

AU/ACSC/2017

AIR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE

AIR UNIVERSITY

ASIA-PACIFIC PIVOT: THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE US
MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

by

Jet R. Alejo, Major, USAF

A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty

In Partial Fulfillment of the Graduation Requirements

Advisors: Dr. Gregory F. Intoccia and Dr. Patricia Lessane

Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

27 February 2017

DISTRIBUTION A. Approved for public release: distribution unlimited.

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the US government or the Department of Defense. In accordance with Air Force Instruction 51-303, it is not copyrighted, but is the property of the United States government.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
DISCLAIMER	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
SECTION 1 - INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES.....	1
SECTION 2 - FRAMEWORK AND ROADMAP.....	3
SECTION 3 - BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW	4
Overview of the Philippine Islands.....	4
US-Philippine Relations.....	6
A Nation Rich in Natural Resources.....	9
The United Nations Permanent Court of Arbitration Decision	10
The Strategic Setting.....	13
SECTION 4 - ANALYSIS.....	15
Overview of China’s Military-Style Operations.....	15
US Bases in the Philippines as a Deterrent.....	17
The Importance of Location for China	19
Political Deterrence Factor of US Bases.....	20
US Military Bases Set to Expand.....	21
SECTION 5 - RECOMMENDATIONS.....	25
SECTION 6 - CONCLUSION.....	30
ENDNOTES	32
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	38

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Map of the Philippine Archipelago.....	5
Figure 2. Territories within the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of the Philippines.....	11
Figure 3. China’s Nine-Dash Line Maritime Claim.....	12
Figure 4. Five Bases to Support Rotational Deployments in the Philippines.....	14
Figure 5. Major Passageways and Shipping Routes in the South China Sea.....	16



ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this research paper is to put the US-Philippine military and political relationship into perspective by identifying how the US bases at key strategic locations on the Philippines will deter and slow the expansionist powers of China in the Asia-Pacific region and in the South China Sea. By determining and assessing the aim of slowing and restraining China's expansionist mentality, the paper is able to address the future political and military implications for both the United States and the Philippines. Understanding the dilemma of the Philippines and its neighboring countries in the South China Sea leads to the argument of deterrence and whether it is feasible to re-establish US bases at significant strategic locations in the Philippines.

This paper employs the problem/solution framework to evaluate the political relationships and history. Key recommendations are supported in the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), which supports the US construct of five military installations at key strategic locations in which the United States could rapidly respond to any conflict in the South China Sea, mainly in the vast regional waters wherein China has increased its military build-up, its military activities, and construction of artificial islands in the contested maritime territories in the Spratlys.

SECTION 1 – INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

China has been illegally occupying islands and maritime territories of the Philippines in the South China Sea since the United States closed its military bases in the Philippines in the early 1990s. In 1995, Chinese Naval forces illegally occupied Mischief Reef without informing the Philippine government about the takeover. Seventeen years later, in 2012, Chinese Naval forces invaded Scarborough Shoal, which is approximately 120 kilometers off the Philippine's Subic Bay near the former US Naval Base by the same name, without informing and consulting the Philippine government.

As a direct result, the three major assets of the Philippines - (1) a vast source of untapped oil and other natural resources; (2) an ideal location for world trading; and (3) an ideal location for US military strategy – have been threatened. It is only natural to wonder how China managed to construct military installations and other kinds of industrialization of their own successfully within Philippine territory. The reason is this: The lack of a robust US military presence in the Philippine homeland.

Unfortunately, without greater US military cooperation with the Philippines, the United States would lack the capacity for immediate responses to incidents and/or emergencies in the South China Sea.¹ The US-Philippine relationship should continue to be strong and both the United States and Philippine governments should take actions to be even stronger, as the consequences to both military and economic security would be a detriment to both countries. The United States should continue to maintain its presence not only in the Philippines, but also in

the Asia-Pacific region – an area considered to be growing steadily as the world’s largest economy.

What should the United States do to slow China’s expansion of its military power and aggressive actions in the Asia-Pacific region? This paper seeks to explore the answer to this question. The paper maintains that as China continues to expand economically through trade, threaten the freedom of navigation, and show increased aggression in other ways such as pressing ahead with the build-up of weapons to be used against the United States as well as attempting to dominate the seas by illegally claiming contested maritime territories, the United States should establish more military bases at key strategic Pacific-region locations, including increasing the number of military defenses in the Philippine archipelago.

Security is of paramount importance to the United States. As a “Pacific Power,” the United States is indeed in peril. Military analysts have asserted that challenges are shifting the Pacific military balance against the United States. As the United States rebalances its power, it needs the strong support of the military leadership in Asian countries, such as the Philippines.

The Philippine government is concerned about China’s control of the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. A re-establishment of the US forces on key Philippine-based strategic bases would produce a stronger, a more constructive, and a more prosperous US-Philippine relationship, which is essential for preventing acts of terrorism and combating against territorial chaos, as well as providing national and international security.

In a rapidly changing environment, it is indeed a strategic challenge – ensuring optimism, ensuring progress, ensuring prosperity and ensuring peace as countries, such as the Philippines continue to rise across the Asia-Pacific region. As the United States enhances its defense posture in the region and as the Asia-Pacific rebalance progresses, it certainly does lay out a successful game plan, consisting of a well-balanced mixture of incentives and conditions to persuade China

to be extra kind and to play gently by the rules, laws and order of the ball game at the international level.

There is a need for the United States to take on a new direction in US foreign policy, as well as firmly uphold the concrete military commitments by deploying more key resources and high-tech equipment in the Asia-Pacific region, such as the Philippine archipelago. The re-establishment of US bases at key strategic locations in the Philippines would definitely lead to a positive outcome of strengthening and of enhancing the partnerships and the alliances in the countries abroad, as well as of emphasizing the commitment to the Asia-Pacific region. Such defense posture is required to give more access to the US military, which would bolster joint, military training and joint, military exercising.² Thus, promoting a global order that reflects US interests and values.

SECTION 2 - FRAMEWORK AND ROADMAP

This paper will utilize a *problem/solution* framework.³ That said, the research methodology to be employed for this research paper is the qualitative methodology. An in-depth and closer look at the “The China factor” will delineate the problem concerning the threat China has posed on the stability of the Asia-Philippines region, which has vital and significant trade routes. The problem-solution framework will also explore and come to grips with the possible remedies on the situation.

This research paper is divided into six main sections. Section I provides the reader an introduction to the research question and argument to illustrate the problem and its significance. None of these sections and/or subsections is designed to be a complete research of the subject matter. They were written to present an appropriate and relevant perspective for understanding

the problem. Section II presents the framework and roadmap. Section III provides the background of the research. The first subsection captures the overview of the Philippine Islands. The following subsections outline US-Philippine relations, Philippines' natural resources, Philippines' strategic setting, as well as provide a brief summary of the decision made by the United Nations Permanent Court of Arbitration. Section IV provides the analysis and the background of China's aggressiveness in asserting territorial claims and conducting military-style activities in the Asia-Philippines region. This section also provides further discussion on the historical background and overview as to why US forces withdrew from the Philippines in the early 1990s amid Filipino opposition to the United States presence on previously established military bases, such as Naval Station Subic Bay and Naval Air Station Cubi Point in the Province of Zambales, and Clark Air Base in the Province of Pampanga. Section V offers the most likely key recommendations and/or course of actions to take based on a comprehensive analysis of the situation. Finally, Section VI summarizes the problem, offers a conclusion based on key recommendations, including the construction of bases as well as the rotation of US Soldiers into the Philippines, and assesses future implications.

