



# Great Decisions 2020



Feb 26- Class #7: The Philippines pivot toward China and U.S. relations

## Key questions

- I. What's the history of U.S. – Philippine relationship?
- II. Why is Duterte pivoting to China and thumbing his nose at U.S.?
- III. How to handle this souring relationship?

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Remember your first childhood fascination with a foreign land (other than North Pole)? I do – the Philippines!



# I. History of relationship?

## Profile of the Philippines

107 mil. Total Population

South China Sea

Manila: 13 mil, capital, port, 38% GDP, triple country GDP/capita avg

Clark Air & Subic Bay Naval Bases

91% Christian & 6% Muslim

English & Filipino – official but 120 distinct languages and hundreds of dialects

3 major islands but 7,000 in total

Muslim terrorism

Duterte's base



There's an old joke in the Philippines, embodied the ambivalence in U.S.-Philippine alliance – "Yankee go home ... and take me with you"

# I. History of relationship?

## Economic change of Phillipines vs. China, Japan & S.Korea, 1960-2018

Series Name	Country Name	1960	End Cold War 1990	Begin Great Recession 2008	2018	Average annual change		
						1960-90	1990-2008	2008-18
GDP ( 2010 US\$ bil.)	China	128	828	5,029	10,797	6.4%	10.5%	7.9%
GDP ( 2010 US\$ bil.)	Japan	796	4,704	5,784	6,190	6.1%	1.2%	0.7%
GDP ( 2010 US\$ bil.)	S Korea	24	363	1,021	1,382	9.5%	5.9%	3.1%
<b>GDP ( 2010 US\$ bil.)</b>	<b>Phillippines</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>4.2%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>5.8%</b>
GDP per capita	China	192	729	3,797	7,753	4.5%	9.6%	7.4%
GDP per capita	Japan	8,608	38,074	45,166	48,920	5.1%	1.0%	0.8%
GDP per capita	S Korea	944	8,465	20,804	26,762	7.6%	5.1%	2.6%
<b>GDP per capita</b>	<b>Phillippines</b>	<b>1,059</b>	<b>1,527</b>	<b>2,017</b>	<b>3,022</b>	<b>1.2%</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>4.1%</b>
Population (mil)	China	667	1,135	1,325	1,393	1.8%	0.9%	0.5%
Population (mil)	Japan	93	124	128	127	1.0%	0.2%	-0.1%
Population (mil)	S Korea	25	43	49	52	1.8%	0.8%	0.5%
<b>Population (mil)</b>	<b>Phillippines</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>1.6%</b>

