

U.S. Military Bases

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PHILIPPINE - UNITED STATES BILATERAL SECURITY AGREEMENT

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June 1983

Foreword

The Philippines and the United States of America have a long history of political, cultural, economic and security relationships.

These relationships have been enshrined in formal international covenants and bilateral agreements many of which date back to the years immediately after the end of World War II.

The imperatives of change in the modern world however have necessitated the amendment of some of these existing treaties and agreements to suit the contemporary requirements of each country. One such agreement concerns U. S. armed forces facilities in Philippine bases.

On the last week of April 1983, representatives of the two countries are to meet in Manila to review some provisions in the military bases agreement of the two nations.

This primer and other information materials were prepared to help provide a better understanding of the issues and topics to be discussed in the review.

FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE IMPORTANT CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE:

On March 14, 1947, the Military Bases Agreement was signed, granting the U. S. "right to retain the use," free of rent, of 16 bases in the Philippines, including a number of cemeteries and historical sites, for a period of 99 years.

Two weeks later, on March 27, 1947, the military bases agreement was signed, enabling the Philippines to "obtain from the U. S. its assistance in the training and development of its armed forces, the procurement of military equipment and supplies and the creation of the joint R.P. - U.S. military advisory group tasked to oversee the implementation of the agreement."

On August 30, 1951 the mutual defense treaty was signed, which recognized that "an armed attack in the Pacific . . . on either side of the parties . . . is dangerous and it would act to defend the other . . . in accordance with its constitutional processes."

A related agreement signed on Sept. 8, 1954 was the Southeast Asia Defense Treaty which similarly recognized "that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the parties or against any state or territory. . . would endanger. . . peace and safety and . . . in that event, will act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes."

As early as July 3, 1956, there was already an agreement in the Magasaysay-Nixon Statement to hold formal negotiations on military bases. The U. S. reaffirmed that it had always recognized Philippine sovereignty over the bases and transferred all title claims including some areas no longer needed, to the Philippines. In turn, the Philippines would lease additional lands as deemed necessary by both governments.

In April 1957, the Manglapus-Smith Agreement provided for the Philippine flag to be flown alongside the American flag in the bases beginning May 4, 1957, the establishment of a Philippine-U.S. Mutual Defense Board on May 15, 1958 and of a military liaison office in each major base, and the return to the Philippines of the Manila Air Station effective Jan. 27, 1958.

A review of these landmark amendments shows that the greatest progress in asserting Philippine sovereignty over the bases was made under the incumbency of President Marcos.

During President Marcos' first term, the Ramos-Rusk Amendment was signed, reducing the lease for the bases from the original 99 years to just 25 years after 1966. Instead of the lease ending in 2046, it would end in 1991.

The meeting between Foreign Minister Romulo and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in April 1976 signaled the start of formal re-negotiations on the military bases agreement. The two scheduled the talks to begin that June in Manila.

The series of talks on the bases were stalled by a change of administration in the U. S. But in February 1978, the talks resumed.

On May 4, 1978, the Marcos-Mondale joint statement expressed the guiding

principles for the negotiations, including a U. S. reaffirmation of Philippine sovereignty over the bases, and provided for a mandatory review of the agreement every five years.

Finally, on Jan. 7, 1979, the Philippines and the U. S. signed substantive amendments to the bases agreement of 1947 and the U. S. promised to give the Philippines \$500 million in military and economic assistance over five years.

It might be pertinent to recall that the Philippine - U.S. security relations revolve around three basic agreements signed within five years of Philippine independence: the Military Bases Agreement in 1947, the Military Assistance Agreement also in 1947 (later superseded by the Mutual Defense Assistance of 1958), and the Mutual Defense Treaty in 1951.

DEFENSE TREATY IN 1951

Over the years, these agreements went through a series of revisions reflecting the changes in the relations between the two countries and their adjustment to shifts on the domestic and international scenes.

FROM "AMERICAN" TO "PHILIPPINE" BASES

The Philippine bases called Clark and Subic have been, by their sheer size and impact on the community, the focal point of Philippine - United States security relations for the past 36 years.

Rising from the ruins of the last war, the bases have had a long history of alternating calm and turbulence popularity and notoriety.

They typify the love - hate relationship that seems to have grown between the Philippines and the U. S.

Despite the violence of the Philippine - American War at the turn of the century, the Filipinos became eager students of American - style democracy when the archipelago became a real United States colony.

It was, on the surface, a benign tutelage, with the Americans setting up the Philippine public school system and giving the Filipinos ample experience in the art of self-govern-

ment until they became "ready" for independence.

