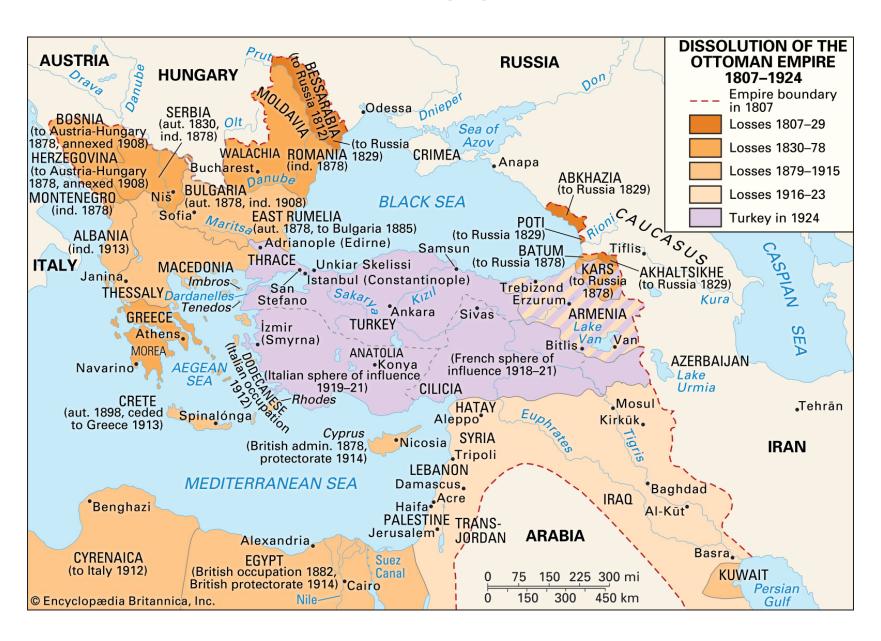
Política Internacional e Geopolítica a crise do mundo globalizado

INSTITUTO CULTURAL
D. ANTÓNIO FERREIRA GOMES
José Pedro Teixeira Fernandes
2020-2021
SESSÃO Nº 24



PARTE I – TEMA PRINCIPAL

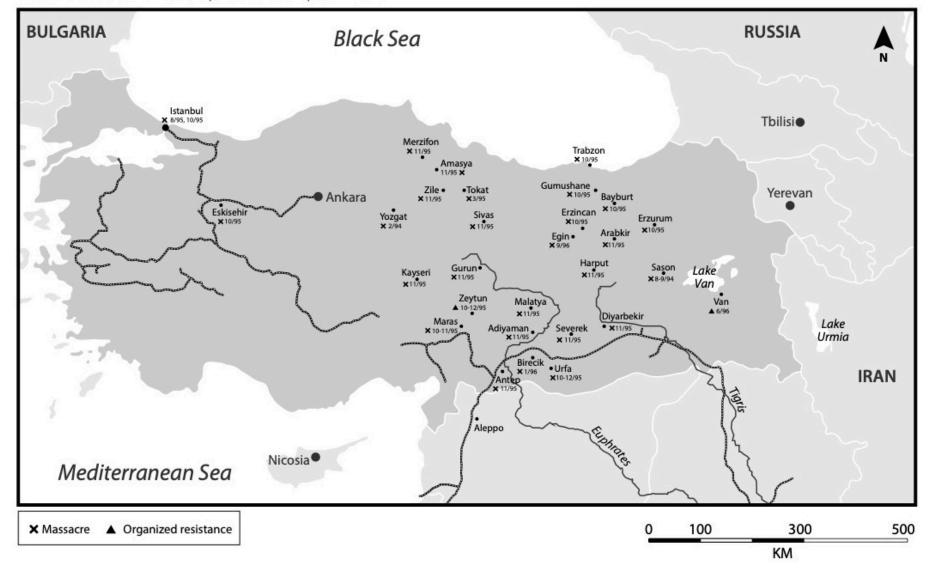
A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (1) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (2) [FONTE: Benny Morris & Dror Ze'evi, The Thirty-

Year Genocide. Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894-1924, 2019, p. 53]

Sites of Massacre of Armenians, and Resistance, 1894-1896



A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (3) [FONTE: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian]



As raízes arménias no império otomano

A forte ligação às origens

Calouste nasceu a 23 de março de 1869, em Scutari (atual Uskudar), perto de Istambul, local de residência de muitas famílias de origem arménia. Filho de Sarkis e Dirouhie Gulbenkian, diz-se que era descendente dos príncipes de Rechdouni que tinham antigas propriedades feudais, na Grande Arménia, região que marcou a história arménio-bizantina até ao séc. X.