Data from database: World Development Indicators, download 2/10/2020

China soars

Phillippines much smaller GDP

Phillippines – recent rapid progress

Phillippines, in 1960 above all but Japan, but now far behind

Now, Phillippines population almost same as Japan and double S. Korea

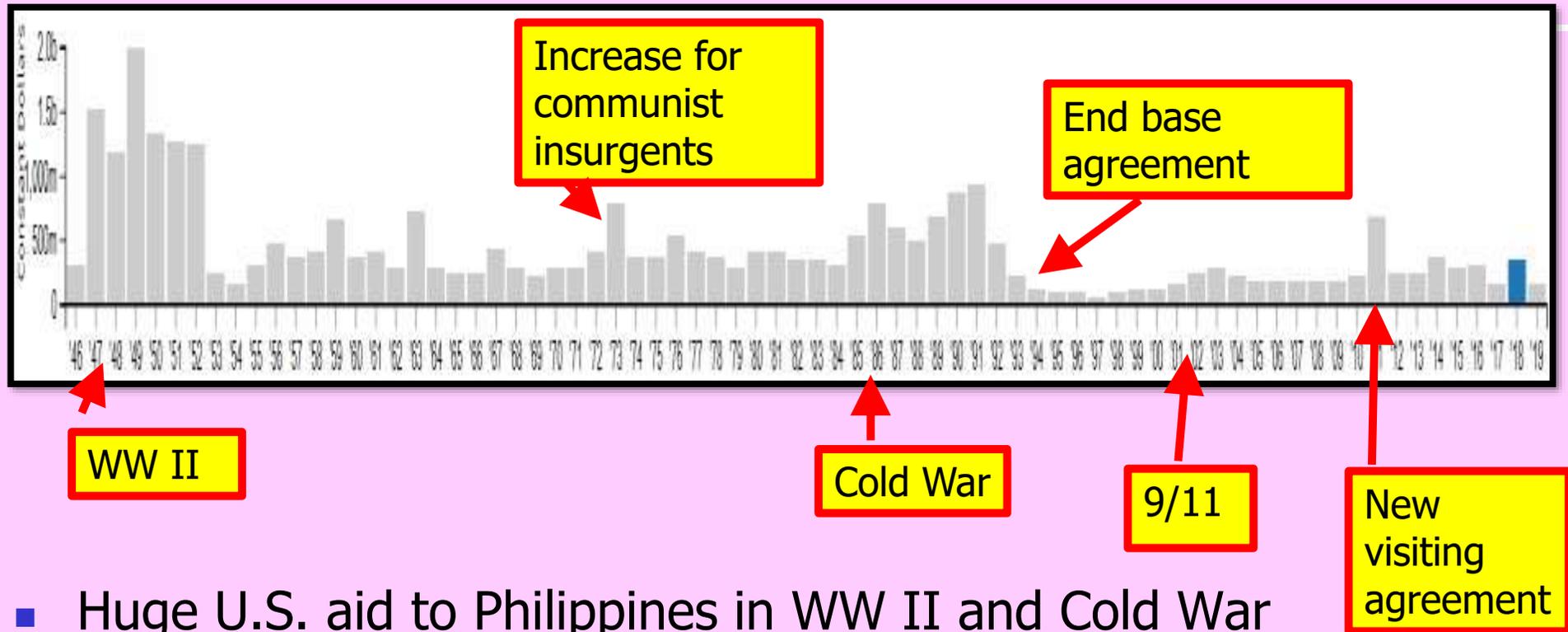
Phillippines, population growth triple others

## Philippines timeline

- 1522: Magellan lands and killed during circumnavigation
- 1542: Spanish claims; names after Philip II
- 1600-1700s: Manila "Pearl of the Orient" trading
- 1898: Spain cedes to U.S. in brief Spanish-American War
- 1899-1902: Philippine-American War, million deaths
- 1944: U.S. and Filipinos retake from Japanese WW II
- 1946: Granted full independence after delay for WW II
- 1951: Mutual Defense Treaty with U.S.
- 1960-70s: Subic Bay Naval and Clark Air Force Bases crucial in Vietnam War and Cold War
- 1991: U.S. Base Agreement ended; U.S. forces leave
- 2016: Duterte elected president, pivots to China
- 2020: Duterte ends 1999 Visiting Forces Agreement

## I. History of relationship?

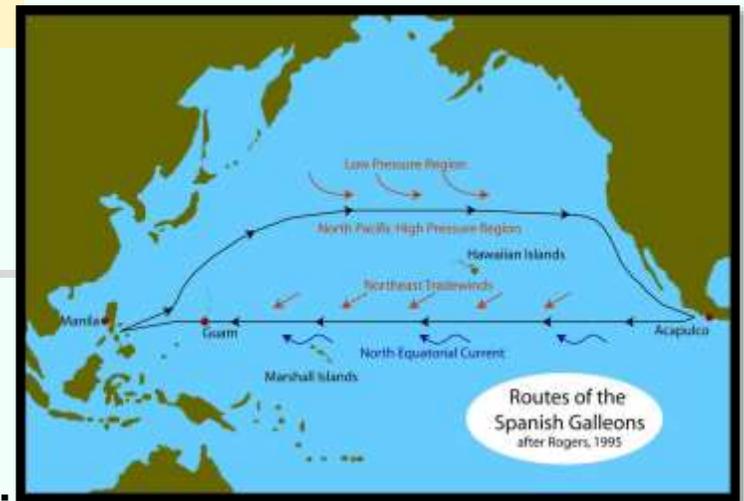
U.S. Foreign Aid to Philippines – totaled \$35 bil. over past 72 years, but big ups and downs