SECTION 3 – BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview of the Philippine Islands

The Philippines, known as the “Pearl of the Orient Seas,” is a country made up of more than 7,100 islands and islets⁴ as depicted in Figure 1 below. According to Horacio dela Costa, a Jesuit Priest, who wrote *Asia and the Philippines*: "It cannot be without significance that the country which stands almost at the geographical center of the Far East, the Philippines, should also be that in which Christianity has taken the deepest root."⁵ Another historical book affirms

the specific location of the Philippines, "The Philippines were Spain's share of the first colonizing movement in the Far East; the name means the Islands of Philip and refers to that grim ruler, King Philip II."⁶ Majority of the people live on 11 largest islands, which account for more than 95% of the country's landmass.⁷ Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, is located on Luzon (the largest of three main regions) and is considered the most populous within the archipelago.⁸

Figure 1. Map of the Philippine Archipelago – Over 7,100 Islands and Islets.⁹



The US-Philippine Relationship

The Philippines was under Spanish rule during the 16th century, but later the United States declared war on Spain in 1898.¹⁰ The war ended when both Philippine and American soldiers defeated the Spanish forces. Both the United States and Spain signed the treaty during the same year, which officially ended the war.¹¹ Under the provisions of the treaty, the United States paid Spain \$20 million.¹²

The United States set up a colonial government in the Philippines during the year 1901.¹³ A federal judge named Howard Taft became the first governor of the colony; he later became the President of the United States.¹⁴ The Philippines, which became a commonwealth in 1935, developed its own Constitution similar in content to that of the United States.¹⁵ During this time period, the United States played a big role in decision-making within the areas of foreign affairs and national defense of the Philippines.¹⁶

During World War II, Japanese forces invaded the Philippines on Dec 10, 1941.¹⁷ The Japanese controlled the Philippines up until 1944, when General Douglas MacArthur returned to the Philippines with more soldiers as well as more ammunition, and successfully defeated the Japanese forces during the same year up until 1945.¹⁸ On July 4, 1946, the Philippines became an independent nation now known as the Republic of the Philippines with President Manuel Roxas as the first president.¹⁹ In the year 1965, President Ferdinand Marcos became the President of the Philippines, followed by President Corazon Aquino in 1986, later followed by President Fidel Ramos in 1992.²⁰

The United States has been a long-time ally of the Philippines. It had a conventional military presence in the country for almost a century until 1991, when both the Philippines and

the United States could not agree on the terms of the lease agreement to continue the presence and operation of US military bases. So, in 1992, following the eruption of Mount Pinatubo near Clark Air Base in the Province of Pampanga, and a massive drawdown of military forces at the end of the Cold War era, the United States officially closed its US military bases.²¹

After the 9/11 attacks and/or tragic events in the United States, a US Special Operations task force, comprised of about 600 US soldiers, was established in the Philippines to clamp down on terrorist organizations and terrorist splinter groups, mostly found in the jungles and dense forests in the southern region of the country.²² Later, in 2015, the United States reduced the number of US soldiers to an undetermined amount to assist the Philippine military forces in their battle against Islamic extremists and terrorists.²³

In May 2010, Benigno Aquino III was elected President of the Philippines.²⁴ During his presidency, he signed the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) on April 28, 2014.²⁵ This agreement was a supplement to the Mutual Defense Treaty, which was signed into agreement on August 30, 1951.²⁶ The Mutual Defense Treaty is made up of eight articles and emphasized the importance of each country (United States and Philippines) supporting each other in the face of any attack by an “external party.”²⁷

The EDCA agreement further strengthened the US-Philippine alliance and allowed the United States to rotate soldiers into the Philippines as well as allowed the United States to undergo the construction of facilities and operate those facilities on Philippine bases.²⁸ The agreement emphasized that the United States is not allowed to establish any permanent military bases.²⁹ However, it also permits Philippine military personnel the access to US vessels and aircraft.³⁰ After a six-year term as President of the Philippines, President Benigno Aquino III was later succeeded by the current President of the Philippines, President Rodrigo Duterte, who won the election by a landslide victory in May 2016.³¹

President Duterte is still at the beginnings of his six-year term as President. So far, the United States offered \$42 million in aid to bolster the Philippines' maritime security amid China's aggressive posture and incursions into disputed maritime territories in the South China Sea.³² According to a report by Military Technology, "The amount represents 84% of the \$50 million allotted to five SE Asian countries - Philippines, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand - this year as part of the United States' five-year maritime capacity building assistance worth \$426 million."³³ The same report also stated, "By 2017, the United States is expected to release \$75 million and \$100 million in 2018 to the five countries but the Philippines' share from the amount has yet to be determined."³⁴ The United States also transferred the US Coast Guard Cutter (USCGC) Boutwell to the Philippine Navy in order to provide maritime presence and patrols within the Philippines' 200nm Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) in the South China Sea.³⁵

The United States has been widely known for many decades to be a preserver of peace around the globe. Its government has sent thousands of US soldiers to foreign countries to form strong economic ties and establish a military presence in critical regions around the world. This strategy of being a world leader is embodied in the *US National Security Strategy*, which emphasizes the importance of peace and security not only in the Asia-Pacific region, but also around the world.

Aside from emphasizing the vital areas of peace and security, this valuable document highlights the United States' commitment to global stability as well: "The United States will lead the international order as a nation first among equals to encourage stability, foster economic growth, promote democratic values, and protect global strategic interests."³⁶ In light of the increased aggression by China as it attempts to extend its national boundaries beyond the legal limits of international law to gain more power and influence, the *US National Security Strategy* further highlights: "Asian security concerns coincide with China's economic rise and military

aspirations. Our commitments in the Pacific region and in Southeast Asia are crucial to American economic prosperity. Working closely with Taiwan, Japan, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Australia will insure regional security and cooperation to counter-balance China.”³⁷

A Nation Rich in Natural Resources

Despite being a third world country, the Philippines is blessed with an abundance of rich, natural resources. It is rich in both metallic and non-metallic minerals. The major metallic minerals found in the country are: gold, copper, platinum, manganese, zinc, iron, silver, chromium, and lead.³⁸ The major non-metallic minerals found in the Philippines are: clay, lime, gravel, asphalt, adobe stone, marble, mineral water, coal, asbestos, gypsum, salt, and Sulphur.³⁹

Oil is another significant resource in the Philippines. In 1979, the government initiated the oil drilling effort.⁴⁰ Oil was discovered in western Palawan in the Visayas region during the years leading up to 2014.⁴¹ During the same year, in the early part of 2014, an oil field was discovered off the shore of the Island of Cebu, which is also in the Visayas region of the Philippine Archipelago.⁴² According to Gulf News, the oil deposit has the capacity and capability of producing up to 42 million barrels of oil on a daily basis.⁴³

The Philippines is surrounded by major bodies of waters, including both the West Philippine Sea (South China Sea) and the Pacific Ocean. These waters contain an abundant amount of fish and other marine wildlife. There are about 2,400 fish species as well as 10,000 species of the various shell life, pearls, corals and sea weeds.⁴⁴

It is also significant to note that the Philippines, in 2016, gained a new territory, known as the “Benham Rise.” This additional 13 million-hectare territory, named after an American Geologist, was awarded to the Philippines through the United Nations Convention on the Law of

the Sea (UNCLOS).⁴⁵ According to the Philippine Star, the Benham Plateau, which is near the province of Isabela in Luzon, possesses an abundant amount of untouched natural resources.⁴⁶

The Philippines has also conducted other exploration efforts and scientific surveys in the said area. According to the Philippine Star, the Philippines is not only blessed with an expansion of its territory, but also blessed with the vast amounts of minerals, solidified methane, oil, and gas deposits in the plateau.⁴⁷ According to the Philippine Daily Inquirer, the National Mapping Resource Information Agency produced the data that the area possesses solid methane and confirmed the discovery of gas deposits as well.⁴⁸

