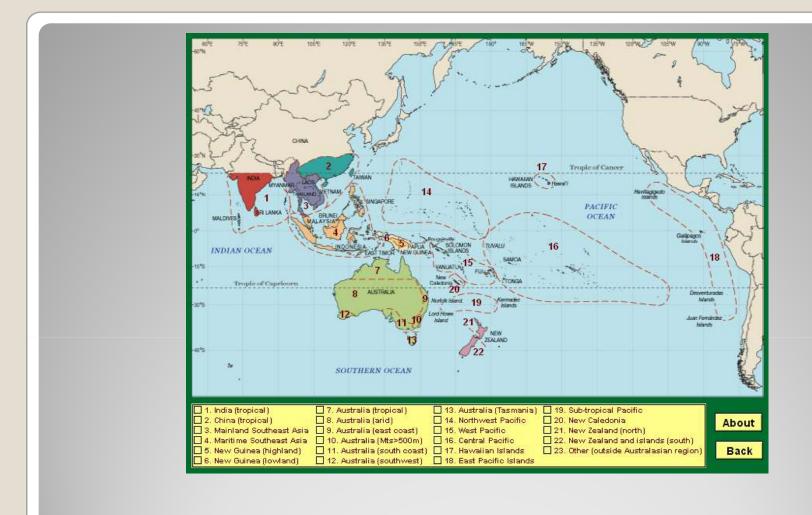
POWER FEUDS IN THE SCS (WPS): Prospects of Dispute Settlement between Philippines & China

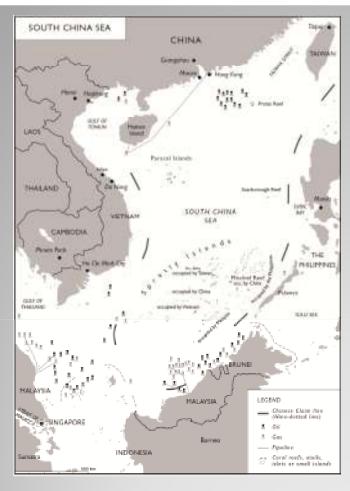
Philippines – U.S. pawn in its looming clash with China?

Political Science Week, UP Manila Dec. 04, 2012

By Center for People Empowerment in Governance (CenPEG) www.cenpeq.orq, www.eu-cenpeq.com



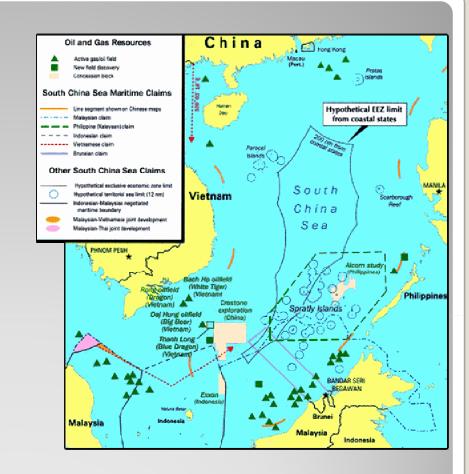
South China Sea in Asia Pacific



- 'Second Persian Gulf':
 Presumed to be rich in oil, gas, sea-based minerals;
- One of the world's richest fishing grounds;
- World's busiest maritime superhighway (over 50% of world's merchant fleet and supertanker traffic flows through the SCS; route for Japan's energy needs (70%)

South China Sea (SCS): 'Mother of all territorial disputes'

- CHINA claims: Over all of SCS and Spratly islands, etc; dating back to 2 BC, first direct claim in 1951
- Other Claimants: Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, Taiwan, Brunei
- Philippines: Parts of the Spratlys, first territorial claim in 1956; Paracels; Scarborough Shoal



Overlapping territorial claims in the SCS



Overlapping territorial claims

SCS territorial rows are just some of several flashpoints & border disputes in the region, among these -

- China's claim of Taiwan
- Korean peninsula
- Senkaku (Diaoyu) islands (Japan vs China)
- Socotra Rock (South Korea vs China)
- Sabah (Philippines, Malaysia)
- India vs China, India vs Pakistan
- Australia vs Indonesia (Hibernia reef)
- Indonesia vs Malaysia (Kanang Unarang)
- Thailand vs Burma (Doi Lang)

What SCS is to China's strategic objectives

China: World's top energy consumer, second biggest oil importer

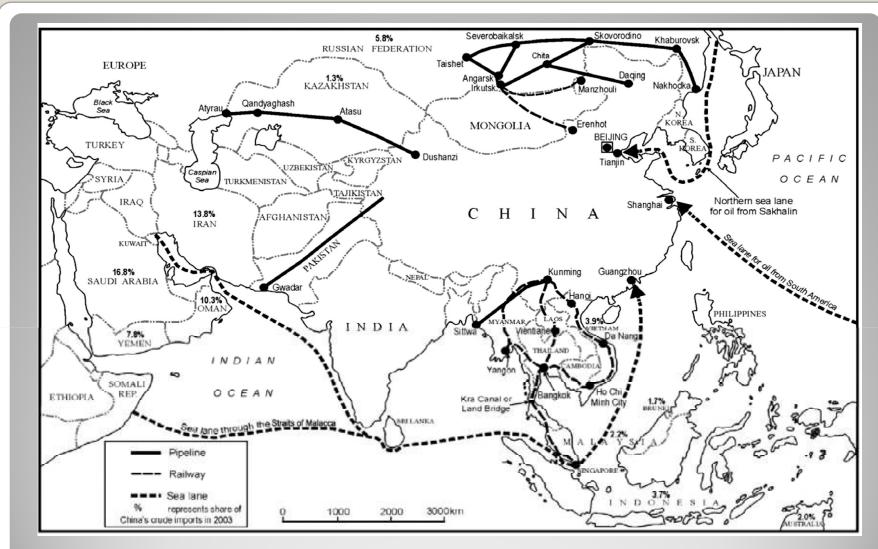
South China Sea (or West Philippine Sea): "Core national interest" of China (similar to Taiwan and Tibet)