So thorough was the American influence over the Filipinos that for several decades after Philippine independence in 1946, the Americans still held sway over the country's economic and cultural life.

In the bases and other military arrangements between the two countries, it was clear that the U. S. had made the Philippines dependent on her for its security and defense capabilities.

The formal agreement establishing the bases were virtually forced by the Americans on the Filipinos as conditions for the grant of independence. It took the Filipinos over three decades to transform the essentially colonial terms of the agreement into something more acceptable to the Philippines.

Still, the Filipinos won each liberating amendment piece by piece from the Americans.

On Aug. 14, 1959, the Bohlen-Serrano Memorandum of Agreement provided for the return by the U. S. to the Philippines of 17 bases, covering a total area of 117,075 hectares. An amendment on Oct. 12, 1959 provided for prior consultation with the Philippine government for the operational use of the treaty bases for military combat operations other than those conducted in accordance with the R.P. - U.S. Defense Treaty and SEATO, including the setting up of long-range missiles (IRBM and ICBM).

On Aug. 10, 1965, the Mendez-Blair Exchange of Notes provided for U.S. renunciation of exclusive jurisdiction over on-base offenses. Two exceptions to R.P.'s primary jurisdiction were: (A) "offenses solely against the property or security of the United States or offenses solely against the person or property of a member of the United State armed forces or civilian component or of a dependent and, (B) offenses arising out of an act or omission done in the performance of official duty."

On Sept. 16, 1966, the Ramos-Rusk agreement reduced the lease of the bases from 99 years from 1947 to 25 years from 1966.

On Aug. 31, 1971, an exchange of notes provided for the giving up by the U. S. of its right to the use of Sangley Point.

On Dec. 7, 1975, the Marcos-Ford Joint Communique reaffirmed that the alliance between the Philippines and the U. S. was intended to preserve the independence and promote the welfare of their two peoples and was therefore not directed against any country and that negotiations for U. S. use of Philippine bases will be conducted in clear recognition of Philippine sovereignty.

In April 1976, the start of formal negotiations on the military bases were agreed upon between Gen. Carlos P. Romulo and Dr. Henry Kissinger, who agreed on the naming of the members of the respective panels to begin talks in June in Manila. Later, negotiations were held in Baguio and Manila which ended in the identification of unresolved issues.

In February 1978, negotiations resumed after a suspension due to a change in administration in the U. S. with Ambassador Newsom agreeing to the Philippine position for U. S. forces to return certain base areas and for the reduction of the areas occupied by U. S. facilities.

In May 4, 1978, the Marcos-Mondale Joint Statement expressed the guiding principles concerning the negotiations on the MBA:

- A. U. S. reaffirmation of Philippine sovereignty over bases.
- B. Bases shall be under the command of a Philippine base commander.
- C. U. S. should be assured of unhampered military operations and control over U. S. personnel, employees, and facilities for use within the bases, and
- D. Review every five years.

In June 1978, negotiations on operational arrangements were held by military representatives of both governments. Finally, on Jan. 7, 1979, specific amendments to the MBA were agreed upon by the Philippine and U. S. governments with the following provisions:

- A. Reaffirmation by the U. S. of Philippine sovereignty over the bases.

- B. Placing of each base under the command of a Philippine base commander,

- C. Reduction of the area of each base to be used by U. S.,

- D. Assurance by the Philippine government of effective U. S. command and control over U. S. personnel, equipment, facilities and operations involving its own forces,

- E. Assumption by AFP personnel of responsibility for perimeter security at each base, and

- F. Review by both governments of the agreement every five year.

The U. S. Chief Executive offered to make his best effort to obtain, during the next five fiscal years, appropriations for the Philippines of the following specific amounts of security assistance:

Military assistance	\$50 million
Foreign military sales credit	\$250 million
Security supporting assistance	\$200 million

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WHAT IS THE MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT?

After the Second World War, Philippine - U. S. bilateral security relations were governed by three basic agreements: The Military Bases Agreement (MBA) of 1947, the Military Assistance Agreement (MAA), and the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT), which entered into force four years after the M. B. A.

The M. B. A. was intended to be the concrete expression of the desire of the Filipinos and Americans to cooperate in the common defense of their territories, based on the mutuality of their security interests.

Under the agreement, the Philippines granted 16 areas of the public domain for use by the U. S. Armed forces for 99 years. The areas in which U. S. armed forces operate have now been reduced in size. The duration of U. S. operation in the bases now denominated as Philippine bases has been reduced to 25 years from 1966 or until 1991.