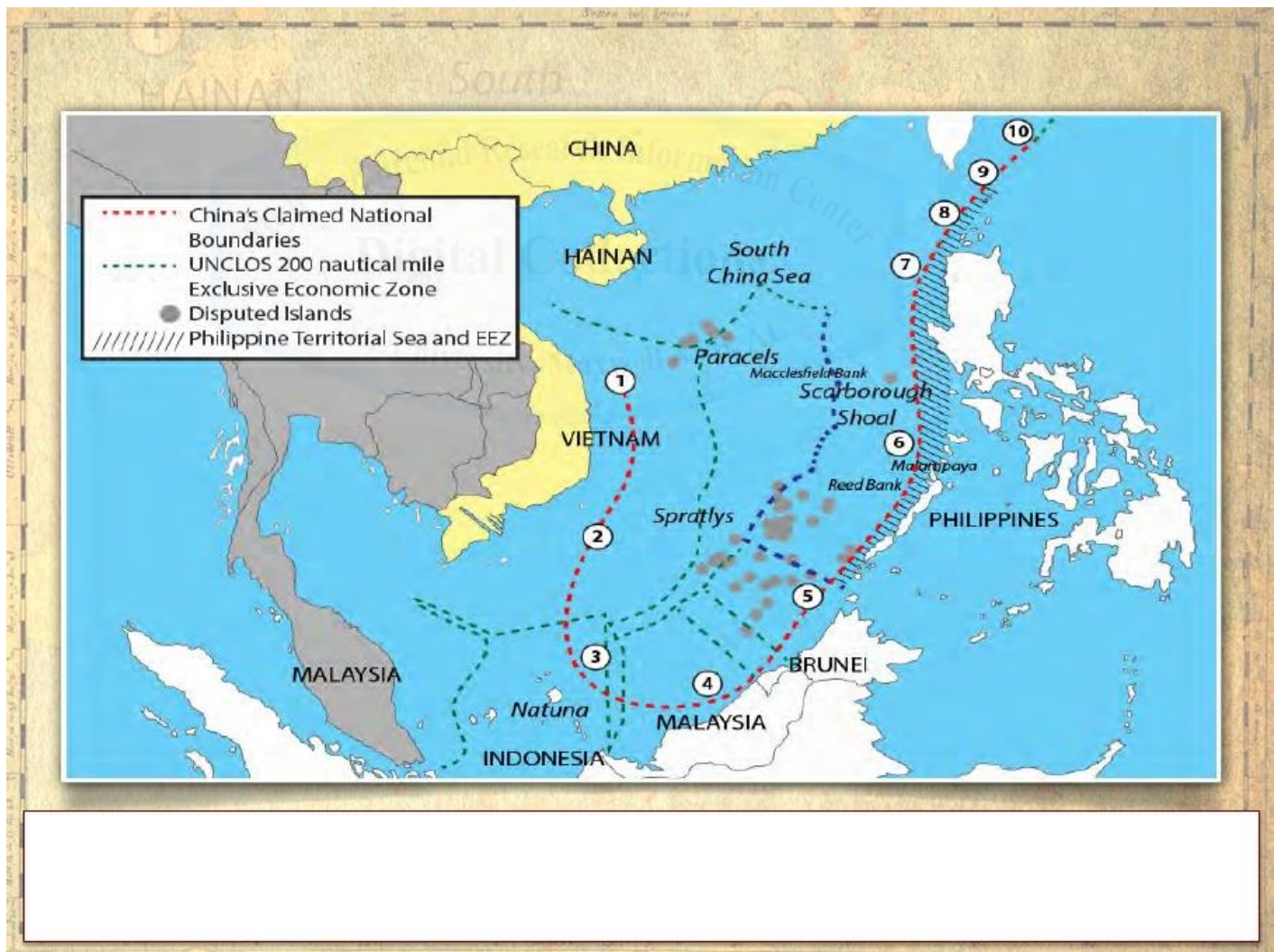
Another important region, which has been discovered to contain oil and natural gas, is known as the Kalayaan Island Group. This island group, claimed by the Philippines, includes the disputed Spratly Islands and Scarborough Shoal, which are both located in the West Philippine Sea (South China Sea).⁴⁹ China is highly interested in parts of the Spratly archipelago, which is composed of thousands of pristine coral reefs and sandbars spread across an uninhabited and untouched region between the Philippines and southern Vietnam. No wonder why China is asserting its might and power to control the South China Sea. The power of control really matters to this US peer competitor. The logic is clear cut: control of these tiny islands means control of the vast amounts of wealth. The vast amounts of unexploited gas, oil, mineral deposits, immense reserves of hydrocarbons, as well as the vast amounts of fisheries in these open waters all contribute to China's economic aims and interests.

The United Nations Permanent Court of Arbitration Decision

This dispute between China and the Philippines for the maritime islands has been a long on-going disagreement over the years for the purpose of possessing and maintaining the economic as well as the strategic interests that the maritime territories offer. On July 12, 2016,

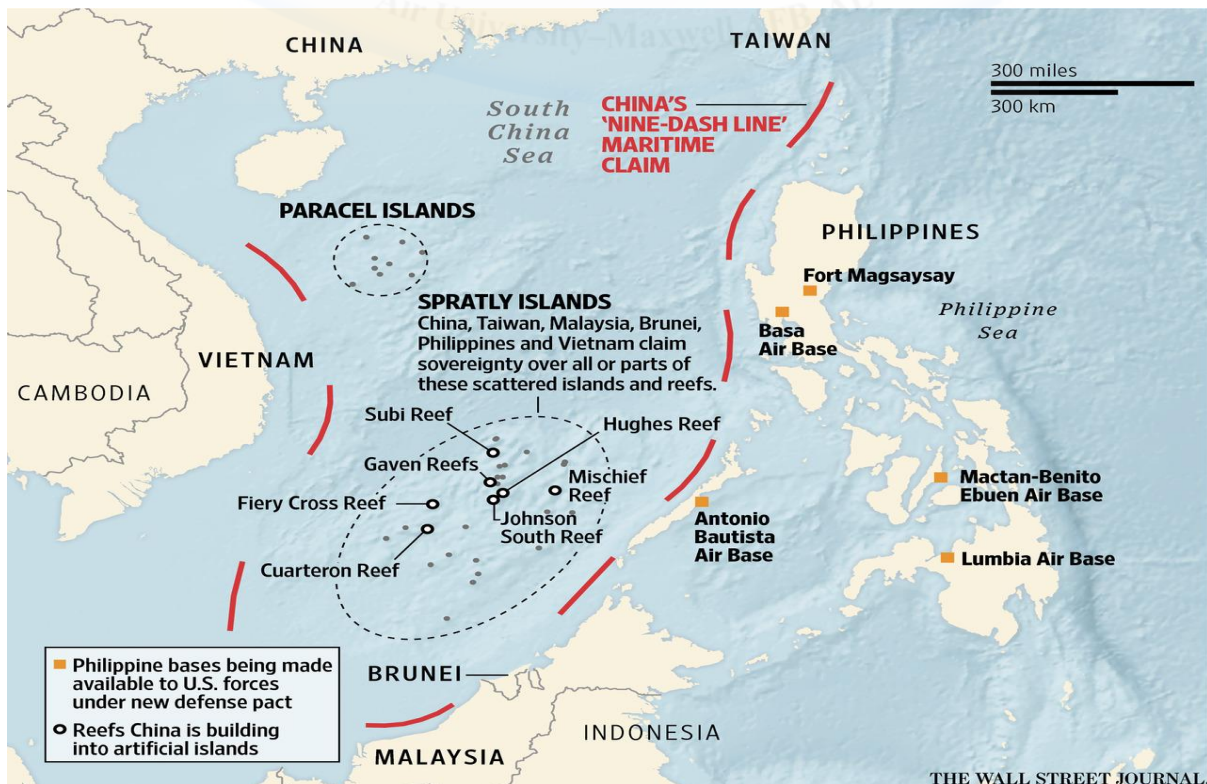
the United Nations (UN) Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) decided in favor of the Philippines, however, ruling that the country had full jurisdiction over the contested islands in the South China Sea and that the territory in the vicinity of the islands is within the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of the Philippines, as portrayed in Figure 2 below.⁵⁰ The EEZ is a maritime zone next to the sea that does not extend beyond the 200 nautical miles (NM).⁵¹ Within this zone, a country has rights for the purpose of exploring and exploiting natural resources.⁵²

Figure 2. Territories within the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of the Philippines.⁵³



It is critically important to protect the natural breeding ground for fish stocks as well as safeguard the freedom of navigation. The PCA, which is not considered a United Nations Agency but an intergovernmental organization located at The Hague in the Netherlands, emphasized that China's fishing in the disputed islands was considered illegal and that China violated the sovereign rights of the Philippines by hampering the freedom of the Filipinos to conduct fishing activities as well as to conduct activities related to the exploration of petroleum.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the PCA also ruled that China could not legally claim the territories within its Nine-Dash Line (see Figure 3), which refers to the demarcation line utilized by China for its claims of the maritime territories, including the Spratly Islands and Scarborough Shoal, in the South China Sea.⁵⁵ This decision of the PCA is indeed a counter-response to China and serves as a milestone in resolving territorial disputes in the Asia-Pacific region.

Figure 3. China's Nine-Dash Line Maritime Claim.⁵⁶



The Strategic Setting

The Strategic importance of the Philippines to the United States can neither be denied nor overstated. Its location is key, most especially during a time when US national and international security is being critically threatened by peer and near peer nations competing for both economic growth and better military security in the region. Without an organization such as NATO governing the region, the situation becomes complicated and that is the reason the United States continues to develop its bilateral partnerships within the Asia-Pacific region, which includes the Philippines. Each of the US military services, the Army, Air Force, Navy and Marines, all play an important role in securing and in protecting the waterways as well as national security interests. That is why a robust military presence in the Philippines is crucial.