- Huge U.S. aid to Philippines in WW II and Cold War
- Aid declined in 1990s after Cold War and ejected from bases
- Increased to combat terrorism after 9/11
- Big increase after new visiting agreement
- May plummet if 1951 agreement is ended by Duterte



# Manila "Pearl of Orient" - trading post for China & New World



- Reached by Magellan in 1521 during circumnavigation
- Far from Spain, traded from New World - Acapulco
- Never viable independent colony - depended on trade and silver from New World
- Manila - center for East Asian trade where Chinese traded their goods for silver; also traded with Japanese
- Trading was so profitable that Spanish didn't develop other industries and ignored agriculture
- Spaniards thought of Manila as Empire's outpost; but existed only because Chinese and Japanese tolerance



## I. History of relationship?

# Spain ceded to U.S., then civil war and finally post WW II independence

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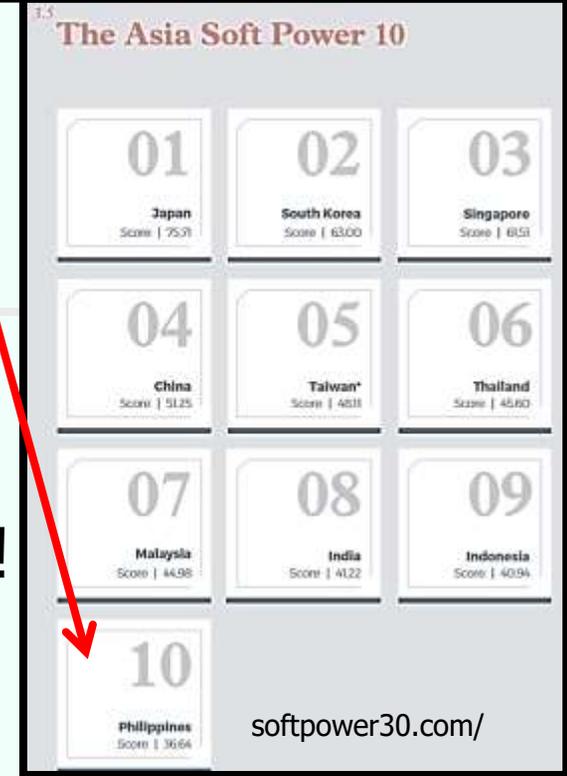
- Treaty of Paris after 10-week Spanish-American War of 1898 ceded Cuba, Puerto Rico, & Philippines to U.S.
- Philippines in war against Spain, then declared war against U.S. in 1899
- Bloody U.S.-Philippine War lasted three years - million Filipinos died, mostly civilians of famine and cholera
- U.S. colonial policy of benevolent assimilation
- 1934 plan provided for 1946 independence
- WW II intervened, but Philippines inaugurated as scheduled on July 4, 1946 fulfilling the 1934 plan



## I. History of relationship?

# Philippine dictatorships and turmoil after WW II

#10 Soft Power



- During 1946-2018, had 15 forced or attempted coups - more than Guatemala!
- Under financial pressure, Pres. Marcos (1965-86) declared martial law 1972
- In 1979 the Military Bases Agreement was renewed with a promise of \$500 million in U.S. aid
- Corazon Aquino's "People's power" (1986-92) revolution overthrew Marcos after he had pocketed \$10 bil.
- Debt burden plus natural disasters and eruption of volcano hurt the economy and U.S. bases



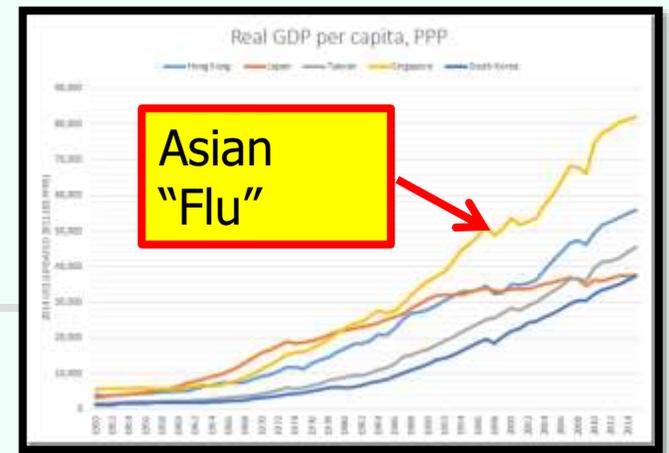
# Military agreements with U.S.

