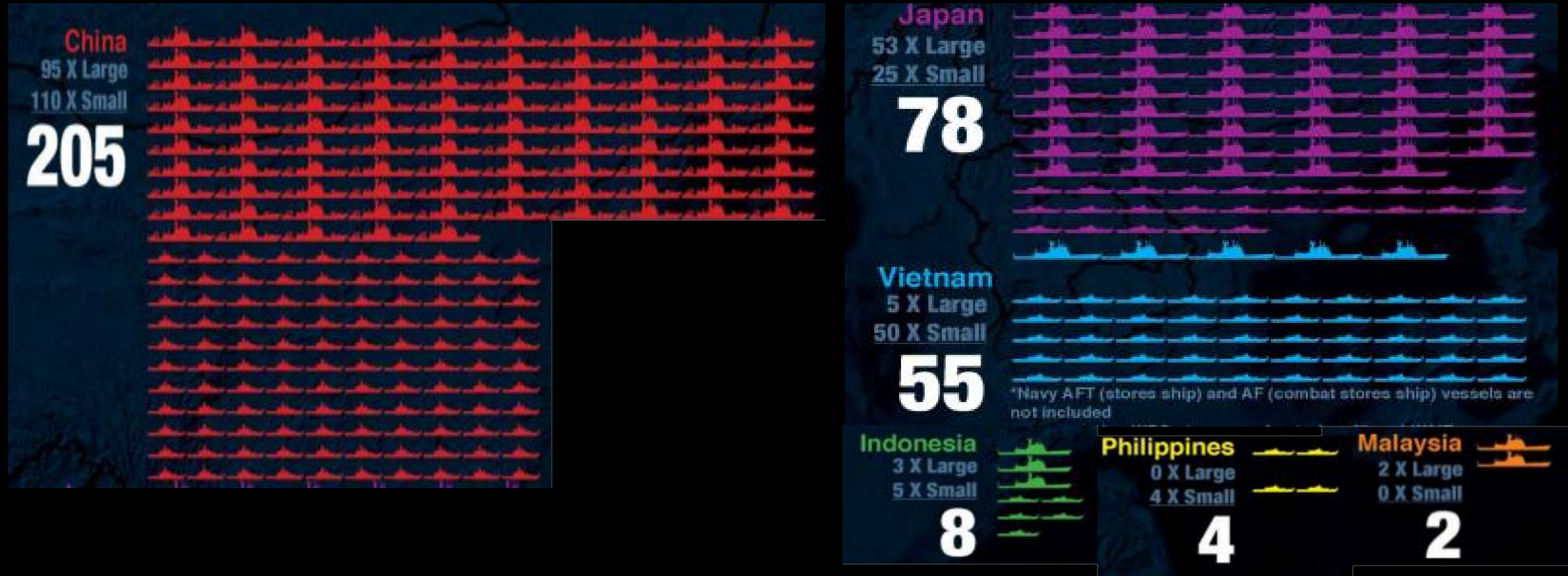


\*Large Combatants include Frigate-sized or larger ships.  
 \*Small Combatants include Corvette-sized and smaller ships.  
 \*Amphibs include LSMs, LSTs and LPDs, but not smaller landing craft.  
 \*Mine Warfare and Naval Auxiliaries are not included in this graphic.





## 2015 Regional Maritime Law Enforcement Comparison







## How to counter “grey zone” coercion?

- **Actively support legal dispute resolution**
- **Push for a binding Code of Conduct, even without China**
- **Fully implement CUES for regional coast guards**
- **Continue freedom of navigation patrols (not innocent passage)**
- **Consider using “grey hulls” in grey zones**
- **Build partner capacity in Southeast Asia**





**Thank You**



# ITU ABA

April 23, 2015











# SWALLOW REEF

June 5, 2015







# THITU ISLAND

April 28, 2015







## Sand Cay







## West Reef