The EDCA has paved the way for US military presence across five bases that will support rotational deployments in the Philippines. According to the Military Times, the five bases as illustrated in Figure 4 are as follows: Antonio Bautista Air Base - located on the Island of Palawan, near the Spratly Islands; Basa Air Base - located near Manila, that was originally designed by the US Army Air Corps before World War II; Fort Magsaysay - located on Luzon, which is considered the largest Philippine military base; Lumbia Air Base - located on Mindanao; and finally, Mactan-Benito Ebuen Air Base - located on Mactan Island in Cebu, that was constructed by the US Air Force.⁵⁷

Figure 4. Five Bases to Support Rotational Deployments in the Philippines.⁵⁸



SECTION 4 – ANALYSIS

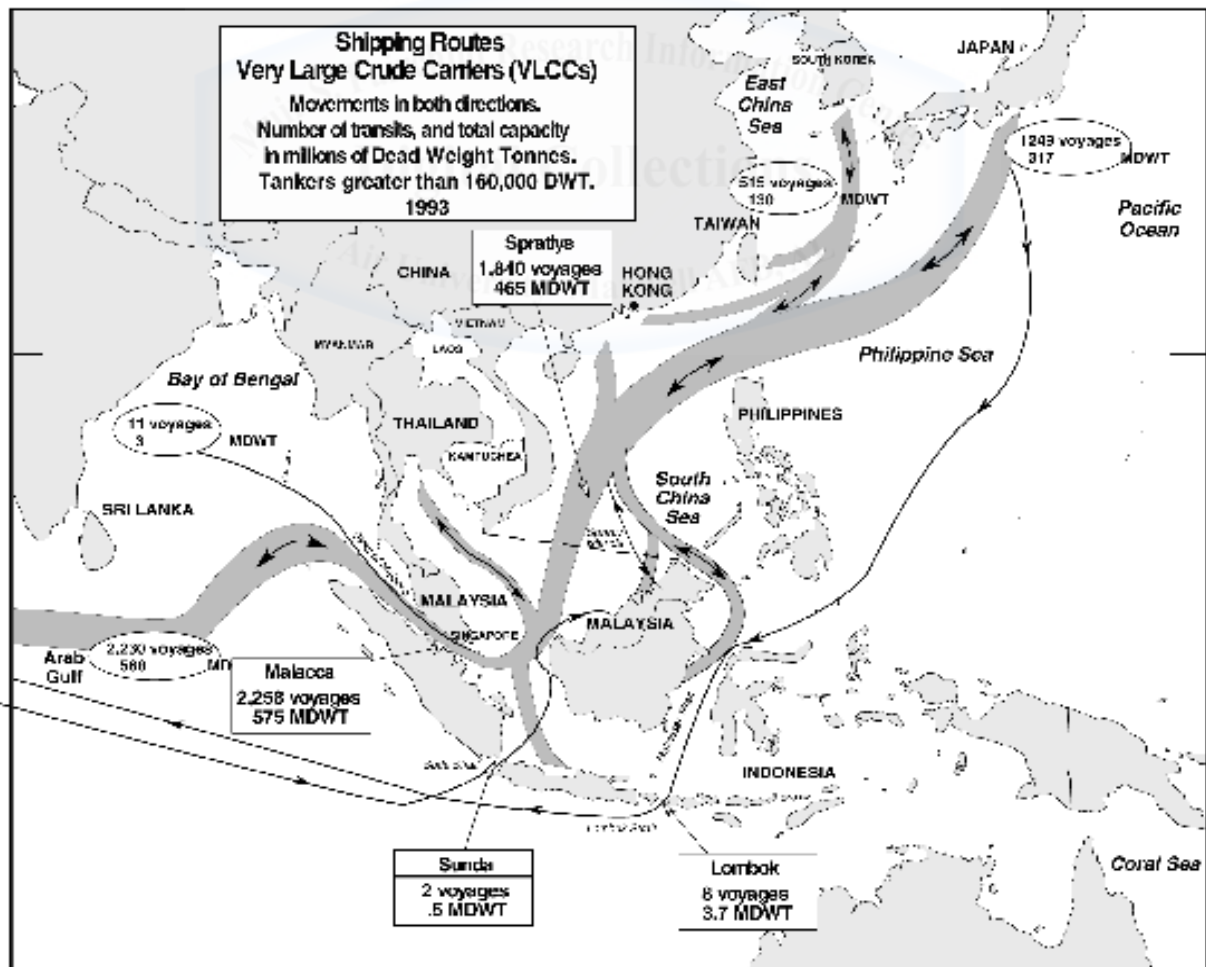
Overview of China’s Military-Style Operations in the South China Sea

For the past five years, China has been building military installations on the Spratly Islands⁵⁹ in the southeastern part of the South China Sea near the vast Philippine shoreline, which is within the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of the Philippines. More generally, US military planners, senior military leaders, and national security experts all have pointed out a rising concern about the Chinese economic and military power in the Asia-Pacific region. How should both the Philippines and the United States, and even the other neighboring countries such as Japan, Brunei, Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore and Vietnam deal with the Chinese power? How should the US-Philippines partnership deal with China’s aggressiveness in asserting territorial claims and conducting military-style activities in the Asia-Pacific region?

Many countries, such as the United States, India, Japan, Singapore, Vietnam, and others utilize and depend on the waterways of the South China Sea to deliver their goods and services. For the several past decades, these waterways have accommodated passage for cargo ships and international vessels of the various countries around the globe, offering popular shipping routes for trade within the region and within well-known safe passageways (see Figure 5). To the Chinese people, however, increasing their country’s security posture, through domination of its vast coastline and through securing trade routes and nearby sea lanes, seems only reasonable to assure an unhampered passage of vessels and to maintain the peaceful delivery of products and services in the area on their own terms.⁶⁰ An article released from China’s State Council Information Office, titled: *China’s Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation*, highlights that China is focused on maintaining maritime peace, stability, and security in the Asia-Pacific Region.⁶¹ In another article, titled: *China Says Will Protect South China Sea Sovereignty After*

White House Vows to Stop China Taking Islands, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying stresses the importance of security, peace, and protecting the freedom of navigation.⁶² According to Hua, “We urge the United States to respect the facts, speak and act cautiously to avoid harming the peace and stability of the South China Sea. Our actions in the South China Sea are reasonable and fair. No matter what changes happen in other countries, what they say or what they want to do, China’s resolve to protect its sovereignty and maritime rights in the South China Sea will not change.”⁶³

Figure 5. Major Passageways and Shipping Routes in the South China Sea.⁶⁴



US Bases in the Philippines as a Deterrent

With the reduction of US forces, the United States does not want to be viewed by China as having a weakened commitment to defending the Asia-Pacific region, including the Philippines. In order to remain a powerful nation in the Asia-Pacific region, and to keep China from expanding its powers to its own advantage, the United States should continue to maintain its focus.

The United States should press onward with the strategic goal of increasing military bases at key strategic Pacific-region locations, including increasing the number of military bases in the Philippines. US military forces deployed in the Asia-Pacific region should remain there, intended not only to block nations or countries that have a plan of attacking others, but also to prevent other countries seeking to conquer land, dominate waterways, and dominate airspace that are not considered solely their own by authority.

Subic Bay Naval Base is widely known as a popular military installation, which started as a military garrison during the Spanish era. It has always been a crucial and significant area for US military operations in the Asia-Pacific region. For decades, Subic Bay Naval Base served as the prime and major ship repair site for US naval vessels and international vessels operating across the vast South China Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Pacific Ocean.⁶⁵

Subic Bay Naval Base is also widely known to be a military training area for US military forces undergoing the long weeks of jungle warfare training in the densely populated forests and the mountainous regions of Olongapo in the Province of Zambales. It was also the site of battles with the Japanese during World War II, and served as the main staging area for US naval operations not only during the Korean War, but also during the Vietnam war, wherein the United States forward deployed its soldiers and military assets.⁶⁶

The re-establishment of US bases at key strategic locations in the Philippines would strengthen the case for use as a value deterrent against China's increasing military build-up, rapid increase in military-style activities throughout the Asia-Pacific region, and claims to disputed territories and maritime islands located in the South China Sea. Such actions have made neighboring countries nervous. Most, if not all, of these countries are seeking the help of the United States to slow China's expansion and to restrain its goal to match, if not to go over and above, the United States as a global military power.