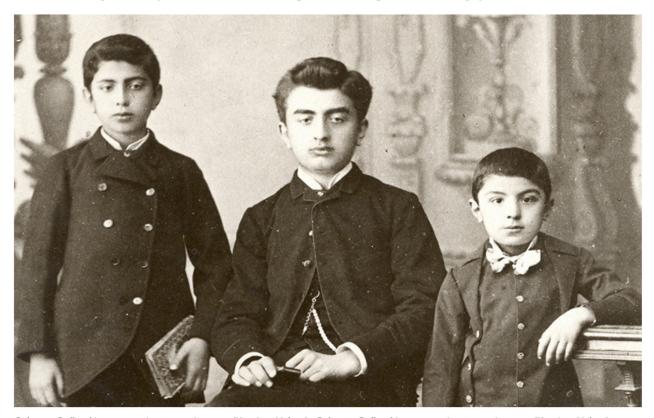
No século seguinte, no reinado de Sénékérin de Vaspourakan, os Príncipes de Rechdouni e os seus familiares estabeleceram-se em Cesareia da Capadócia, um dos mais antigos berços do cristianismo oriental, e adotaram o nome de família Vart Badrik, título nobiliário bizantino. Este nome de família seria adaptado, com a chegada dos Otomanos ao poder, para a forma turca de Gulbenkian.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (4) [FONTE: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian]

Desde 1800, as sucessivas gerações Gulbenkian sempre se mostraram muito generosas para com as comunidades arménias do Império otomano, onde a família tem as suas raízes.

Os Gulbenkian empenharam-se em várias ações de cariz filantrópico, a favor dos seus compatriotas otomanos, como a criação de hospitais, escolas, igrejas, auxílio a artistas e intelectuais, distribuição de alimentos em tempo de crise, entre outras iniciativas.

Calouste não fugiu à tradição familiar e manteve, a par da filantropia, uma forte ligação às raízes.



Calouste Gulbenkian com os irmãos mais novos (Karnig e Vahan) Calouste Gulbenkian com os irmãos mais novos (Karnig e Vahan)

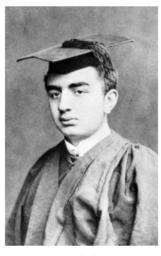
A sua relação com o império otomano serviu-lhe de barómetro na sua "arquitetura geopolítica", aquando da grande corrida das nações ao petróleo, tendo conciliado os interesses do ocidente e do oriente com sabedoria.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (5) [FONTE: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian]

Tornou-se Associado do King's College em 1887 e embora considerasse prosseguir uma carreira de investigação em Paris foi dissuadido pelo pai. Em 1888, viajou para Baku para aprender mais sobre petróleo e complementar a sua formação. Esta viagem aos campos petrolíferos exerceu nele um grande fascínio e inspirou a escrita do livro «La Transcaucasie et la Péninsule d'Apchéron – Souvenirs de Voyage», para além de vários artigos para a Revue des Deux Mondes e outros periódicos franceses. Estas publicações firmaram a sua reputação como especialista em petróleo.



Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian - em criança Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian - em criança



Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian - aos 20 anos, no King's College (Londres) Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian - aos 20 anos, no King's College (Londres)



Revista Deux Mondes Revista Deux Mondes



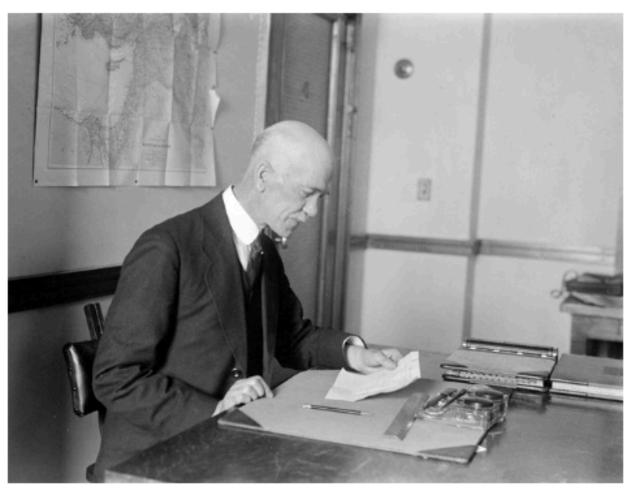
Casamento com Nevart Essayan, 1890, Londres Casamento com Nevart Essayan, 1890, Londres

Os artigos atraíram a atenção do Governo Otomano, que pediu ao então jovem Gulbenkian para elaborar um relatório sobre os recursos petrolíferos dos campos que o Sultão tinha adquirido no território que é hoje o Iraque.