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- U.S. and Philippines signed a Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951 that guided the relationship until 21<sup>st</sup> century
- After fall of Soviet Union, support waned but U.S. kept Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Station
- In 1991 Philippines forced removal of all U.S. forces from Clark and Subic Bay bases
- In 2011, after 9/11 & rise of China, reaffirmed 1951 Treaty
- 2014 Visiting Forces Agreement allows U.S. forces to visit but not establish permanent base (Duterte just terminated)



# Burdened Philippines and U.S. defense agreement



- Asian Tigers (S Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan) boomed in 1990s but hit by Asian financial crisis
- Philippines resilient through Asian crisis and grew very rapidly post 2008 Great Recession
- In 1999, Visiting Forces Agreement was renewed
- Philippines won in 2019 case at The Hague against China's incursions in South China Sea
- Pres. Benigno Aquino III (Corazon's son) in 2014 brokered an enhanced defense agreement with U.S.



## Duterte's brutal populism conquered Philippines



- Duterte, elected president in 2016
- Satisfaction of 80%, controls Congress & Supreme Court
- As Davao's 22-year mayor, ruled like a patriarch; known as murder capital for anti-drug campaign
- Appeals to aspiring middle class who have fared well
- His deal: "I will take care of you but don't ask questions"
- By cozying up to China and thumbing nose at U.S. – Duterte's playing off rivals against one another
- His centerpiece - \$170 billion "Build, Build, Build" public works program, funded mainly by China and Japan



## Current issues besetting U.S.- Philippine relations

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- Duterte's war on drugs has created a human rights crisis – 14,000 drug-related killings by national police
- U.S. didn't stop assistance for human rights violations
- Duterte casts himself as anti-establishment populist & man of action
- Duterte's popularity not because revolt of poor masses, but from new middle class that failed to reap benefits of previous often corrupt administrations



## Relations changed after election of Duterte in 2016

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- Furious at human rights criticisms of his drug campaign, Duterte called Obama “son of a whore”
- Making a pivot to China and distancing from U.S.
- Recently said of 1951 Mutual Defense pact “kill the sob”
- But China contests maritime areas claimed by Philippines
- These Chinese claims challenge freedom of navigation and threaten use of force in region
- Philippines lacks a “blue water” navy and Hague ruling has no enforcement



## Duterte's worrisome pivot gambit to China

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- China invested \$12.4 bil. past decade
- Has galvanized the support for repudiation of U.S.
- His policies toward China may be kowtowing to get Chinese investments and finesse South China Sea
- Diminishing U.S. presence in South China Sea has strained relations, but U.S. still has 74,000 troops deployed in Asian-Pacific
- China challenging U.S. by territorial claims, Belt & Road Initiative, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank



# Duterte ends U.S. military agreement

- Duterte ended Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) of 1999 with U.S. on Feb 11
- Ended due to “disrespectful acts” - U.S. denial of visa and freezing assets of a close ally of Duterte and figurehead of the war on drugs
- Alliance with Philippines has been key part of U.S. strategy in countering Chinese expansionism
- VFA is basis of 1951 military alliance and 300 US-Philippines joint exercises each year
- But, VFA has been a symbol of American imperialism



Source: Rodrigo Duterte terminated a military agreement with U.S. – why it could push Philippines closer to China, February 17, 2020, by Tom Smith, Principal Lecturer in International Relations, University of Portsmouth, From <<http://theconversation.com/rodrigo-duterte-terminated-a-military-agreement-with-us>

### III. How handle this souring relationship?

## China's buildup in South China Sea alarming



- 2016 ruling in Philippine's favor against China's expansion lacks any backing
- Duterte hasn't pursued implementation of Hague agreement, instead dealing with China
- Alternative would be partnering U.S. and ASEAN as a counterbalance to Chinese
- Philippines complains U.S. has a more favorable defense treaty with Japan than with them