The re-establishment of US bases in the Philippines alone does not deter China or any other country in the region. The bases serve as a significant part of the United States military power, resources, determination, will and influence – the key characteristics that give China all the more the time to pause and reflect on their exclusive plans and objectives.

It can be noted that the Philippines is in a strategic location. It is near Vietnam, Korea, Taiwan and Japan. It is close to the disputed Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. The Philippines is a strategically strong place from which to deploy and administer military operations to launch a counter attack against any country wishing to cause harm and to go against established rules of law pertaining to freedom of navigation, freedom of flight, and even rules of law at the international level covering international boundaries and territories.

The concept of time is as important as the concept of distance when it comes to a major conflict. The US Air Force uses the concept of "rapid global mobility." The close proximity to where a country will operate during a conflict allows a country to quickly deploy soldiers and military assets. The re-establishment of US bases in key strategic locations in the Philippines allows US military forces to deploy just about anywhere in the whole Asia-Pacific region in a matter of a few days, few hours, or even minutes.

The response time for the United States to act is shorter than if based in Guam, Japan, or in Hawaii. It is indeed a lot easier to patrol the South China Sea with already established key military installations at key strategic locations in the Philippines. The placement of US bases should be on key strategic locations or locations where trouble and/or untoward incidents might take place in order to be better able to quickly respond and to deter aggressors and/or enemies.

The Importance of Location for China

China's ongoing military build-up and ongoing military-style activities in the South China Sea clearly manifests its understanding of the importance of the role of location as a key element in deterrence. China's efforts in constructing artificial islands in the Spratlys, which is located in the deep south of the South China Sea, clearly portrays China's total acceptance and understanding of basing military forces or forward deploying military forces to a specific location of interest in order to display power, to better manipulate activities, or to influence operations. Such forward location allows for a smoother flow of military operations – making activities easier to manage as well as easier to deter adversaries.

The establishment of military installations on these man-made islands in the Spratlys is effective in deterring other countries from retaliation out of fear of provoking China and going into a full-fledged war with China. Therefore, these artificial islands in the South China Sea, even with small military units, can easily restrain the antagonistic behavior of an aggressor – resulting in a restraining effect – an effect also called deterrence. The re-establishment of US bases at key Philippines-based locations from which the US Coast Guard, US Air Force, US Navy, US Marine, and US Army forces can operate could have a similar deterrence effect and would restrain China's aim for power in the region and bolster the US defensive stance, strengthen the Asia-Pacific pivot, and rebalance the US military power in the region.

If at any time China wants to strike against any opposing country, the United States would be ready strike back forcefully through its military forces at nearby bases and through its military forces stationed throughout Asia and the Pacific. No country would dare to experience the full military strength and technical expertise of the United States. If US soldiers are harmed in any way, then the adversary would be certain of receiving a quick response, even if it results in immeasurable casualties. Countries, such as China and North Korea, would think twice about provoking the United States.

Political Deterrence Factor of US Bases

The re-establishment of US bases at key strategic locations in the Philippines would involve more than only dealing with challenges and costs. It would also involve a political commitment on the part of both the United States and Philippine governments. Leaders of other countries in the Asia-Pacific region can observe the United States' willingness to defend the Philippines, a long-time ally of the United States. The strong military cooperation and effective training commitments between the United States and Philippine military forces clearly manifests the strong political link between both countries. Such relationship also affects the restraining effect or deterrence factor.

The deterrence factor of the re-establishment of US bases at key strategic locations in the Philippines is dependent upon the US-Philippine relationship at a political level. "You scratch my back and I scratch yours," type of relationship wherein the stronger the political relationship, the higher the probability of the United States to re-establish bases to defend the Philippines from its adversaries – and the higher the probability of the Philippine government preserving and maintaining those bases. The deterrence factor – sustaining a deterrent capability - manifested

by both the US and Philippine military forces working side-by-side as allies with an interconnecting operational relationship is considered valuable from a political perspective.

Additionally, it is important to note that the re-establishment of US bases in the Philippines will augment the already established bases on Japan and on other nearby countries, and add the extra layer in strategic depth as well as enhance the deterrence factor for US military capabilities in the Asia-Pacific region. Such deterrence factor produces a “ripple effect.” Other nations in the region find it reassuring to know that the United States has military forces scattered throughout Asia-Pacific. Such a display of force gives a country the confidence and bolsters its courageous outlook to stand up against China’s threats and military muscles – therefore, deterring the Chinese from displaying an even more aggressive and unacceptable behavior.

Furthermore, when it comes to strategy, it is advantageous to be located at a strategic location and to train at that same location of operation. Such gives a country a “home court” advantage. The same is true with any sports activity, such as basketball wherein team players do their best at their home town.

US Military Bases Set to Expand

Some Filipinos have been outspoken about their negative sentiments and perceptions against the presence of US military bases, given past history. The presence of the remaining infrastructure of old US military bases in their country is a reminder of a previous era in which the Philippines engaged in a brutal conflict with the United States during the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902.⁶⁷ During this conflict, over 10 percent or about 700,000 of the Philippine population died⁶⁸ and to this day anti-American sentiments remain in the country.⁶⁹

Despite even sharper negative sentiments in the mid-twentieth century, the Philippines and the United States signed a joint agreement known as the Military Bases Agreement (MBA) on March 16, 1947, which permitted the United States to establish both air and naval bases in the Philippines.⁷⁰ Under the MBA, the United States was able to utilize 23 listed bases and utilities, including Clark Air Base in Pampanga and the Subic Naval Base in the province of Zambales, for long period of time, extending up to 99 years.⁷¹ The agreement included provisions pledging mutual protection and cooperation between the two countries; their mutual utilization of military installations; a requirement that the Philippines could not allow another country to use the bases without the consent from the United States; the United States was allowed to recruit Filipino citizens for entrance into the US military; and the US base commanders could have authority to tax and conduct searches without warrants. The MBA was later complemented by additional military agreements between the two countries - the Military Assistance Agreement of 1947 and the Mutual Defense Treaty, which were signed on August 30, 1951.⁷² The Mutual Defense Treaty encompasses eight articles, which emphasize that both the United States and the Philippines would support each other in case of an attack by an adversarial nation.⁷³

In 1992 when all US military bases finally closed in the Philippines was a year that will never be forgotten in the minds of the people of the Philippines. Even after such formal closures, however, the United States was still able to later circumvent the ban of US bases in the Philippines through peaceful negotiations and high-level meetings. In 1998, the United States was able to secure the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), which dictated the annual joint United States and Philippine military exercises.⁷⁴ The agreement permitted the rotation of US military soldiers and their military operations at various areas in the Philippines for an undetermined period of time to conduct military training with Philippine soldiers.⁷⁵

Despite a very circuitous policy on its military presence in the region, the United States continued to have important regional and strategic interests at stake and remains serious about defending the Philippines and the entire Asia-Pacific region from China's expansion tactics. The United States has even agreed to rotate its military forces into the Philippines at key strategic locations already mentioned earlier in this research paper. In light of the Philippine-China dispute over the maritime territories in the South China Sea, Maria Elena Clariza, an expert in Philippines Studies at the University of Hawaii at the Manoa Campus, emphasized during an interview in 2016 the importance of the United States presence in the Philippines and in the Asia-Pacific region. According to Clariza, a Philippine Studies Librarian and a Ph.D. student at the same university, "We need assistance from the United States. We need to protect our borders."⁷⁶

As of today, the US-Philippine defense posture and relationship is strong. The goal of re-emerging US bases at key strategic locations in the Philippines is a plan soon to be fulfilled as the United States continues to restrain China from gaining unlimited power and too much control in the South China Sea, and to maintain peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Philippine government has recently voice high respect for, and values, the prospect of re-establishing US bases at key strategic locations in the Philippines under the terms outlined in the EDCA. A more secure US presence at key strategic locations within the Philippines would mean greater the value of deterrence, which all the more gives a valid reason as to why these prospect bases are necessary for the Philippine's national defense. The US military presence at key strategic locations in the Philippines is not only considered more than highly important, but also considered a true barometer and measure of the US-Philippines political relationship as well. China is well aware of such relationship and perhaps is tempted to test the value of deterrence

through its show of force against the US military forces.