Em 1892, Gulbenkian casou-se com Nevarte Essayan, com quem teve dois filhos: Nubar (nascido em 1896) e Rita (nascida em 1900). Os Essayan eram oriundos de Cesareia e tinham acesso privilegiado à corte Otomana. Mas as boas relações com a corte Otomana não foram suficientes para proteger Gulbenkian e a sua família dos pogromes anti-Arménios. Em 1896, a ocupação das instalações do Banco Imperial Otomano em Constantinopla por ativistas arménios espoletou uma onda de ataques coordenados dirigidos à comunidade arménia nesta cidade. A família da mulher de Gulbenkian tinha entre os seus negócios uma frota de ferries e conseguiram assim escapar num barco a vapor para Alexandria.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (6) [FONTE: Benny Morris & Dror Ze'evi, The Thirty-

Year Genocide. Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894–1924, 2019, p. 129]



American missionary F. W. Macallum. After the massacres of 1894–1896, some American missionaries argued that the Armenians should immigrate to the West, as they would never be safe among Turkey's Muslims.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (7) [FONTE: Wikimedia Commons]





A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (8) [FONTE: Benny Morris & Dror Ze'evi, The Thirty-

Year Genocide. Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894–1924, 2019, p.184]

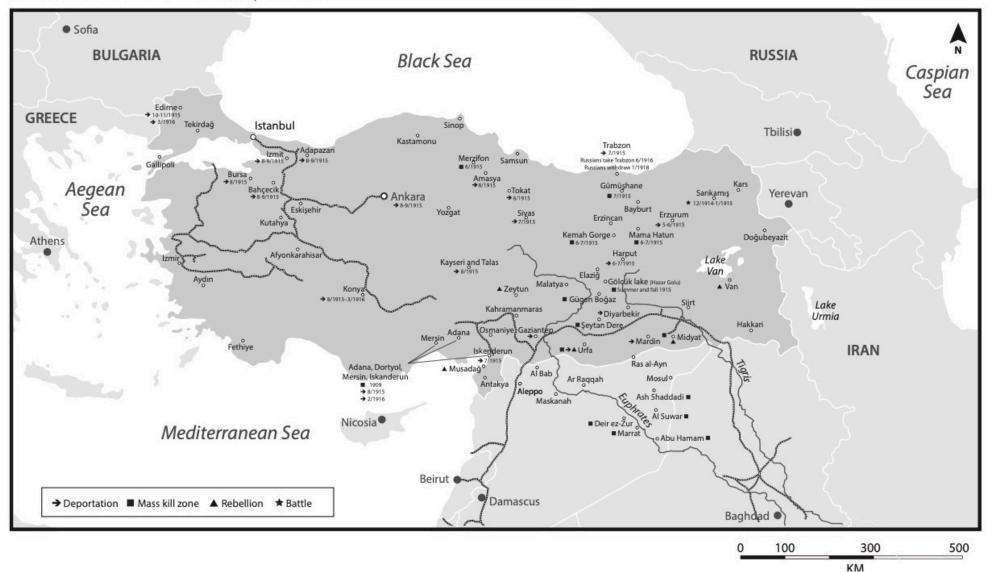


Armenians assembling for deportation in the main square of an Anatolian town, 1915.

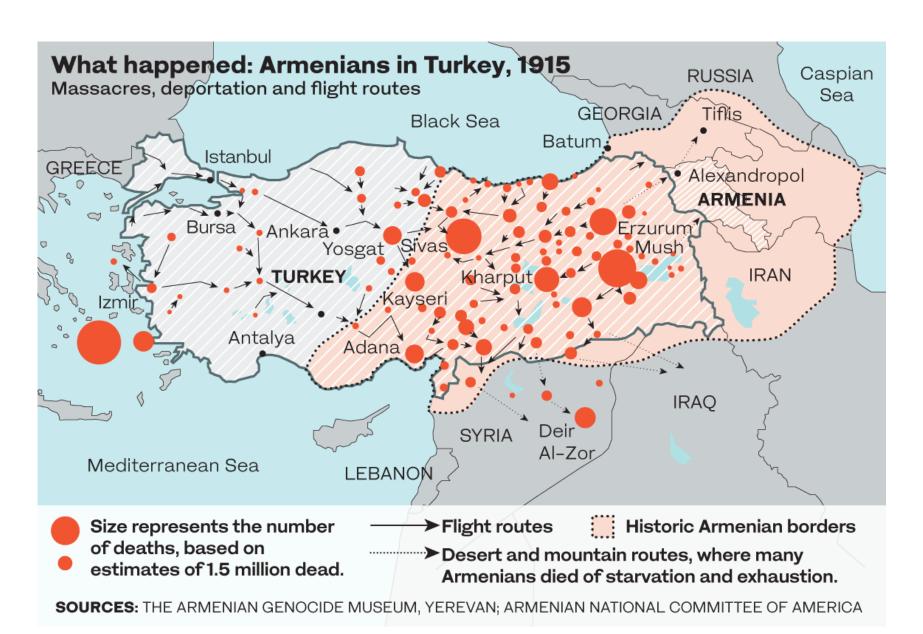
A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (9) [FONTE: Benny Morris & Dror Ze'evi, The Thirty-