# U.S. rim around China



Disputed South China Sea

Malacca Strait choke point

Rim of U.S. Naval Bases & Allies

Philippines major part of rim



# How strategic is Philippines to U.S. now?

## Growing

- Close access to contested South China Sea
- China is major threat
- Democratic friend
- Non-Muslim
- Growing economy
- English-speaking
- Century of close ties
- Post-Duterte likely better
- Duterte's bark may be worse than his bite

## Lessening

- Weak compared to Japan and S Korea
- Duterte unreliable, pivoting to China
- Bases terminated
- 1999 VFA Pact ended
- After Cold War need less
- Political unstable & corrupt
- Poor human rights
- U.S. has longer military projection & hypersonics

## Fight, Switch or Wait?

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- Trump, shrugged off VFA decision – claims have other agreements with Philippines
- Philippines has been key part of U.S. strategy in countering Chinese expansionism
- Filipino military unhappy with VFA termination - think Duterte's cut support and cow-towing to Beijing
- U.S. has options - large bases in Japan and S Korea
- U.S. may wait out Duterte next 2 years



## Breaking with Philippines concedes South China Sea?

- Real source of Duterte's discontent is divergent views of South China Sea. U.S. doesn't want to get dragged into a war with China by reinforcing Philippines claim on Spratly Islands or by intervening in their spats with Chinese fishing fleets. Plus, U.S. has been vague about support of Philippines littoral claims and unwilling to step up military assistance.
- But this strategy gives Philippines little choice but to befriend China. Perceptions of U.S. indifference allow Duterte's arguments to gain public support and seek military help from China and Russia.
- Both sides have valid points. U.S. may be an imperfect ally, but it is Manila's most powerful and least coercive option.
- Loss of Subic Bay in 1992 is still hurting U.S. position in region. Without Philippines, U.S. might be effectively ceding South China Sea to Beijing. More China can dictate terms to regional states like the Philippines, the more likely they are to conclude that their best bet is to throw in with Beijing.



## But, do new weapons mean ships on seas not as important?

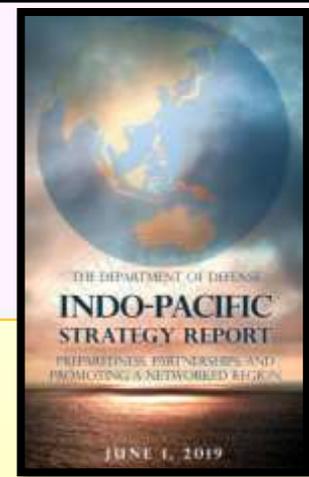
- World is facing a strategic shift in the geopolitics of war ... driven by U.S. change in strategy and hypersonic weapons
- U.S. has abandoned the focus on jihadists and is reshaping forces to confront China and Russia
- China focuses on its ability to use sea lanes to sustain international trade and the threat that U.S. could blockade and cripple it
- Russia focuses on regaining buffer lost in 1991 and threat from west
- Neither a U.S. blockade of China nor U.S. attack of Russia likely
- War in South China Sea, will not be carriers facing carriers; nor will Russia be facing armored brigades from the west
- War will be trying to track and destroy hypersonic missiles
- Victory will depend on command of space

## WHAT IS CHINA'S STRATEGY?



- *China's leaders have benefited from what they view as a "period of strategic opportunity" during the initial two decades of the 21st century to develop domestically and expand China's "comprehensive national power." ...[T]hey are focused on realizing a powerful and prosperous China that is equipped with a "world-class" military, securing China's status as a great power with the aim of emerging as the preeminent power in the Indo-Pacific region. ...*
- *China's advancement of projects such as the "One Belt, One Road" Initiative (OBOR) will probably drive military overseas basing through a perceived need to provide security for OBOR projects. ...*
- *Chinese Communist Party (CCP) seeks to condition ... opinion to accept China's narrative surrounding its priorities like OBOR and South China Sea territorial and maritime claims.*