Despite President Duterte's anti-American rhetoric and emotions, it was announced at the end of January 2017 that the Duterte administration will honor the EDCA agreement, as well as announced that the plan to upgrade five US military bases at key strategic locations will go full speed ahead.⁷⁷ According to a recent Philippine report, US Senator John McCain, who is also the Chairman of the Senate's Armed Services Committee, proposed \$7.5 billion to support US military forces and their neighboring allies within the Asia-Pacific region.⁷⁸



SECTION 5 – RECOMMENDATIONS

The issue surrounding the contested maritime territories in the South China Sea (West Philippine Sea) resulting in the Philippines-China clashes is indeed a complex one.

A positive outcome is needed among the claimants in order to produce a more promising and progressive Asia-Pacific region in the years to come. Based on a thorough analysis of the situation, the three significant recommendations are as follows: (1) re-establishing US presence and improving US warning posture in the Philippines; (2) optimizing the use of defense assistance programs; and (3) expanding military foreign training programs to assist the Armed Forces of the Philippines in preparing against threats.

This world is full of dangers and abounding threats. Be that as it may, the United States must continue to assess and to monitor the events in the Asia-Pacific region that threaten the US national interests. The United States is viewed by many nations as a peacemaker and, therefore, should continue to increase its forward deployed presence in the Asia-Pacific region, including the Philippines. One of the key problems in the past two decades was the lack of policy and agreement to support US bases, to support US patrols, to support US intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) resources in the region, including unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). One feasible way to continually monitor the Philippines and its neighboring countries in the South China Sea, and to alleviate the threat of China's military build-up and expansion of its power is to bolster the US presence and to improve the US warning posture on the Philippines.

This first recommendation, which is for more US presence and improved posture through re-establishing US bases at key strategic locations on the Philippines is an appropriate and significant solution. This recommendation is a remedy because an increased presence and improved posture allows the United States to maintain security, to uphold peace, to adjust to the

Asia-Pacific regional emphasis, and to be ready to deal with the security challenges and various contingencies that can escalate at any time.

Aside from the recommendation of increased US presence and improved US warning posture on the Philippines, is the recommendation for optimizing the use of defense foreign assistance programs. According to a recent Philippine report, it was proposed at the Senate's Armed Services Committee that \$7.5 billion will be utilized to support US military forces and their allies in the Asia-Pacific region.⁷⁹ However, this is broadly defined. Part of the money should also be properly spent and maximized on campaigns in "spreading the word," so to speak. There should be a way wherein the United States can better leverage its power of knowledge by way of propagating its wealth of information. Sharing information about US freedom and US democracy as well as shedding light on the enemies' propaganda will significantly contribute to solidifying the posture of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region and contribute to altering the dysfunctional behaviors of other adversarial state-actors in the region. Optimizing the US defense foreign assistance programs is another critical fix to strengthening the security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. More awareness and understanding about US freedom and democracy by way of these assistance programs adds further strength and builds upon the thrust toward existing US efforts to achieve a positive outcome and immediate results.

Finally, a third recommendation is the expansion of US military foreign training programs to assist the Philippines in preparing against threats to security and to peace in the Asia-Pacific region and in the South China Sea. The Philippines is an old and longtime ally of the United States, but yet the Philippines still has a weak military. The United States should increase its assistance by way of education, military exercises, and military training to assist its allied soldiers – the Armed Forces of the Philippines - to be better prepared to fill in important roles

and to augment US forces in the call of duty as necessary. This recommendation is another appropriate solution to strengthening the security, the stability, and peace in the region despite the lack of intensive and on-going training in the past two decades, a period of time wherein the US military reduced the size of its forces in order to meet budgetary constraints.

The key recommendations of this research paper detailed above are supported under the 2014 Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), which supports the US construct of five military installations at key strategic locations in which the United States could rapidly respond to any conflict and/or contingencies in the South China Sea, mainly in the vast regional waters wherein China has increased its military build-up, its military activities, and construction of artificial islands in the contested maritime territories in the Spratly Islands.

The following outlines the specifics of the EDCA, which is comprised of a preamble and 12 articles all incorporated into a 10-page document: (1) Article 1 outlines that the EDCA is aimed at deepening bilateral defense cooperation to maintain and develop the capacities of the Philippines and the United States to resist attack; (2) Article II defines the key terms used in the EDCA, which includes US military and civilian personnel, US contractors, agreed locations, and designated authorities; (3) Article III outlines the terms and conditions of access to Agreed Locations by US forces and contractors and their vehicles, vessels and aircraft; (4) Article IV delineates prepositioned equipment, supplies and materiel to be used by US forces; (5) Article V describes ownership. The Philippines retains ownership of Agreed Locations, including those improved by the United States. The US is required to turn over all Agreed Locations when they are no longer required under the terms of the EDCA; (6) Article VI covers the security of Agreed Locations and US property and personnel. Both parties must ensure the protection, safety, and security of US forces and contractors and “security of official United States information” in the Philippines; (7) Article VII covers the responsibilities of the Philippines for the provision of

electricity and water to US personnel. It also provides for the provision of radio spectrum frequencies; (8) Article VIII covers contracting procedures, and allows the United States to contract for materiel, supplies, equipment and services without restriction; (9) Article IX outlines environmental, human health, and safety issues. Both parties agreed to uphold the protection of the environment and human health and safety; (10) Article X covers Implementation, which provides for both parties to enter into implementing agreements to carry out the provisions of the EDCA at Agreed Locations and on matters of funding; (11) Article XI covers Resolution of Disputes and provides for direct consultations to settle disputes; and finally (12) Article XII highlights provisions for Entry into Force, Amendment, Duration and Termination.⁸⁰

The said defense pact, which is fully supported by the Philippine Constitution and upheld by the Supreme Court of the Philippines, brings benefit to both countries - Philippines and the United States. In order to gain a better understanding about the EDCA and find out how the United States is going to operate in the foreseeable future, it is important to take a closer look at the main courses of action and major points covered by the EDCA. In essence, the EDCA aligns itself perfectly with the three key recommendations highlighted in the recommendation section of this research paper.

The provisions in Article I highlight interoperability. US forces are allowed access to “Agreed Locations” in the Philippines on a rotational basis for joint training, security cooperation exercises, for humanitarian assistance and activities related to disaster relief, for refueling aircraft, bunkering of vessels, and accommodation of personnel on a temporary basis.⁸¹

According to the provisions of Article III of the EDCA, the US military forces may utilize Philippine facilities for training purposes.⁸² In addition, the facilities may also be utilized for the maintenance of ships and aircraft, for the prepositioning of military equipment and supplies (i.e. fighters, warships) and for the deployment of US forces.⁸³ Thus, making the Philippines a

forward operating base wherein the United States becomes tactically and strategically better positioned to attack or counter-attack an adversary.

Article III of the EDCA also points out that the “Agreed Locations” will be made available without charging any additional rental costs; however, the costs to support utilities (i.e. water, electricity, etc.) will be shared amongst both countries.⁸⁴ Furthermore, Article III also permits the United States to gain operational control of the “Agreed Locations” in order to construct and/or renovate military facilities; however, under Article IV, the United States is not allowed to preposition nuclear weapons.⁸⁵

Under Article V of the EDCA, the Philippines will still have ownership authority of all military locations; however, the United States is allowed to utilize the permanent buildings it has built and/or improved until it is not needed anymore by its military forces.⁸⁶ Finally, under Article XI of the EDCA, any disputes between the Philippines and the United States will be resolved between both countries and not by any “third party.”⁸⁷

Based on the negotiated agreement, it is clear that both countries have a win-win relationship. The EDCA allows both the United States and the Philippines the benefits of mutual defense, peace, freedom of navigation, and regional stability wherein both countries cooperate in observing security of the waterways and in upholding awareness of the maritime territories in the South China Sea. In order to secure the stability of the Asia-Pacific region, including countries such as the Philippines, it is indeed critical that the United States maintain and sustain a strong military presence in the region through the establishment of US bases at key strategic locations on the Philippines. The crucial elements and provisions of the EDCA serve that noble aim and purpose. The EDCA alignment links the three key recommendations to obtain positive results, chief among them, sustained security and stability, peace, and freedom of navigation in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States presence can serve as a counter-balance in the region to

prevent the aggression and offensive stance of countries such as China, which seeks to push its boundaries beyond the legal limits of the law and gain regional influence.