Year Genocide. Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894–1924, 2019, p.141]

The Main Sites of Massacre and Rebellion, 1914-1915



A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (10) [FONTE: Araba News, 2/11/2019]



A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (11) [FONTE: Benny Morris & Dror Ze'evi, The Thirty-

Year Genocide. Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894–1924, 2019, p.139]

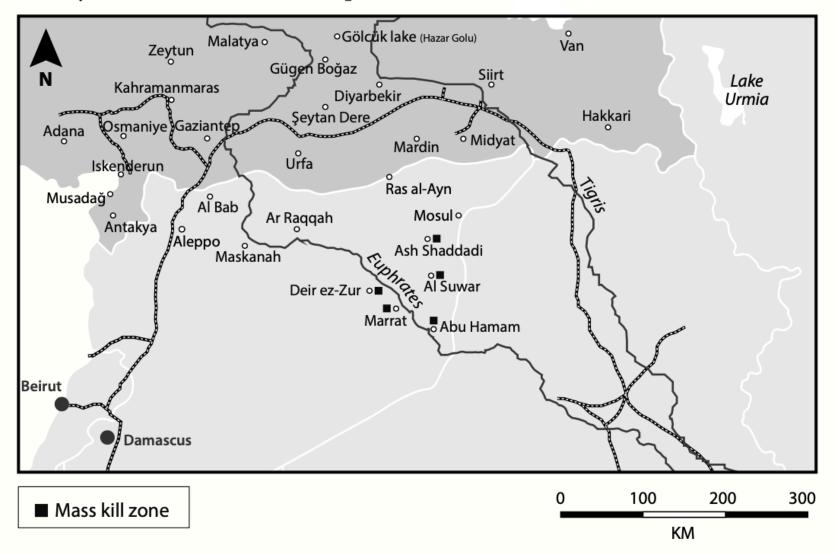


A pile of bodies in the desert. In spring and summer 1916, the Turks and their helpers—Kurds, Circassians, Chechens, and Arabs—systematically murdered many of the Armenian deportees who had reached the Deir Zor area of northeastern Syria.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (12) [FONTE: Benny Morris & Dror Ze'evi, The Thirty-

Year Genocide. Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894–1924, 2019, p. 240]

The Syrian Desert, Where the Deportees Were Murdered En Masse, in 1916



A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (13) [FONTE: Armenian National Institute / USA]

Countries that Recognize the Armenian Genocide

		View resolutions, laws, and declarations relating to the Armenian Genocide
1. A	rgentina	16. Lithuania
2. A	ustria	17. Luxembourg
3. B	Belgium	18. Netherlands
4. B	Bolivia	19. Paraguay
5. B	Brazil	20. Poland
6. C	Canada	21. Portugal
7. C	Chile	22. Russia
8. C	Cyprus	23. Slovakia
9. C	Zech Republic	24. Sweden
10. D	Penmark	25. Switzerland
11. F	rance	26. Syria
12. G	Germany	27. Vatican City
13. G	Greece	28. Venezuela
14. It	taly	29. United States
15. L	ebanon	30. Uruguay

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (14) [FONTE: The White House, 24/04/2021]



THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

April 24, 2021

Statement by President Joe Biden on Armenian Remembrance Day

Each year on this day, we remember the lives of all those who died in the Ottomanera Armenian genocide and recommit ourselves to preventing such an atrocity from ever again occurring. Beginning on April 24, 1915, with the arrest of Armenian intellectuals and community leaders in Constantinople by Ottoman authorities, one and a half million Armenians were deported, massacred, or marched to their deaths in a campaign of extermination. We honor the victims of the Meds Yeghern so that the horrors of what happened are never lost to history. And we remember so that we remain ever-vigilant against the corrosive influence of hate in all its forms.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (15) [FONTE: NYT, 24/04/2021]

Breaking With Predecessors, Biden Declares Mass Killings of Armenians a Genocide

The Turkish government, as well as human rights activists and ethnic Armenians, had a muted response to the news, describing the move as largely symbolic.