Affirming the importance of the U. S.

bases in the Philippines in the containment of potential threats in East Asia and the Pacific, the U. S. agreed to assist the Philippines in developing an effective armed forces through the Military Assistance Agreement.

Under the Mutual Defense Treaty, the duration of which is indefinite unless mutually renounced, the Philippines and the U. S. agreed, by self-help and mutual aid, to maintain their individual and collective capacity to resist external armed attack, to consult in case of common danger, in accordance with their respective constitutional processes, in the event of an armed attack on the metropolitan territories of either party or on islands under its jurisdiction in the Pacific or on its armed forces, public vessels or aircraft in the Pacific.

THE ROMULO-MURPHY EXCHANGE OF NOTES FORMALIZED THE FOLLOWING REVISIONS TO THE MBA ON JANUARY 7, 1979:

1. The Philippine flag would fly alone over the bases. The bases will be under Filipino commanders, the American commander would display the U. S. flag inside the premises of his office.
2. The Clark Air Force Base area will be reduced from 53,036 hectares to 4,517 hectares; Subic from 14,890 hectares to 6,303 hectares, with a water area remaining at 9,523 Hectares.
3. Responsibility for the bases perimeter defense would be in the hands of Filipino security forces. Internal security would be handled by American forces.
4. The U. S. will have unhampered operations in the bases.
5. Automatic review of the agreement every five years which means in 1984 and 1989 before the M. B. A. expires in 1991.
6. A security assistance package consisting of grants, foreign military sales credits (FMSC) and economic support funds (ESF) totalling \$500 million for the period 1979 - 1984.

WHAT ARE THE U. S. MILITARY FACILITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES?

The U. S. facilities, mainly at Clark and Subic, are the largest military installations outside the U. S. mainland.

Originally, the facilities covered 27 sites totalling some 250,000 hectares scattered in 13 provinces. Previous negotiations resulted in drastic reductions of the size of the areas covered. In 1959, the U. S. relinquished 17 sites with a total area of 117,075 hectares. In 1976, the U.S. was using seven distinct reservations with a total area of 71,000 hectares. In 1979, the area covered by U. S. facilities at Clark was reduced from 53,036 to 4,517 hectares and at Subic from 14,890 to 6,303 hectares.

Aside from Clark and Subic, the U. S. facilities are located in Zambales, Bataan, La Union, and Tarlac.

Last year, there were more than 14,500 U. S. personnel stationed at the U. S. facilities. Working with them were more than 20,000 direct-hire Filipinos.

The Subic Naval base complex, located 120 kilometers west of Manila, includes the naval station, (Port Olongapo) the naval air station (Cubi Point), and the naval Magazine

The Naval station facilities include: POL (Petroleum, Oil, Lubricants) storage capacity of approximately 110 million gallons; four floating drydocks with sufficient capacity to allow the drydocking of all major combatants except for facilities and craft; potable water supply enough to service the entire 7th Fleet, a power generating plant with a maximum capacity of 50 megawatts of electricity; complete range of military personnel support facilities ashore; the largest U. S. public works contingent west of Hawaii, with a motorpool division reportedly the biggest in the world; extensive combat training area including bombing ranges. The Subic Naval Shipyard is the U. S.'s largest overseas.

The Cubi Naval Air Station facilities include: POL storage capacity of 1,68 million gallons, a modern runway which can easily land a Boeing-747 jumbo jet, apron parking for planes from an aircraft carrier while using only 48 percent of the available space (leaving enough room for other aircraft using the facility), aircraft piers adjacent to the aircraft taxiways, and 200,000 cubic feet of ammunition storage space.

The naval magazine include: ammunition storage space of 3.8 million cubic

feet in nine buildings, an ammunition wharf that can accommodate all major combatants including aircraft carriers.

Through the naval communications station in San Miguel (equipped with a satellite tracking facility); the U. S. facility commander at Subic Naval Base can easily link with the rest of the American defense communications system, enabling him to reach any ship, embassy or facility throughout the world. Located at Cubi Point is an anti-submarine warfare communications detachment which provides various types of classified and unclassified communications to certain aircraft operating in and around the Philippines.

Clark Air Base, located 110 kilometers northwest of Manila, in Pampanga province, is the largest military installation in the whole of Asia. Its assets include: runways for the operation of any aircraft in the U.S. air force or naval inventory; an enormous 590,000 square yards of apron parking, POL capacity of 25 million gallons which is approximately equal to the capacity of New York's Kennedy International Airport, approximately 200,000 square feet of ammunition storage space located in 34 "igloos" and a large bombing-practice range.

Clark Air Base is home for the U. S. 13th Air Force.

WHO HAS SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE BASES?