SECTION 6 – CONCLUSION

The Philippines is not only the best, but also the most optimal, location from which to operate and support US military troops against the aggression of China in the disputed maritime territories of the South China Sea. The Philippines-China clashes over maritime territories and China's massive efforts to build-up military facilities are significant signs of danger to the United States' global interests and to the countries within the Asia-Pacific region. That said, the re-establishment of US bases in key strategic areas on the Philippines is a significant strategic shift and step in the right direction as China poses a credible threat to the stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

In light of the Chinese threat to security, its blatant circumvention of the freedom of navigation, and its flagrant disregard on international law, there is a need to be a thorough assessment made about untoward events developing within the Asia-Pacific Rim that threaten US interests. The United States' leadership role and its interests in the Asia-Pacific region are challenged constantly on a daily basis and the United States cannot afford to be surprised by events in the region. With that in mind, the US Asia-Pacific engagement is not optional, there is a significant need to thwart the escalating military power and aggressiveness of China, which threatens the major passageways and trade routes of the Asia-Pacific region.

It is indeed an appropriate time for the United States to improve its warning posture, to invest in military capabilities that provide situational awareness of China's military activities, and to further tighten an already strong relationship among both the United States and Philippine

governments in order to ensure the security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region. The three key recommendations that are linked to the critical objectives and provisions promulgated under the EDCA have indeed strengthened the US-Philippine relationship toward applying a better defensive posture – the key to prosperity, stability and solid security.



Notes

¹ Center for Strategic and International Studies. "Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025 Capabilities, Presence, and Partnerships." Jan 2016, 77.

² Ibid.

³ John T. Ackerman, Matthew C. Stafford, and Thomas Williams, Updated by Kathleen A. Mahoney Norris, "Six Research Frameworks," ACSC/DL (Maxwell AFB, AL: ACSC, December 2010).

⁴ Horacio Dela Costa. Asia and the Philippines. 169.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ E.R. Boak, Preston Slosson, Howard Anderson. World History. 445.

⁷ The World Book Encyclopedia. Philippines. World Book, Inc., Vol 15, 1986, 334.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Image retrieved from
https://images.duckduckgo.com/iu/?u=http%3A%2F%2F2.bp.blogspot.com%2F-vpQuS5IJSVg%2FTjEaD0osWAI%2FAAAAAAAAAAAQc%2FNUspbUSId3s%2Fs466%2Fmap_of_philippines.jpg&f=1

¹⁰ Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. Retrieved from
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>

¹¹ The World Book Encyclopedia. Philippines. World Book, Inc., Vol 15, 1986, 342.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. Retrieved from
<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>

Notes

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Nick Turse. "US Special Operations Forces Are in More Countries Than You Can Imagine." *The Nation*. 20 Jan 2015, 1. Retrieved from <https://www.thenation.com/article/us-special-forces-are-operating-more-countries-you-can-imagine/>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>

²⁵ *Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement between the Philippines and the United States*. April 29, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ph/2014/04/29/document-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement/>

²⁶ *Mutual Defense Treaty Document*. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ph/1951/08/30/mutual-defense-treaty-between-the-republic-of-the-philippines-and-the-united-states-of-america-august-30-1951/>

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ *Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement between the Philippines and the United States*. April 29, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ph/2014/04/29/document-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement/>

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>

³² David Saw. "Political Changes Impact on Defence in the Philippines." *Military Technology*. Sep 2016, 60.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

Notes

- ³⁶ *National Security Strategy Document*. 2013. Retrieved from <http://lbj.utexas.edu/sites/default/files/file/news/National%20Security%20Strategy%202013%20%28Final%20Draft%29.pdf>
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Marvin Laya. "The Philippines is Rich in Natural Resources. Its fertile pl" *Prezi*. 23 January 2014, 1. Retrieved from <https://prezi.com/ln9qpvezmaqp/the-philippines-is-rich-in-natural-resources-its-fertile-pl/>
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Gilbert P. Felongco "New Oil Find Raises Hopes for the Philippines." *Gulf News*. 10 January 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://gulfnews.com/business/sectors/energy/new-oil-find-raises-hopes-for-the-philippines-1.1275978>
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Marvin Laya. "The Philippines is Rich in Natural Resources. Its fertile pl" *Prezi*. 23 January 2014, 1. Retrieved from <https://prezi.com/ln9qpvezmaqp/the-philippines-is-rich-in-natural-resources-its-fertile-pl/>
- ⁴⁵ Rudy Fernandez. "Benham Rise: Philippines' 'New Territory.'" *Philippine Star*. 18 May 2016, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/05/18/1584439/benham-rise-philippines-new-territory>
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Kathy Yamsuan. "Philippines May Soon Own Vast Gas-Rich Area." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. 16 August 2011, 1. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/42329/philippines-may-soon-own-vast-gas-rich-area>
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ *United Nations Permanent Court of Arbitration Document*. Retrieved from <http://en.yibada.com/articles/140664/20160712/u-n-permanent-court-of-arbitration-favors-philippines-in-south-china-sea-dispute.htm>

Notes

- ⁵¹ *Philippine Law Document*. Retrieved from http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/presdecs/pd1978/pd_1599_1978.html
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ Image retrieved from <https://html1-f.scribdassets.com/56e3rpl96o4utibp/images/4-11587511a7.jpg>
- ⁵⁴ *United Nations Permanent Court of Arbitration Document*. Retrieved from <http://en.yibada.com/articles/140664/20160712/u-n-permanent-court-of-arbitration-favors-philippines-in-south-china-sea-dispute.htm>
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ Image retrieved from https://images.duckduckgo.com/iu/?u=http%3A%2F%2Fsi.wsj.net%2Fpublic%2Fresources%2Fimages%2FOJ-AH561_PHILUS_16U_20160320050317.jpg&f=1
- ⁵⁷ Andrew Tilghman. “The U.S. Military is moving into these 5 bases in the Philippines.” *Military Times*. 21 March 2016, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/21/us-plans-use-five-new-bases-philippines/82072138/>
- ⁵⁸ Image retrieved from <https://images.duckduckgo.com/iu/?u=http%3A%2F%2Fglobalnation.inquirer.net%2Ffiles%2F2016%2F03%2Finfofx-bases.png&f=1>
- ⁵⁹ Derek Watkins. “What China Has Been Building in the South China Sea.” *The New York Times*. 29 Feb 2016, 1. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/30/world/asia/what-china-has-been-building-in-the-south-china-sea-2016.html>
- ⁶⁰ Robert D. Kaplan. “Why The South China Sea Is So Crucial,” excerpt from *Asia’s Cauldron: The South China Sea And The End Of A Stable Pacific*. 20 Feb 15, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com.au/why-the-south-china-sea-is-so-crucial-2015-2/>
- ⁶¹ Hui Lu. “China’s Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation,” white paper from China’s State Council Information Office. 11 Jan 17, 4. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2017-01/11/c_135973695.htm
- ⁶² “China Says Will Protect South China Sea Sovereignty After White House Vows to Stop China Taking Islands.” *The Straits Times*. 24 Jan 17, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/china-urges-us-to-act-and-speak-cautiously-on-south-china-sea>
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*

Notes

- ⁶⁴ Image retrieved from <http://www.globalsecurity.org/jhtml/jframe.html#http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/images/super.gif>
- ⁶⁵ David E. Sanger. "Philippines Orders US to Leave Strategic Navy Base at Subic Bay." *The New York Times*. 28 December 1991, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/28/world/philippines-orders-us-to-leave-strategic-navy-base-at-subic-bay.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷ Jose Maria Sison. "US and the Philippines: How strategic is the partnership?" *Aljazeera*. 28 April 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/us-philippines-how-strategic-pa-201442871034598657.html>
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Tracy Wilkinson and W.J. Hennigan. "Here's How the US is Dealing with Philippines Leader Rodrigo Duterte's blitz of rants, insults and ultimatums." *Los Angeles Times*. 6 October 2016, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-us-philippines-20161005-snap-story.html>
- ⁷⁰ Azur Peraz. "The RP-US Military Bases Agreement." *Student's Digest*. 1 Feb 2011, 1. Retrieved from <https://scribblingblues.wordpress.com/2011/02/01/the-rp-us-military-bases-agreement/>
- ⁷¹ Ibid.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ *Mutual Defense Treaty Document*. Retrieved from <http://www.chanrobles.com/mutualdefensetreaty.htm>
- ⁷⁴ Jose Maria Sison. "US and the Philippines: How strategic is the partnership?" *Aljazeera*. 28 April 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/us-philippines-how-strategic-pa-201442871034598657.html>
- ⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁷⁶ Maria Elena Clariza, Philippine Studies Librarian. Interview at the University of Hawaii at Manoa Campus, 2016.
- ⁷⁷ M.G. Martin. "Despite Duterte's anti-American rhetoric, US military bases set to expand." *Philippines Lifestyle News*. 27 January 2017, 1. Retrieved from <http://philippineslifestyle.com/blog/2017/01/27/despite-dutertes-anti-american-rhetoric-us-military-bases-will-be-bolstered/>