A torchlight procession in Yerevan on Friday to mark the 106th anniversary of the massacres in which about 1.5 million ethnic Armenians were killed during World War I.Karen Minasyan/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (16) [FONTE: NYT, 24/04/2021]

"Each year on this day, we remember the lives of all those who died in the Ottoman-era Armenian genocide and recommit ourselves to preventing such an atrocity from ever again occurring," Mr. Biden said in a statement issued on the 106th anniversary of the beginning of a brutal campaign by the former Ottoman Empire that killed 1.5 million people. "And we remember so that we remain ever vigilant against the corrosive influence of hate in all its forms."

The declaration by Mr. Biden reflected his administration's commitment to human rights, a pillar of its foreign policy. It is also a break from Mr. Biden's predecessors, who were reluctant to anger a country of strategic importance and were wary of driving its leadership toward American adversaries like Russia or Iran.

The Turkish government, as well as human rights activists and ethnic Armenians, gave a muted response to the news, which leaked days in advance, describing the move as largely symbolic.

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who has repeatedly denied that the killings amounted to genocide, had lobbied hard to prevent the announcement, mounting a conference and media campaigns before the anniversary on Saturday.

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (17) [FONTE: NYT, 24/04/2021]

"We affirm the history," Mr. Biden said in his statement on Saturday. "We do this not to cast blame but to ensure that what happened is never repeated."

Since taking office, Mr. Biden has kept Mr. Erdogan at a distance, calling other world leaders — and leaving his Turkish counterpart, who enjoyed a friendly relationship with President Donald J. Trump, waiting for months.

After <u>news broke on Thursday</u> of the impending announcement, Mr. Erdogan said in a statement that Turkey would "defend the truth against the lie of the so-called 'Armenian genocide.'"



President Recep Tayyip Erdogan said this week that Turkey would "defend the truth against the lie of the so-called 'Armenian genocide.'" Adem Altan/Agence France-Presse — Getty Images

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (18) [FONTE: Reuters, 24/04/2021]

Reactions after Biden announcement on Armenian genocide

Reuters

Following are reactions to the statement by U.S. President Joe Biden on Saturday formally <u>recognising the 1915 massacres of Armenians</u> in the Ottoman Empire as genocide. The historic declaration could further damage frayed ties with NATO ally Turkey.

TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY STATEMENT

"We reject and denounce in the strongest terms the statement of the President of the US regarding the events of 1915 ... It is clear that the said statement does not have a scholarly and legal basis, nor is it supported by any evidence.

"This statement ...will open a deep wound that undermines our mutual trust and friendship. We call on the US President to correct this grave mistake"

MEVLUT CAVUSOGLU, TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER, ON TWITTER

"Words cannot change or rewrite history. We have nothing to learn from anybody on our own past. Political opportunism is the greatest betrayal to peace and justice. We entirely reject this statement based solely on populism."

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (19) [FONTE: Daily Sabah, 25/04/2021]

Turkey's allies condemn Biden for decision on 1915 events



Turkish counter-protestors are kept apart from Armenian protestors to avoid confrontation in front of the Turkish Embassy on the 106th anniversary of the 1915 events in Washington, DC on April 24, 2021. (AFP)

Turkey's allies condemned U.S. President Joe Biden for his controversial decision to label the events of 1915 as "genocide."

The first criticism came from Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev on Saturday, who called the decision "unacceptable" and a "historical mistake."

A Turquia e o genocídio arménio de 1915: passado e presente (20) [FONTE: Daily Sabah, 25/04/2021]

The Azerbaijani leader said the U.S. president's remarks would "seriously damage cooperation in the region," stressing that Baku will always stand by Ankara.

"The falsification of history, attempts to "rewrite history" and its use for political pressure are unacceptable," Azerbaijan's foreign ministry also said in a statement on Saturday.