As settled by the 1979 amendments to the military bases agreement, the subject bases are Philippine bases over which the Philippines is sovereign.

It is not correct to refer to Clark and Subic as American bases. They are Philippine bases, portions of which are used by the U. S. under the terms of the agreement, as amended. The American presence refers to U. S. facilities operating on Philippine bases.

WHY IS THE MILITARY BASES AGREEMENT BEING REVIEWED THIS MONTH?

The January 1979 amendments to the bases agreement calls for an automatic review of the agreement every five years--that is, 1984 and 1989 -- before it expires in 1991.

During the state visit of President Ferdinand E. Marcos to the United States last September 1982, both he and President Reagan decided to begin the review of the agreement this year.

The 1979 amendments provide:

"In every fifth anniversary year from the date of this modification and until the termination of the Military Bases agreement there shall be begun and completed a complete and thorough review and reassessment of the agreement including its objectives, its provisions, its duration, and the manner of implementation to assure that the agreement continue to serve the mutual interest of both parties."

IS THE PHILIPPINES ASKING FOR AID IN RETURN FOR ALLOWING THE OPERATION OF U. S. FACILITIES HERE?

During the last 36 years, the U. S. facilities have occupied an extensive area of prime agricultural land, fishing grounds and forest resources. The Philippines, in asserting its sovereignty over these areas, has asked that rental or just compensation be paid for their use by the U. S. facilities. The U. S. has, however, refused to call the consideration "rental" but as assistance extended to an ally.

On the question of base rentals, President Marcos has said the government is not thinking in terms of "quantitative amounts but in terms of requirements for a specific purpose -- defense."

President Marcos said the forthcoming review of the military bases agreement will be kept on a very high plane so that "if at all, there should be any disagreement, it should be on principle, not money or amounts or quantities of funds which would be demeaning to both governments."

As a result of the negotiations leading to the amendments of the M. B. A. in 1979 President Carter pledged the U. S. Chief Executive's best effort to secure the appropriation of 500 million over a five-year period in consideration of the use of Philippine bases by the U. S.

The compensation has been earmarked by the Philippine Government for various socio-economic projects benefiting not only the communities around the bases but other

areas in the Philippines and maintenance of peace and order through the modernization of the armed forces.

The amount of military assistance the Philippines has received from the U. S. is relatively small despite her being a strategically - located ally which gives the U. S. unhampered use and control of the bases. Following is a set of data for 1980:

U. S. Military Assistance, FY1980, in 1980: (in million dollars)

Israel	\$1,000.0
Turkey	208.2
Greece	147.5
South Korea	130.6
Spain	125.9
Jordan	79.3
Philippines	75.5
Thailand	37.3
Indonesia	33.1
Portugal	31.9

Another comparison of compensation package for the period 1979-1984 shows the size of the assistance given to the Philippines as compared with those received by Spain, Greece and Turkey.

Comparison of compensation packages of facilities or base agreements between the U. S. and Spain, Turkey, Greece, and the Philippines, (in \$ millions):

AGREEMENT	YEAR	MILITARY		ECON. ASSIST
		GRANTS	LOANS	
U. S.-Spain	Jan.76	135	1,050	35
U. S.-Turkey	Mid-76	200	(breakdown n/kno.)	
U. S.-Greece	Mid-76	(breakdown not known)		
U. S.-Phil.	Jan.76	50	250	200
TOTAL (BILLIONS)				
U. S.-Spain		1.22	(For 5 yrs)	
U. S.-Turkey		1.00	(For 4 yrs)	
U. S.-Greece		0.7	(For 4 yrs)	
U. S.-Phil.		0.5	(For 5 yrs)	

ARE THERE LIMITATIONS ON THE U. S. USE OF THE PHILIPPINE BASES?

As provided by the 1979 amendments, the U. S. has been assured "unhampered military operations" but these should be consistent with the rights and obligations provided in the 1947 agreement.

The Serrano-Bohlen Memorandum of agreement of 1959 requires prior consultations before the U.S. can use the bases for combat operations or install long and intermediate-range ballistic missiles at the bases.

Critics have pointed out that in U. S. relations with other countries, consultation has meant on some occasions merely notification and have pressed for outright prohibition of nuclear weapons.

To be sure that such agreements limiting the use of the bases are observed, there is a need to institute a system by which the Philippines may monitor activities at the bases.

DOES THE FILIPINO BASE COMMANDER EXERCISE AUTHORITY OVER THE U. S. FACILITIES?

Under the 1979 amendments to the military bases agreement, the bases, being Philippine military bases, were placed under the command of a Filipino base commander.