# Indo-Pacific: Most Consequential & U.S. Defense Priority



- *Indo-Pacific is the single most consequential region for America's future. Spanning ... from the west coast of the United States to the western shores of India, the region is home to the world's most populous state, most populous democracy, and largest Muslim-majority state, and includes over half of the earth's population. Among the 10 largest standing armies in the world, 7 reside in the Indo-Pacific; and 6 countries in the region possess nuclear weapons. Nine of the world's 10 busiest seaports are in the region, and 60 percent of global maritime trade transits through Asia, with roughly one-third of global shipping passing through the South China Sea alone.*
- *MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE: The Indo-Pacific is the Department of Defense's priority theater. ... China ... seeks to reorder the region to its advantage by leveraging military modernization, influence operations, and predatory economics to coerce other nations. ... We will not accept policies or actions that threaten or undermine the rules-based international order....*



# Philippines pivot toward China & U.S. relations

## Summary & Conclusions

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- I. What's the history of U.S. – Philippine relationship?
  - From colony to WW II partner, to host of military bases, Cold War cooperation, recipient of billions of assistance, strained base closing, to end of VFA
- II. Why is Duterte pivoting to China and thumbing his nose at U.S.?
  - U.S. was colonizer, complains about human rights, cuts better deals with Japan, weakening presence in region, doesn't adequately support Philippine claims against China, tactic to get better deal...
- III. How to handle this souring relationship?
  - Declining reliability now, future cooperation would bolster U.S. but may have to mollify or wait until after Duterte



# The Philippines and the U.S.

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- From colonial rule, to Commonwealth, and finally ally, the relationship of U.S. and Philippines is enduring but quixotic
- Relationship is over a century with many ties despite the distance
- Both addressed the communist threat during Cold War
- Relationship became close during the Reagan era and the rise of authoritarianism in Philippines during late 1970s
- U.S. transferred military support to the Philippines during the 1990s
- Early this century there was mutual support against the war on terrorism



# Relations changed after election of Duterte in 2016

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- He changed Philippine politics and sparked populism
- He promised to address social issues like corruption and drug addiction
- He railed against Pres. Obama
- He made a pivot to China and distanced from U.S.
- But China has tried to claim maritime areas claimed by the Philippines
- These Chinese claims challenged the freedom of navigation and have threatened the use of force in the region



# A complicated history

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- Treaty of Paris of 1898 ceded Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Philippines to U.S.
- For Philippines, Spain was paid \$20 million
- Due to insult of not inviting their representative to Treaty of Paris, Philippines declared war against U.S. in 1899
- U.S.-Philippine war lasted three years
- U.S. pursued a policy of benevolent assimilation:
  - Introduction of public education
  - Competent civil service
  - And replacement of Spanish guard with a Philippine force



# U.S. colonial policy

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- Pres. Teddy Roosevelt officially ended the Philippine insurrection in 1902
- A land distribution reform failed and only perpetuated ownership of the American and Filipino business class
- New taxes remained as burdensome as the Spanish
- Government was set up like the U.S.
- Pres. Wilson sought immediate democratization
- In 1934, legislation was passed which would provide the Philippines decades to prepare for a 1946 independence
- And a new president was inaugurated in 1935



# Japanese attacks in World War II

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- Japan launched air raids on Taiwan, Pearl Harbor, and the Philippines on December 7, 1941
- This triggered U.S. entering WW II
- Japan declared Philippine independence in 1943 and installed a new government
- General MacArthur landed in the Philippines on October 20, 1944 and eventually liberated from Japan
- The Republic of Philippines was inaugurated as scheduled on July 4, 1946 fulfilling the decade-old plan
- Agreements were reached with U.S. for military bases



# Fighting communism during Cold War

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- After WW II, communist elements arose in Philippines and rest of Southeast Asia
- U.S. and Philippines signed a Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951 that guided the relationship until 21<sup>st</sup> century
- U.S. provided support against communist insurgencies
- Relations were strained when U.S. rejected in 1962 the Philippines war damage claims
- In 1960s, Philippine economy was troubled and could not finance its debt repayments
- World Bank replaced U.S. aid and provided massive assistance from 1970 to 1982



# Marcos declares martial law

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- To meet the various requirements of international financial institutions, Pres. Marcos declared martial law Sep 1972
- A year later, he obtained increased U.S. military support that rose from \$18.5 million to \$45.3 million in 1973
- Marcos was suspected of exaggerating communist and Muslim insurgencies to boost U.S. assistance
- In 1979 the Military Bases Agreement was renewed with a promise of \$500 million in U.S. aid
- The communist threat, during the Cold War dominated U.S. Philippine relations