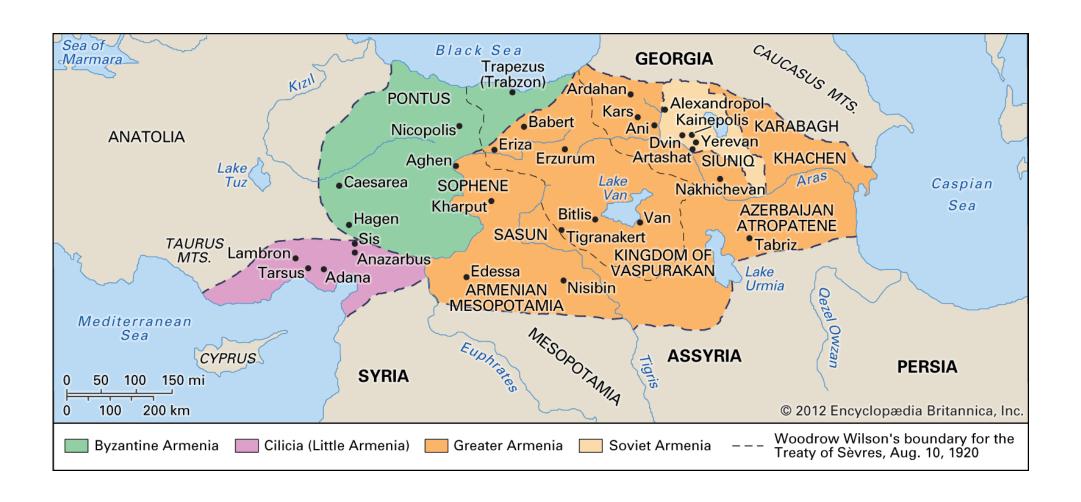
Political parties in Azerbaijan also condemned Biden's description of the events of 1915.

A total of 48 political parties issued a joint statement in light of Biden's classification of the 1915 events.

The statement explains that while many Armenian lives were lost due to difficult conditions, internal conflicts, famine and disease during WWI but the fact that more Turkish lives were lost over the same period has been deliberately ignored.

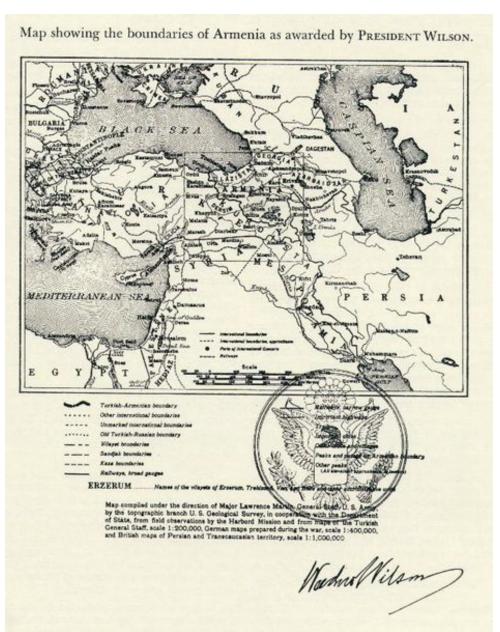
The declaration emphasized that historical facts should not be distorted for political purposes and that international institutions and specialized historians should be entrusted with determining what actually happened. It also highlighted that Turkey has always been willing to open its archives and form a joint commission to shed light on the period.

A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (1) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



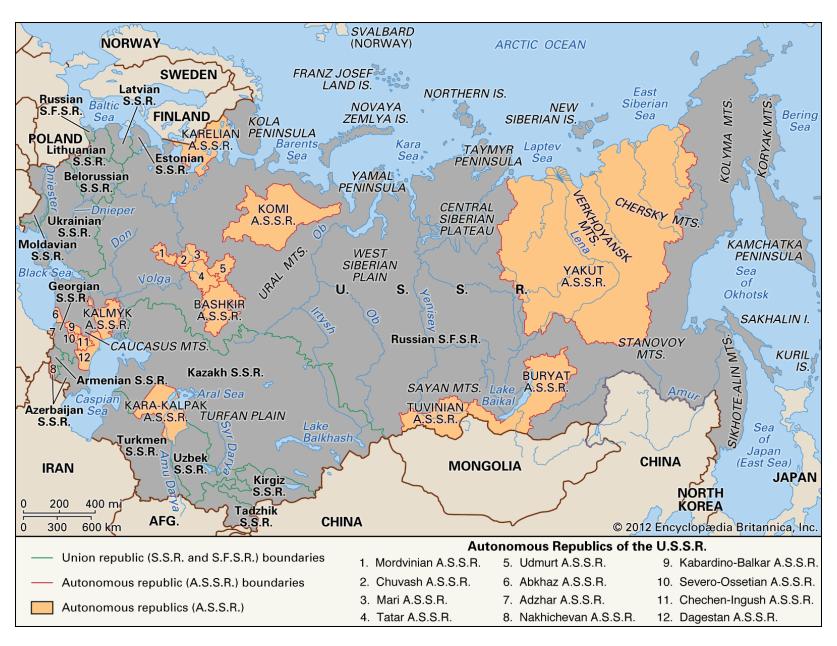
A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (2) [MAPAS: A Arménia prevista no Tratado de