The base commander formulates and issues plans, policies and implementing directives concerning security, administration, maintenance of order and related matters applicable throughout the base. However, on matters affecting the U. S. facility, U. S. military personnel, civilian personnel in the employ of the U. S. forces, their dependents, operations of U. S. forces, or U. S. equipment or material, such plans, policies and implementing directives are subject to agreement by U. S. commanders. The U. S. commanders shall likewise, issue plans, policies and implementing directives to U. S. forces, to civilian personnel in the employ of United States forces, and to their dependents.

The base commander is responsible for the overall security of the base. The U. S. commanders may participate in security activities within the base but outside the U. S. facility and off the base in accordance with mutually agreed procedures the base commanders and the U. S. commanders shall contribute security forces to carry out the agreed security plans.

Since his designation in 1979, the Filipino base commander has concluded agreements with the U. S. commanders in matters relating to customs, immigration

and quarantine, criminal jurisdiction, and the operation of Philippine agencies within the U. S. facilities, especially in revenue collection and taxation. But many more remain to be concluded. Various Philippine proposals await the reaction of the facilities commanders.

HOW ARE DISPUTES RESOLVED BETWEEN U. S. OFFICIALS AND FILIPINO WORKERS AT THE U.S. FACILITIES ?

Labor and management relations at the U. S. facilities are covered by the RP - US bases labor agreement signed in 1968. In cases of dispute, there is an arbitration board composed of U. S. and Philippine officials, Philippine courts or U. S. military authorities. Meanwhile, the U. S. personnel involved is placed under legal hold and remains in the custody of the U. S. commanders who see to it that he does not leave the country while the ruling on jurisdiction is awaited.

Frequent points of contention include the definition of "official duty" and coverage between Philippine jurisdiction of so - called inter se offenses of American (against American). It has been a demand of the Philippines that serious offenses, inter se or not should fall under Philippine jurisdiction as they disturb peace and order in the country.

WHO MAY ENTER AND EXIT THROUGH THE U.S. FACILITIES?

Under a recently concluded customs, immigration and quarantine agreement between the Philippines and the U. S., the U. S. facilities have been designated as limited ports of entry. The agreement also listed 12 specific categories of U. S. personnel - - both military and civilian and their dependents - - who may enter and exit through the U. S. facilities. The agreement also specifies the kinds of cargo that may pass through these facilities.

Philippine authorities must be informed of all aircraft, personnel and cargo that use the limited ports of entry.

To be certain that these arrangements are observed, it has been asked that Philippine authorities be allowed to board American vessels and craft arriving at and departing from the bases.

WILL THE U. S. FACILITIES BE HERE PERMANENTLY?

The use of facilities given to the U. S. under the M.R.A. will expire in September 1991 - - provided a notice to terminate is given by either party prior to that date. If no notice is given, the agreement is deemed extended.

"HISTORICAL OVERVIEW ON THE BASES ISSUE". ORIGIN OF THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE

The American military presence in the Philippines goes back to the arrival of Commodore George Dewey and the ensuing battle of Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. By August 13, 1898, enough American troops had arrived to force the mock "Battle of Manila" after which the Spaniards formally surrendered to the Americans. By this time it was also clear that some U.S. leaders had intended to occupy the Philippines permanently.

It was at this time, at the turn of the century, that American military units started to establish their foothold in certain areas of the country even as the first Philippine Republic under Gen. Aguinaldo eventually capitulated to U. S. Forces.

Clark Air Base was originally an encampment used by the U. S. cavalry as base of operations against Filipino revolutionaries in Central Luzon. By 1918, the area had become an air station named Clark Field in honor of a U. S. army aviation officer.

What is now Subic Naval Base was originally a Spanish naval station. In 1904, a U. S. naval base was established there to support the U. S. Pacific fleet.

On July 4, 1946, when the Philippine Republic was inaugurated, a treaty of general relations signed that same day stated the agreement of the U. S. to surrender its sovereignty over the Philippines "except the use of such bases, necessary appurtenances of such bases, and the rights incident thereto, as the United States . . . may deem necessary for the protection of the U. S. and the Republic of the Philippines."

CONVERGENCES OF U. S. - R.P SECURITY CONCERNS AGAINST COMMUNISM

On March 14, 1947 President Manuel Roxas signed the Military Bases Agreement with the United States. The agreement was obviously interlinked with the R. P. - U. S. Military assistance pact of the same year, and later, the R. P. - U. S. mutual Defense Treaty of 1951.

