Island Chain Defense and South China Sea

Cleo Paskal
Associate Fellow, Chatham House, UK

10th South China Sea International Conference, Da Nang City, Viet Nam, 7 November 2018
Source:
PLAN Headquarters 2012, 95.
Current metropolitan powers map

Some maritime boundaries have yet to be legally determined.
Broad groupings of ethnic Chinese populations in Oceania

- Government representatives
- Long established ethnic Chinese populations, including from Taiwan
- Economic leaders
- Retail level entrepreneurs (i.e. 90% of retail sector in Kingdom of Tonga)
Expected duties of overseas Chinese since 1978


• "They are to actively participate in **Chinese modernisation**, to actively promote the **reunification** of the Chinese nation, to actively **spread Chinese civilisation**, and to actively promote the **friendship** between China and the people all over the World."

• The year the book was published Dr. Jian became a Member of the New Zealand Parliament.
By CHARLOTTE GRAHAM  OCT. 4, 2017

Jian Yang, a New Zealand lawmaker born in China, at a news conference in Auckland, New Zealand, last month. A recent investigation revealed that he had taught spies in China in the 1980s and '90s.
NZ 'Britain's eyes and ears in the Pacific'

By Audrey Young
5:15 AM Thursday Mar 30, 2006

New Zealand will increasingly become the ears and eyes for Britain in the region as Britain's presence wanes and China's increases, respective Prime Ministers Tony Blair and Helen Clark indicated yesterday.

And the communication will be formalised in a new annual security dialogue – at present at senior official level – that the pair signed off on during bilateral talks in Auckland.

The first will be held in London later in the year and involve senior Foreign Affairs officials.

Mr Blair and his wife, Cherie, left for Indonesia last night.

While there was no powhiri on his entry to New Zealand, Mr Blair was given one by school children in Mangere shortly before leaving.

Mr Blair and Helen Clark held a press conference after their talks at which Mr Blair said it was important that Britain had "a friend in this region who can help and advise us on the regional issues that are of immense importance".

Speaking to the Herald last night, Helen Clark would not accept the label of "deputy" in the way that Australia wears it in relation to the United States.

"A friend in the region would be a reasonable description."
Goodwill → Support → Dependency

- Guangdong dedicated point of outreach
- Chinese representatives learn local languages, generous with budgets for pet projects and entertainment
- Construction of infrastructure
- Focus government engagement on immigration, customs, security, public enterprises and education ministries
- Loans
- Loosen visa restrictions for Chinese nationals (tied to tourism dollar leverage)
- Casinos (tied to large scale bribery and money laundering)
- Build in strategic locations
- High level visits to China for regional bureaucrats and politicians, often with shopping budgets (i.e. versus ‘humiliating’ process of getting visas for NZ and Australia)
- Scholarships
- Medical support; Peace Ark and more
- Chinese workers rotate but major investors create permanent links with local establishment
- Seeming triple (braided) engagement: commercial, strategic, criminal/corruption.
- Competent statecraft; benefits from lack of attention/misallocation of attention by Western partners.
Commonwealth of Northern Mariana, US territory

- From 2014 Chinese-owned casino came to Saipan (pop. 50,000) with massive investment
- Contributed to public pension fund and Saipan’s utilities company
- Visa free entry for Chinese tourists; leased land; opened ancillary business
- Chinese money reportedly funding favored political candidates, environmental groups and anti-US military groups. Effect to slow US military especially in Tinian and Pagan.
Federated States of Micronesia (Freely Associated to US)

- PRC built Pohnpei State Administrative Building and personal residences of FSM President, Vice President, Speaker and Chief Justice
- Two sons of President of Yap got scholarships to China
- Team of doctors on two year stay in Chuuk
- Many economic linkages to political elite, i.e. employees of Chinese fishing company lived in house owned by FSM Vice President.
China ‘weaponises’ tourism: How Palau may be the model of things to come

CLOSED restaurants. Empty hotel rooms. Idle tour buses. This is what happened when one nation upset China. Could a similar fate befall Australia?