Sèvres. FONTE: Wikimedia Commons]

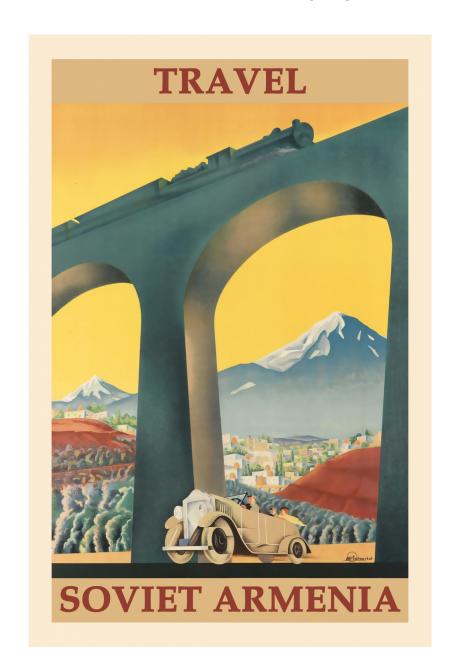




A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (3) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (4) [FONTE: Public domain pictures]

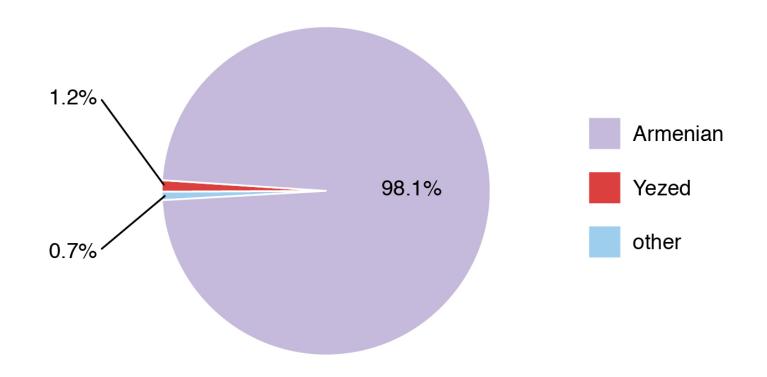


A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (5) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (6) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]

Ethnic composition (2011***)

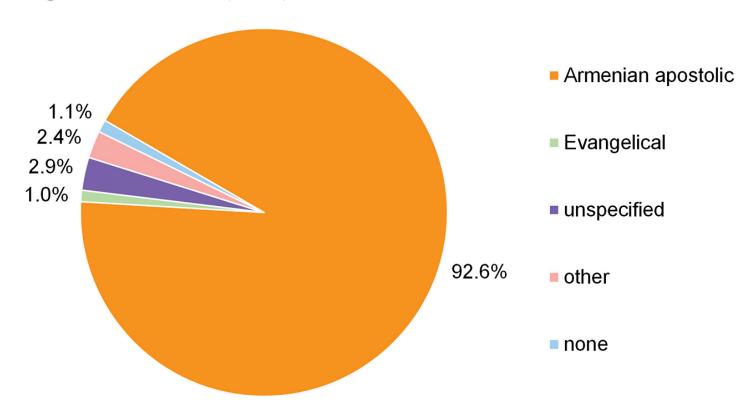


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^{***}Census de jure estimate.

A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (7) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]

Armenia religious affiliation (2011)



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A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (8) [FONTE: Encyclopedia Britannica]



A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (9) [FONTE: Council on Foreign Relations, 22/04/2021]

Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict



Recent Developments

The risk of military conflict is escalating in Nagorno-Karabakh, the border region claimed by both Armenia and Azerbaijan, due to the failure of mediation efforts, increased militarization, and frequent cease-fire violations. In late September 2020, heavy fighting broke out along the border—the most serious escalation since 2016. More than one thousand soldiers and civilians have been killed, with hundreds more wounded on both sides. Armenia and Azerbaijan initially rejected pressure from the United Nations and countries like the United States and Russia to hold talks and end hostilities, and instead pledged to continue fighting.