Cold war tension was a prime characteristic of the global situation of the time. In 1949, the communists under Mao Zedong came into power in China; the Korean war broke out in 1950; the conflict in French - Indochina was intensifying in the early 1950's, all in the context of East-West tension.

It was clear at the time that the military bases agreement and the mutual defense treaty were relevant to the security needs of the Philippines given the aggressive character of communist forces under the still unified Soviet -Sino alliance.

Furthermore, a communist insurgency by the Huks, - - who were receiving at least moral support from China and the Soviet Union - - was engaging the Philippine armed forces in Central Luzon.

At this time and in the few years that followed, the U. S. adopted a "containment doctrine" against communism. The U. S. policy was manifested through a series of bilateral and multilateral arrangements in the Asian-Pacific region.

Shortly after the R. P. - U. S. Mutual Defense Treaty was signed in August 1951, the U. S. - Japan Defense Treaty was concluded in September 1951. The U. S. - South Korea pact followed in October 1953 and U. S. - Taiwan security pact in December 1954. At the same time, the U. S. engineered the organization of two multilateral pacts - - the Anzus treaty (Australia, New Zealand and the U. S.) and the Manila pact which established the SEATO in September 1954.

In short, during all these years there was a clear convergence of Philippine-American security interests against communism, and Philippine foreign policy was openly pro-American in the cold war.

MOVES STRESSING PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY.

While the Philippine government accepted the relevance of the military bases agreement to its security from the late 1940's onwards, it was at the same time cognizant of the anomalous situation posed by U. S. control of some areas such as the whole of Olongapo.

Under the agreement there were 27 areas in 13 provinces and several cities controlled by U. S. authorities. In addition, the agreement provided that "additional areas may be acquired for military purposes" as needed by the United States. Moreover, the operating rights granted to the U. S. were ample and extensive. Furthermore, the Americans were given various exemptions and privileges from customs duties, internal revenue taxes, licenses, immigration requirements, etc. Perhaps, most controversial of all, American servicemen accused of committing crimes against Filipinos could not be placed in the custody of, nor be prosecuted in Philippine courts. Between 1947 and 1977, there were 52 Filipinos killed within the military reservations: 33 at Clark, 18 at Subic, and one at Sangley Point.

In the Magsaysay-Nixon statement and the Pelaez - Bendtsen talks of 1956 the Philippines asserted its desire for the affirmation of its national identity as an independent state and therefore its sovereignty over the bases. The result was the turnover, by the end of 1956, of base lands totalling 199,570 hectares valued at \$83 million to the Philippines. The U. S. renounced its ownership claims to the bases, and Olongapo was formally returned to Philippine jurisdiction.

On Oct. 12, 1959, the Serrano-Bohlen Memorandum of Agreement, later implemented by the Ramos-Rusk Exchange of Notes of Sep. 16, 1966, resulted in reduction of the duration of American tenure of the bases from 99 to 25 years (1966-1991). The number of bases was reduced to Clark Air Base, the Subic Naval Base and three other bases or installations. The Philippines obtained the right to be consulted prior to the bases' being used for combat operations. The U. S. also symbolically surrendered its title of ownership over the baselands to the Philippines.

BROADENED PHILIPPINE FOREIGN POLICY

The ascension of President Marcos to the helm of Philippine leadership in 1966 and later, the institution of the New Society in 1972, marked the period in which the broadening of Philippine diplomacy was started. Exploratory talks and exchanges of trade mission and cultural groups were conducted with the Socialist Bloc, in 1967. By 1973, diplomatic relations had been established with Yugoslavia, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic.

The termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement and parity rights of American citizens in the Philippines in 1974, which roughly coincided with the easing of the cold war, the worsening of the Sino-Soviet split, the rise of U. S. Soviet detente and Sino-U. S. rapprochement in the early 1970's and the oil crisis of 1973-74, necessitated a reassessment of Philippine "special relations" with the U. S. including the bases issue. The Philippines precisely broadened its contact with the Socialist Bloc to diversify its trade partnership in preparation for the termination of the U. S. - Philippine Trade Agreement in 1974. The Philippines also needed to look for alternative sources of crude oil to meet its energy requirements.

At the same time, the New Society placed a premium on economic development and national unity and integration in the face of the southern secessionist problem, which meant that its foreign policy had to be geared towards the fulfillment of basic needs at home. This meant, for the Philippines, identifying with similar aspirations of its Asian neighbors especially through ASEAN and through the Third World like the UNCTAD Group of 77.

What all this means was that significant internal and external changes had taken place in which Philippine national security had to be redefined and its security relationship with the U. S., and the role of the bases, reexamined.

CHANGES IN GLOBAL POLITICS AND IN U. S. FOREIGN POLICY.