Jamie Seidel, Reuters

News Corp Australia Network • AUGUST 21, 2018 5:50PM
The Third Island Chain
Current metropolitan powers map
Australia and New Zealand eye new Pacific security framework

Closer ties with island neighbors seen as a bulwark against rising China

FUMI MATSUMOTO, Nikkei staff writer
July 13, 2018 09:41 JST

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull and his New Zealand counterpart Jacinda Ardern discussed economic and security issues in a meeting in Sydney in March. © Reuters
‘Security integration’ in Tonga

Since 2006 in a trilateral tied aid deal, Tonga was forced to accept NZ Police Commissioners. Since then, they have:

• targeted specific political class for arrest (4 out of 9 from 2010 Parliament – most subsequently acquitted)

• seized Foreign Affairs database and sent to NZ

• arrested hundreds of Tongans for having a beer with friends (making it hard to get visas out of the country)

• done little to tackle crime in Chinese community. Don’t speak Tongan or Mandarin, and caused distrust that stifled information flows.
PACER Plus - the FTA no one talks about

- “These rules will reduce tariffs and red tape for New Zealand exporters and investors as well as future-proof competitive access for our companies.”
  - NZ Trade Minister Todd McClay

- “PACER Plus seeks to... preserve New Zealand’s position against major competitors from outside of the region in the years to come... Pacific countries will pass the benefits of any future liberalisation and commitments made in Free Trade Agreements concluded with other partners to New Zealand investors and service exporters due to sound most favoured-nation commitments.”
  - Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) Plus, National Interest Analysis, New Zealand Government’s Foreign Affairs and Trade, 6 June 2017

- “The Government is delivering a step-change in our engagement with Pacific island countries. This new approach recognises that more ambitious engagement by Australia, including helping to integrate Pacific countries into the Australian and New Zealand economies and our security institutions.”
  - 2017 Foreign Policy White Paper, Government of Australia

NZ first country to ratify PACER Plus trade deal

New Zealand has become the first country to ratify a Pacific free trade deal.
• Papua New Guinea pulled out saying the deal was in Australia and New Zealand’s favour, a ‘complete waste of time’ and it would ‘kill’ its manufacturing sector.
• Fiji claims it was excluded from the final meeting in part because of its objections over the “very restrictive” third party most favored nation clause (MFN).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Fiji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiribati</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nauru</td>
<td>Cook Islands (FA with NZ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>Federated States of Micronesia (FA with US)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>Marshall Islands (FA with US)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon Islands</td>
<td>Palau (FA with US)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>French Polynesia (France)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuvalu</td>
<td>New Caledonia (France)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu (September 2017)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niue (FA with NZ)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fiji should align itself with 'visionary' China instead of Australia and NZ, says Bainimarama

**AFP**  August 11, 2010 4:46PM

Fiji’s military leader Frank Bainimarama wants to ditch traditional ties with Australia and New Zealand and align his Pacific nation with China.

Speaking to Fijivillage News website during a visit to China, the self-appointed prime minister said China was the one country that understood the reforms he was trying to implement.
France takes new seat in the Pacific

JO MOIR IN Pohnpei
Last updated 12:52, September 11 2016

New Caledonia and Tahiti have been voted in as members of the Pacific Island Forum.
UK to open diplomatic posts in Vanuatu, Tonga and Samoa

10:06 am on 20 April 2018

The United Kingdom is to open new diplomatic posts in Vanuatu, Samoa and Tonga. They are among nine new posts in Commonwealth countries as part of an expansion of the UK’s overseas network announced by the British Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson.

BAE triumphs in £20bn Australia frigate contract

UK defence group beats bids from Italian and Spanish rivals

A computer generated mock-up of BAE’s Type 26 frigate ordered by the Australian navy © BAE Systems Australia

UK push into Pacific to counter China

By SMH - April 22, 2018

British Prime Minister Theresa May led other Commonwealth leaders through Windsor Castle.
At Apec, there’ll be no escaping China’s growing influence in the Pacific

David Dodwell says Papua New Guinea’s hosting of Apec leaders next month, including Xi Jinping, will shine the spotlight on China’s growing footprint in a region that has long been home to the ‘great game’ of geopolitical jockeying.
New Cold War arrives in Papua New Guinea

Australia outpaced China for a deal to develop PNG’s Lombrum naval base, a strategic facility that will bolster Canberra’s power projection in the South Pacific and South China Sea.
Thank you

Xin cảm ơn