- 75% of China's energy needs currently supplied through the SCS via Malacca Straits
- SCS is also China's gateway to the Indian Ocean and other trade routes
- By 2020, China is projected to overtake the U.S. and "dominate" global trade, featuring in 17 of the top 25 bilateral sea (especially SCS) and air freight trade routes
- Long term: Strategic security area for China
- To the U.S.: two-fold approach stay out of the SCS territorial disputes, but assures "freedom of navigation"

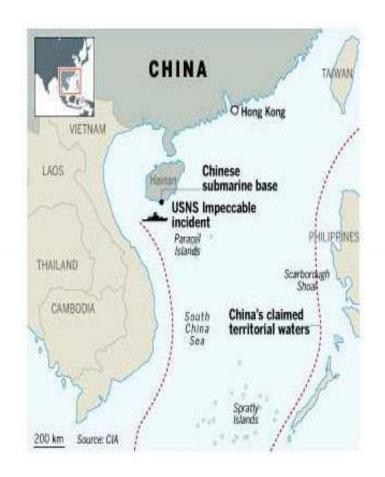
China's regional sources of imported crude oil (1995-2003) %

REGIONS	1995	2000	2003
Middle East	45.4	53.6	51.3
Africa	10.8	24.0	24.4
Asia Pacific	42.3	15.0	15.3
CIS (Russia & Kazakhstan)	0.2	3.1	7.2
Europe	2.1	3.6	1.8
South America	0	0	0.4





China's petroleum routes (2007)



China: Security of sea-lanes (from Persian Gulf to SCS)



China: Goal is to become a Maritime Power

- •China's naval capability mainly covers the Taiwan Strait
- •Most of Beijing's efforts at securing oil routes have been alternative land pipelines or railway links
- 'String of pearls strategy': building close ties along the sealanes from Middle East to SCS in order to protect energy interests Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and SCS

U.S. RESPONSE to ongoing territorial tensions in SCS

- •Stresses China is a "rising military hegemon" but should be a "responsible stakeholder"
- •Reassures defense commitment to the Philippines citing the Mutual Defense Pact 1951
- •Publicly calls for "restraint" and "multilateral talks"
- •But is using the current tension to enhance and realign its military presence in the SCS and Asia Pacific as part of Pentagon's "encirclement" strategy and in countering China's "anti-access and area-denial" buildup in the area
- •Note, however, that China is the biggest foreign creditor (\$1 trillion+) to the U.S.; 50% of its exports to the US comes from US-led MNCs



 National Security Adviser Tom Donilon: "The U.S.'s rebalancing posture toward Asia...is a long-term effort to better position ourselves for the opportunities and challenges we're most likely to face in the century."

Obama's New 'Pivot to Asia strategy'



US Pacific Command

- Reinforcing permanent bases in the west coast of Australia
- Advancing the new "US-Japan-Australia" trilateral security initiative
- Strengthening treaty alliances or access agreements with South Korea, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, New Zealand
- Enhanced partnership with ASEAN toward the building of a proposed ASEAN NATO
- Discussing potential defense partnerships with India, Indonesia, and Vietnam
- Strengthening/realigning two major commands straddling Asia Pacific: PACOM and CENCOM
- Unified commands U.S. Forces Japan, U.S. Forces Korea, Special Operations Command Pacific, & the Alaskan Command; Standing Joint Task Forces
- Increase in military and naval war exercises with numerous countries in the region

US' specific moves vis-à-vis China (2010-2011)

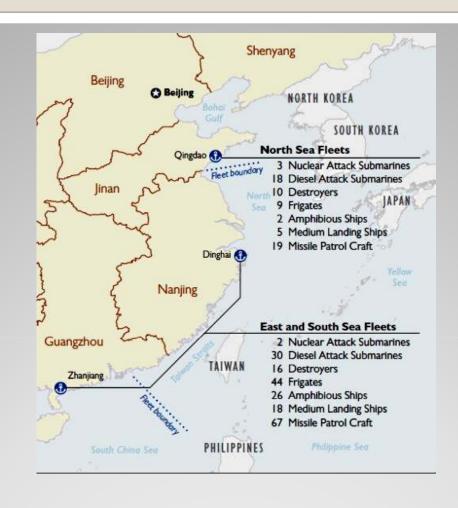
- "String of pearls": basing and access agreements with Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, and possibly Bangladesh
- Hainan Island naval base
- Missile delivery systems, ballistic missiles, submarine fleet, cyber-warfare, military space technology



China's first aircraft carrier



China's military modernization



China navy in South & East China Sea

- Bilateral negotiations
- Joint development: Economic cooperation & integration ('soft diplomacy')
- Territorial claims can be settled later
- Note: 22 of 27 border & territorial disputes have been settled by China

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

CHINA:

Real core interest:
Maritime / territorial security

- Mutual Defense Treaty (1951) with U.S. & arms modernization
- Multilateral approach (Asean)
- UNCLOS
- International Court of Justice or International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT PHILIPPINES

Is it sovereignty claim – or oil corporate claim?

What some legal experts say:
Waters /oceans have no fixed territorial boundaries; disputable claims

- Definition of approaches: Military / alliance with U.S. – or foreign policy?
- Redefine and build a strategic but independent foreign policy
- Adopt a comprehensive development of sea resources primarily for Philippine interests in cooperation with other countries
- Confrontation or economic cooperation?

Philippines must put its acts together first