Aside from these events, there appeared to have been for sometime a sense of drift in U. S. security policy in Asia and

the Pacific which exerted important impact on the U. S. Allies and friends in Asia. As a result of the Vietnam debacle, the U. S. appeared to adopt a policy of withdrawing from forward areas. The Nixon Doctrine of 1969 had stipulated that while the U. S. defense umbrella would continue over its allies in the Asia and the Pacific, the main responsibility for each ally's defense would now fall on the ally itself, with the U. S. providing material support.

In 1975, the fall of Saigon as well as of Laos and Kampuchea to the communists caused the U. S.'s Asia-Pacific allies to reassess their security ties with the U. S. The United States also withdrew its forces from Thailand, and by 1978 President Jimmy Carter was contemplating the pull-out of 331,000 U. S. troops from South Korea. The U. S. in the post-Vietnam period under Presidents Ford and Carter, appeared to have institutionalized its detente relationship with the Soviet Union and was on the verge of formally opening full diplomatic relations with China. Southeast Asia, meanwhile, had clearly become less salient in U. S. global policy.

In the face of the uncertainty surrounding U. S. policy towards its allies in Asia, the Philippines formally opened diplomatic ties with Moscow in 1975 and with China in 1976. With its broadened diplomacy and with the growing spirit of cooperation among ASEAN states symbolized by the ASEAN summit meetings in Bali and Kuala Lumpur in 1976 and 1977, the real threat to Philippine security clearly had become internal rather than external. The Ford-Marcos communique of December 1975 called for negotiations over the bases with Philippine sovereignty over them to be clearly recognized.

The long - delayed R. P. - U. S. negotiation over the bases was finally begun mid-1976. It was thus characterized by a climate wherein the Philippines was seeking to assert completely its sovereignty in a condition of lesser external threat to its security.

After off-and-on negotiations spanning two and half years, the agreement to make amendments in the 1947 military bases agreement was finally reached on Jan. 7, 1979.

NEW U. S. POLICY UNDER REAGAN

Within two years after the 1979 agreement was concluded, important global developments occurred which heightened the significance of the Philippine bases in U. S. defense strategy and raised East-West tension to a new high. The rekindling of U. S. - Soviet rivalry meant a new attendant threat of nuclear war and Philippine vulnerability to Soviet intermediate range missiles.

In December 1979, the Soviets intruded into Afghanistan, barely a month after the U. S. Embassy in Tehran was seized by anti-American Iranians. The Soviets meanwhile proceeded to strengthen their position in Asia through their proxy, the Vietnamese, who overran Kampuchea. The Soviets also significantly enlarged their Pacific fleet and soon established footholds in Danang and Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

Ronald Reagan became president in 1981 and adopted a hardline policy toward the Soviet Union and a determination to rebuild the military might of the U.S. as the world's number one power. The new U. S. security policy apparently stressed the need to counteract the "adventurist tendencies" of the U. S. S. R. and the Soviet's increasing capacity to project power worldwide.

Under Reagan, the U. S. is now keen on strengthening its presence in Asia and the Pacific through a strategy of forward basing rather than a fallback position to Guam and the Marianas. The U. S. is also seeking to restrengthen its allies and friends,

eyeing them as directly or indirectly part of the total counter-balancing force that could be brought to bear potentially against the Soviet Union.

It is obvious that under this policy the U. S. would prefer ideally that the Philippines revert to his former openly pro-American foreign policy characteristic of the cold war era. The Philippines remains staunchly anti-communist and wary of Soviet intentions and adventurism. The U. S. is still regarded as a close friend.

However, the Philippines has matured to a stage beyond "special relations." Under its broadened diplomacy it seeks friendship with all countries regardless

of their ideology or political systems, including the Soviet Union. Its main security objective is self-reliance. Its principal needs are economic and developmental. It has its own territorial claims which the Americans would not wish to get involved in. And the Philippines more than ever would prefer to be safe from the threat of nuclear strikes.

What this means is that while the global security concerns of the U. S. and the national security requirements of the Philippines still have their points of convergence, their interests now diverge significantly to make self-reliance imperative for the Philippines. It is under this new context that the advantages to the Philippines of the U. S. presence in Philippine bases must be reassessed closely for the forthcoming talks. The U. S. should find it in its own interest for the Philippines to become more self-reliant through the modernization of the Philippine armed forces.

What U.S. Officials Say About the Bases

Assistant Secretary of State Paul D. Wolfowitz:

"The Philippines is the United States' oldest Asian ally and shares our perceptions about the danger to peace in Southeast Asia.