Notes

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Carl Thayer. "Analyzing the US-Philippines Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement." *The Diplomat*. 2 May 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://thediplomat.com/2014/05/analyzing-the-us-philippines-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement/>

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackerman, John T., Matthew C. Stafford, and Thomas Williams, Updated by Kathleen A. Mahoney Norris, "Six Research Frameworks," ACSC/DL (Maxwell AFB, AL: ACSC, December 2010).
- Boak, E.R., Preston Slosson, Howard Anderson. *World History*. World Inc., 1977, 445.
- Carpenter, Ted Galen. "The U.S. Military Presence in the Philippines: Expensive and Unnecessary." *Cato Institute Foreign Policy Briefing*, No 12. July 29, 1991.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). "Asia-Pacific Rebalance 2025 Capabilities, Presence, and Partnerships." Jan 2016.
- Central Intelligence Agency. *The World Factbook*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rp.html>.
- Chang, Felix K. "GI Come Back: America's Return to the Philippines." *Foreign Policy Research Institute*. October 2013.
- "China Says Will Protect South China Sea Sovereignty After White House Vows to Stop China Taking Islands." *The Straits Times*. 24 Jan 17, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/east-asia/china-urges-us-to-act-and-speak-cautiously-on-south-china-sea>.
- Clariza, Maria Elena, Philippine Studies Librarian. Interview at University of Hawaii, 2016.
- Corning, Gregory P. "The Philippine Bases and US Pacific Strategy." *Pacific Affairs*, 1 April 1990, Vol.63 (1), 6-23.
- Dela Costa, Horacio. *Asia and the Philippines*. Asia Inc., 1939, 169.
- Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement between the Philippines and the United States*. April 29, 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ph/2014/04/29/document-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement/>.
- Felongco, Gilbert P. "New Oil Find Raises Hopes for the Philippines." *Gulf News*. 10 January 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://gulfnews.com/business/sectors/energy/new-oil-find-raises-hopes-for-the-philippines-1.1275978>.

- Fernandez, Rudy. "Benham Rise: Philippines' 'New Territory.'" *Philippine Star*. 18 May 2016, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2016/05/18/1584439/benham-rise-philippiness-new-territory>.
- Henry, Donald P., Keith Crane and Katharine Watkins Webb. "The Philippine Bases: Background for Negotiations." *The RAND Corporation*. August 1989.
- Hernandez, Javier C. and Floyd Whaley. "Philippine Supreme Court Approves Return of U.S. Troops." *The New York Times*. Jan 12, 2016.
- Kaplan, Robert D. "Why The South China Sea Is So Crucial," excerpt from *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea And The End Of A Stable Pacific*. 20 Feb 15, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.businessinsider.com.au/why-the-south-china-sea-is-so-crucial-2015-2/>.
- Keagle, James M., Richard D. Fisher, Jr., and Brian Johnson. "Enhancing the U.S. Rebalance Toward Asia Elevating Allies." *Joint Force Quarterly National Defense University*, 2013, Issue 70, 3rd quarter.
- Kimlick, Michael F., Major, USMC CSC. "U.S. Bases In The Philippines." 1990.
- Laya, Marvin. "The Philippines is Rich in Natural Resources. Its fertile pl" *Prezi*. 23 January 2014, 1. Retrieved from <https://prezi.com/ln9qpvezmaq/the-philippines-is-rich-in-natural-resources-its-fertile-pl/>.
- Lu, Hui. "China's Policies on Asia-Pacific Security Cooperation," white paper from China's State Council Information Office. 11 Jan 17, 4. Retrieved from http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2017-01/11/c_135973695.htm.
- Martin, MG. "Despite Duterte's anti-American rhetoric, US military bases set to expand." *Philippines Lifestyle News*. 27 January 2017, 1. Retrieved from <http://philippineslifestyle.com/blog/2017/01/27/despite-dutertes-anti-american-rhetoric-us-military-bases-will-be-bolstered/>.
- Mutual Defense Treaty Document*. Retrieved from <http://www.gov.ph/1951/08/30/mutual-defense-treaty-between-the-republic-of-the-philippines-and-the-united-states-of-america-august-30-1951/>.
- Mutual Defense Treaty Document*. Retrieved from <http://www.chanrobles.com/mutualdefensetreaty.htm>.
- National Security Strategy Document*. 2013. Retrieved from <http://lbj.utexas.edu/sites/default/files/file/news/National%20Security%20Strategy%202013%20%28Final%20Draft%29.pdf>.
- Peraz, Azur. "The RP-US Military Bases Agreement." *Student's Digest*. 1 Feb 2011, 1. Retrieved from <https://scribblingblues.wordpress.com/2011/02/01/the-rp-us-military-bases-agreement/>.

Philippine Law Document. Retrieved from

http://www.lawphil.net/statutes/presdecs/pd1978/pd_1599_1978.html.

Sanger, David E. "Philippines Orders US to Leave Strategic Navy Base at Subic Bay."

The New York Times. 28 December 1991, 1. Retrieved from

<http://www.nytimes.com/1991/12/28/world/philippines-orders-us-to-leave-strategic-navy-base-at-subic-bay.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>.

Saw, David. "Political Changes Impact on Defence in the Philippines." *Military Technology*. Sep 2016, 60.

Scappatura, Vince. "The US 'Pivot to Asia', the China Spectre and the Australian-American Alliance." *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, Vol. 12, Issue 36, No. 3, September 9, 2014.

Simbulan, Roland G. "The Pentagon's Secret War and Facilities in the Philippines." *Peace Review*, April 2010, Vol.22 (2), 150.

Sison, Jose Maria. "US and the Philippines: How strategic is the partnership?" *Aljazeera*. 28 April 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/us-philippines-how-strategic-pa-201442871034598657.html>.

Thayer, Carl. "Analyzing the US-Philippines Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement." *The Diplomat*. 2 May 2014, 1. Retrieved from <http://thediplomat.com/2014/05/analyzing-the-us-philippines-enhanced-defense-cooperation-agreement/>.

The World Book Encyclopedia. Philippines. World Book, Inc., Vol 15, 1986.

Tiglaio, Rigoberto D. "Price of Pullout." *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Sep 26, 1991, Vol.153 (39), 11.

Tilghman, Andrew. "The U.S. Military is moving into these 5 bases in the Philippines."

Military Times. 21 March 2016, 1. Retrieved from

<http://www.militarytimes.com/story/military/2016/03/21/us-plans-use-five-new-bases-philippines/82072138/>.

Turse, Nick. "US Special Operations Forces Are in More Countries Than You Can Imagine."

The Nation. 20 Jan 2015, 1. Retrieved from <https://www.thenation.com/article/us-special-forces-are-operating-more-countries-you-can-imagine/>.

United Nations Permanent Court of Arbitration Document. Retrieved from

<http://en.yibada.com/articles/140664/20160712/u-n-permanent-court-of-arbitration-favors-philippines-in-south-china-sea-dispute.htm>.

- Watkins, Derek. "What China Has Been Building in the South China Sea." *The New York Times*. 29 Feb 2016, 1. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/07/30/world/asia/what-china-has-been-building-in-the-south-china-sea-2016.html>.
- Wilkinson, Tracy and W.J. Hennigan. "Here's How the US is Dealing with Philippines Leader Rodrigo Duterte's blitz of rants, insults and ultimatums." *Los Angeles Times*. 6 October 2016, 1. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-fg-us-philippines-20161005-snap-story.html>.
- Yamsuan, Kathy. "Philippines May Soon Own Vast Gas-Rich Area." *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. 16 August 2011, 1. Retrieved from <http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/42329/philippines-may-soon-own-vast-gas-rich-area>.