# Burdened Philippines and broken agreement

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- Corazon Aquino's "People's power" revolution overthrew Marcos dictatorship
- U.S. continued its military and security commitments
- Philippines was burdened with domestic debt payments of 40 to 50% of the budget
- Natural disasters and earthquake and the eruption of a volcano also hurt the economy
- The Military Bases Agreement was not renewed by Philippines in 1991 and the bilateral relations hit an all-time low



# The East Asian miracle

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- Market economies of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand boomed in early 1990s but then got hit by the Asian financial crisis
- The Philippines was resilient throughout the crisis
- In 1999, Visiting Forces Agreement(VFA) was signed
- In 2013, Philippines filed a case in International Court at the Hague against China's incursions in South China Sea
- Pres. Aquino intensified closer relations with U.S. and in 2014 brokered and enhanced defense agreement



# War on drugs and human rights violations besetting U.S.-Philippine relations

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- Duterte's war on drugs has created a human rights crisis
- By 2017, 9,000 drug-related killings by the national police and perhaps even 14,000
- U.S. could have stopped foreign assistance because of gross human rights violations, but chose not to
- Paradoxically, Duterte's high approval remains despite drug killings as he casts himself as an anti-establishment populist and man of action
- Duterte's popularity was not because revolt of poor masses, but rather a protest of new middle class that it failed to reap the benefits of the previous administration



# Duterte's pivot to China and Russia

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- Duterte trumpets the historical atrocities committed by U.S. in the Philippines
- Duterte positions this as a postcolonial repudiation of U.S. to liberate Philippines from its status of a neocolonial ward
- Duterte has galvanized support for his foreign policy as a postcolonial repudiation of America
- His policies toward China are viewed as appeasement and is straining relations with U.S.
- Yet, U.S. remains prime guarantor of security in region



# Withdrawal from International Criminal Court (ICC)

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- International community objected to Duterte's murderous drug war and decline in human rights
- Philippines withdrew from the ICC –(U.S. is not a party to it)
- Diminishing U.S. presence in South China Sea has upset the Philippines and strained relations, but U.S. still has 74,000 troops deployed in Asian-Pacific
- China has expanded its presence with territorial claims and its Belt and Road Initiative and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) which challenges Western Institutions



# Philippines questions U.S. defense support commitment

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- Philippines also complains that the U.S. has a more favorable defense treaty with Japan than with them
- The Philippines concerns have been somewhat mollified when U.S. Secretary of State Pompeo assured them that any armed attack in West Philippine Sea would trigger U.S. defense agreements



# Policy options

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- Despite China's rise, U.S. still remains the Philippines most credible and trustworthy security partner
- Duterte has shaken this relationship and serves as the single most important factor in it
- The challenge is for U.S. to build goodwill in Philippines and to maintain comprehensive defense cooperation in the region
- China's buildup in West Philippine Sea alarms the Philippines and U.S.
- Duterte has inherited the success of the 2016 ruling in its favor against China expansion in the South China Sea
- But there's no measures backing the ruling



# Partnering more with ASEAN

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- Duterte has not pursued the implementation of the agreement but is instead chosen to deal with China through verbal agreements
- Another approach is partnering more with ASEAN as a counterbalance to Chinese territorial aggression
- ASEAN nations are within China's sphere of influence
- They have been outspoken in criticizing North Korea's missile testing
- One strategy would be to ASEAN for pooling security capacity



# The will of the people-Duterte's Philippines

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- Voters in Philippines, fed up with a stagnant political system, opted for an unconventional candidate who has bragged about killing addicts and raping captives
- The video examines President Duterte's bloody crackdown on drug crime and investigates how he has upended politics as usual throughout Southeast Asia
- After four years Duterte is more popular than ever
- He has a tough guy image and is often underestimated and has a notorious reputation and viewed as a character
- He was made popular for his role as a mayor in making his city clean and safe and restoring law and order