"U. S. military facilities at Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base in the Philippines are of central strategic importance. With their advantageous geographic position, they help the U. S. protect the Western Pacific sea and air lanes and respond to contingencies in the Indian and Pacific Oceans."

- Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 23 February 1983.

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Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard L. Armitage:

"The Philippines will look to us to honor our 1979 'best effort' security assistance pledge. The Philippines will evaluate the strength of the U. S. - Philippine mutual security relationship by our continued willingness to supply military as-

sistance for its ongoing program for modernizing the Philippine armed forces.

"Over the last several years, the U. S. presence in the Philippines has assumed heightened importance because of the Soviet naval buildup which includes the use of military facilities at Danang and Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam. Furthermore, the role played by the Soviet Union in the continuing Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea (Cambodia) has magnified ASEAN-wide interest in tangible indications that the United States will retain its presence in the Southeast Asia area."

- Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 18 March 1983.

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Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Daniel A. O'Donohue :

"There is no country in the region (Southeast Asia) with which the U. S. enjoys a deeper, longer relationship than the Philippines. This oldest of our Asian allies, which shared with us the suffering of World War II and has inherited so much from the United States, today shares our perceptions about the dangers in Southeast Asia. We have had a mutual defense treaty with the Philippines since 1952. Economic ties are strong; the U. S. continues to be the largest market for Philippine goods. Our cultural links span this entire century. Most recently, the state visit of President Marcos last September and his discussions with President Reagan served to underscore the excellent state of our bilateral relations and to reaffirm our security ties.

"Like many nations, the Philippines today is passing through a period of political transition and economic difficulties brought on by the world recession. The country maintained a good growth record of around 6 per cent during the '70s."

-Statement before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 18 March 1983.

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Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (New York), member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

"Over the years, the United States has enjoyed the good fortune to have the Philippines as a trading partner, military partner and security partner. Our air bases including Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Bay facility have given us enormous confidence that the Asian front is secure. Our agreements and the establishment of bases have also contributed to the shield behind which the whole region can develop socially and economically.

"I hope that during the years to come, our two nations will continue this friendship, this partnership, which has been beneficial to both of us. The growing feelings of confidence and security between the nations is the material from which our productive relationship has been made. During World War II, the Philippine people fought valiantly in defense of our nation. There was never any question about their loyalty and desire for freedom and liberty..."

- Statement before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 11 December 1982.

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Assistant Administrator Charles W. Greenleaf Jr. of the Agency for International Development (AID):

"U. S. interests (in the Philippines) are security, economic development and trade and investments. Since Philippine independence in 1946, U. S. objectives have centered on maintaining U. S. military facilities and supporting the development of our former colony through economic recovery and growth. These facilities (Clark and Subic) are essential for demonstrating our continued concern for peace and security in Southeast Asia and maintaining the U. S. position as an Asian and Pacific power."

- Statement before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 18 March 1983.

Political Counsellor Herbert S. Malin,
U. S. Embassy, Manila:

"It would be foolish to deny that the United States needs the facilities it enjoys (in the Philippines). We have watched intently the Soviet building up of military force in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean region. A critical part of the U. S. increase in military spending is allocated to ships, planes and other military material to counter increases in Soviet military might in this part of the world. Our facilities in the Philippines are a vital part of that counterweight.

- Speech before the Rotary Club of
Pasay Silangan, Philippines, 21 January
1983.

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Alvin J. Cottrel, Executive Director of the
Center for Strategic and International
Studies at Georgetown University:

"The U. S. has vital interests in the
Western Pacific and Indian Ocean regions

as is demonstrated by the commitment and continued presence of large naval forces in those areas. The naval base at Subic Bay is crucial to serving those interests and that base has no suitable alternative. The U. S. has high stakes in retaining key Philippine bases.

"A significant proportion of the Seventh Fleet's prepositioned wartime oil reserves are stored at Subic Bay, and the Seventh Fleet and other vessels are supplied by a Pacific fleet mobile logistics support force operating from Subic. With a capacity for handling over one million barrels of fuel a month and an inventory of over 150,000 supply items, Subic Bay is the largest and most comprehensive support facility available to the U. S. navy in the Indian Ocean/South Pacific region."

-From "Key U. S. Bases in the Philip-
pines," National Defense Magazine, December
1982.

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NOTE:

The review talks on the military bases originally scheduled to take place in Manila in the last week of April has been postponed to a later date.

The postponement however does not change the context and purpose of this primer.

It is our hope that this primer will help journalists, writers and researchers on Philippine-American affairs obtain the necessary background and serve as guide to a better understanding of the issue.

The Editors