Confidence Building Measures – Prospects for going forward in the South China Sea

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Current Situation

- Generally tensions have increased in the SCS over past 1- 2 years
- Incidents occurring regularly between vessels of claimant countries
- Fortunately no escalation so far
- But risks of an unfortunate incident and escalation may be increasing

Action required at 2 levels:

- Moves towards a more cooperative approach to managing the sea and its resources.
- Development of operational maritime confidence and security building measures (MCSBMs)

Need for Effective Cooperative Regimes

- Obligation to cooperate in UNCLOS Part IX and DOC
- Shipping Traffic increasing
- Resources pressures (living and nonliving)
- Environmental degradation
- Avoiding a "tragedy of the commons"

DOC Cooperative Activities

- marine environmental protection;
- marine scientific research;
- safety of navigation and communication at sea;
- search and rescue operations; and
- combating national crime, including, but not limited to, trafficking in illegal drugs, piracy and armed robbery at sea, and illegal traffic in arms.

Cooperation and effective regimes lacking due to:

- Sovereignty Disputes (no agreement within ASEAN)
- Lack of Agreed maritime boundaries
- Commitment to sovereignty
- Search for "fences in the sea"
- Regional geography
- Lack of support for relevant international regimes (i.e. SAR, SUA)
- Lack of capacity in some bordering countries

Why are straight line maritime boundaries impossible to achieve?

- Sovereignty Disputes
- Excessive territorial sea straight baselines
- Geography several bordering states
- No areas of high seas (and certainly no "international waters")
- Multiple tri-points required requiring trilateral (or even multi-lateral) agreement
- Determining which features qualify as "islands" generating a full set of maritime zones

Guidelines for developing a Code of Conduct

- "5. Initial activities to be undertaken under the ambit of the DOC should be confidence-building measures."
- Note no mention of cooperation putting CBMs first
- But cooperation has always been regarded as a CBM

KEY QUESTION

 Have the "means" (i.e. the Code of Conduct and dispute resolution) become more important than the "ends' (i.e. effective management of the SCS and its resources)?

Resolving the Disputes

- Sovereignty disputes cannot be resolved on a multilateral basis
- ASEAN cannot take a position on the sovereignty disputes with China – any agreement possible within ASEAN?
- Resolution of sovereignty disputes (and maritime boundaries) a matter of politics not of the law

CBMs

- Resolving different views of rights and duties in an EEZ
- Incident at Sea Agreements probably unlikely to be effective?
- Submarine proliferation measures required to reduce risks of submarine incidents and enhance safety
- Demilitarising the South China Sea use of coast guards

CONCLUSIONS

- First priority should be work towards a cooperative management regime.
- Changed Mindsets common interests rather than self-interest
- A more robust regional Track 1 organization required to have oversight of cooperation.
- Operational MCSBMs are another priority.