# Duterte's winning the president

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- In 2016 he pledged to bring his controversial tough methods to the entire country
- He won 39% of the vote
- People were tired of the wealthy elite and two of his well-known opponents split the vote
- People were tired of crime and traffic, corruption and a government that favored the entrenched elites of “Manilla imperialism”
- They were also frustrated with democracy and with relations with U.S. - their former colonial power



# Frustrated with relations with U.S.

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- People were also frustrated with democracy and with relations with U.S. - their former colonial power
- U.S. was their former colonial power and fought them in a war
- U.S. gave them independence but retained some sensitive and critical vital territory as military bases
- When bases came up for renewal in 1990s, U.S. had to withdraw



# Duterte's crackdown

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- 5,000 or perhaps double that have died in the crackdown since Duterte came to office
- In his blunt talk, he called Obama a “son of a whore;” and hearing that Obama canceled the meeting
- He said that because of U.S. criticism of his violation of human rights
- Duterte has been able to convince the people that the drugs was an existential problem



# Duterte and Muslim Separatists in South

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- He has confronted the Islamic rebels in Mindanao in the south
- Many Muslim separatist groups thought they should be independent – and be part of Indonesia or Malaysia
- Duterte has given them some autonomy
- Although some communists and leftists supported his election, he has turned against them
- Some say Philippines is not likely to turn socialist



# Duterte flaunts democratic norms

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- He flaunts democratic norms – is especially hostile to journalists
- He says it's not a crime to accept gifts – it's just an Asian custom of thanking good governance
- But there has been some reforms - in 2018 3 police officers were convicted of killing drug gangs, but their bosses and higher ups were not punished
- Though 2,000 to 3,000 have been removed from the police force in a clean-up process
- He does pledge clean elections



# Foreign policy – Balancing U.S. and China

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- The challenge is how to balance the U.S. and China - two important powers to the Philippines
- Philippines feel that they should deal independently with the world on a broader basis including China and Russia and not just U.S.
- Philippines are eager to reduce their dependence on U.S.
- On October 20, 2016, while in China Duterte announced “separation from U.S.”
- His friendliness to China has been rewarded by China pledges of financing, but little has yet been forthcoming



# Philippines – one of fastest growing countries

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- The Philippines is second fastest growing country in Asia
- It is been one of fastest growing in the world as agricultural workers shift toward manufacturing and service jobs
- The underlying demographics are favorable



# Duterte's goal: Build, Build, Build

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- His aim is to attract \$178 billion infrastructure program
- Critical need is to reduce traffic congestion-many in Manila spend a three-hour commute each way
- Some are frustrated by lack of relief of congestion
- China so far has not been very forthcoming with funding
- China wants to see how the Philippines supports other policies of China
- But Duterte's programs haven't helped so far, and he does not have any major infrastructure programs underway at present



# The Philippines and China

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- Despite the friendship with China, China still presses on in the South China Sea
- Philippines won a claim at the world court, but they have no blue-water Navy that can stand up to China and enforce the court
- Duterte is not confronting China and is doing more with personal diplomacy
- China has turned what Obama Administration called “just rocks” in South China Sea into military bases
- U.S. has not gotten involved, so the Philippines decided to talk directly to China



# Will Duterte stand-up to China?

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- In July 2019 - a Chinese ship rammed a Philippine fishing boat and left 22 clinging for their lives until rescued
- Duterte didn't strongly object or make it an issue, giving the impression that he wouldn't stand up against China
- But he did later get compensation from China for the incident



# Duterte remains popular and powerful

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- In May 2019 Duterte's allies won in elections and strengthened his hold on government
- His popularity in 2019 was 80% and seems to be genuine
- He talks about his daughters succeeding him
- In the Philippines, politics is more based on family than on political party



# U.S. policy dilemma

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- Some argue U.S. should cut back on military aid due to the Philippines human rights violations
- Others argue that this will drive China deeper into China's hands and that cutbacks would be counterproductive
- Still others say we are treaty allies and argue that Philippines cooperation is doing U.S. a favor
- Duterte is part of a cohort of new brand of populist politics around the world that is tapping into reservoirs of frustration and openly critical of the establishment
- The question is: How long will Duterte's unorthodox politics reign?