A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (10) [FONTE: Council on Foreign Relations, 22/04/2021]

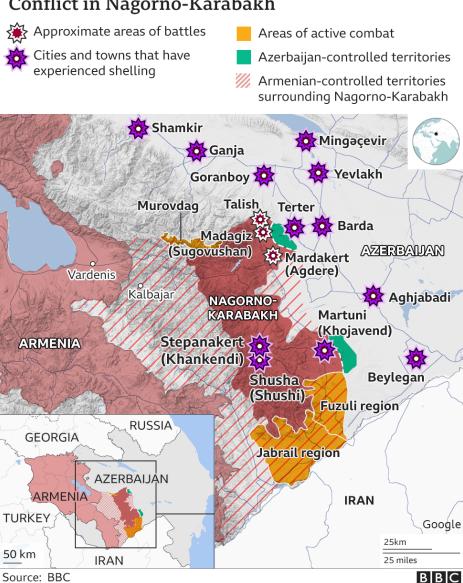
Background

In the 1920s, the Soviet government established the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region—where 95 percent of the population is ethnically Armenian—within Azerbaijan. Under Bolshevik rule, fighting between the two countries was kept in check, but, as the Soviet Union began to collapse, so did its grip on Armenia and Azerbaijan. In 1988, the Nagorno-Karabakh legislature passed a resolution to join Armenia despite the region's legal location within Azerbaijan's borders. As the Soviet Union was dissolving in 1991, the autonomous region officially declared independence. War erupted between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the region, leaving roughly thirty thousand casualties and hundreds of thousands of refugees. By 1993, Armenia controlled Nagorno-Karabakh and occupied 20 percent of the surrounding Azerbaijani territory. In 1994, Russia brokered a cease-fire which has remained in place since.

Nagorno-Karabakh has been a frozen conflict for more than a decade, but artillery shelling and minor skirmishes between Armenian and Azerbaijani troops have caused hundreds of deaths. Early April 2016 witnessed the most intense fighting since 1994, killing dozens and resulting in more than three hundred casualties. After four days of fighting, the two sides announced that they had agreed on a new cease-fire. However, a breakdown in talks was followed by repeated cease-fire violations, and tensions have remained high.

A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (11) [FONTE: BBC, 10/10/2020]

Conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh



A continua insegurança da Arménia e a hostilidade da Turquia (12) [FONTE: The Drive / War Zone, 7/10/2020]

Satellite Images Confirm Turkish F-16 Fighters Secretly Deployed To Azerbaijan

F-16s appear to have remained in Azerbaijan long after Turkey sent them there for an exercise months ago, despite denials from Ankara and Baku.

Joseph Trevithick October 7, 2020



PHOTO © 2020 PLANET LABS INC. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. REPRINTED BY PERMISSION/Aldo Ridini/wikicommons

Satellite imagery shows at least two <u>F-16 Viper fighter jets</u>, almost certainly belonging to <u>the Turkish Air Force</u>, at Ganja International Airport in Azerbaijan earlier this month. This is the first hard evidence that at least some of these jets were in that country <u>after fighting erupted</u> between it and its neighbor Armenia over the <u>long-disputed Nagorno-</u>



PARTE II - NOTAS BREVES

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (1) [FONTE: BBC, 21/04/2021]



A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (2) [FONTE: BBC, 21/04/2021]

South China Sea dispute: Huge Chinese 'fishing fleet' alarms Philippines

21 March



The Philippines has called on China to withdraw more than 200 ships it accuses of encroaching upon its territorial waters in the South China Sea.

Defence Minister Delfin Lorenzana said the Chinese ships were violating the Philippines' maritime rights.

The Philippines says the fishing boats do not appear to be fishing and are crewed by China's maritime militia.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (3) [FONTE: BBC, 21/04/2021]

The Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Taiwan and Vietnam have all been contesting China's claim to almost all of the Sea for decades but tension steadily increased in recent years.

Beijing continues to claim an area known as the "nine-dash line" and has backed its claim with island-building and patrols, expanding its military presence while maintaining that its intentions are peaceful.

What is the Philippine position?

Photos released by the Philippine coast guard show a row of Chinese ships moored at Whitsun Reef (called Julian Felipe Reef by the Philippines) in the South China Sea on 7 March.

The reef lies within the Philippines' exclusive economic zone, the country's cross-government task force said on Saturday.

According to the Philippines, China had about 220 vessels moored at the reef.

"We call on the Chinese to stop this incursion and immediately recall these boats violating our maritime rights and encroaching into our sovereign territory," Defence Minister Lorenzana said.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (4) [FONTE: Japan Times, 6/04/2021]

China tests Biden with South China Sea tactic that misled Obama

Apr 6, 2021



Chinese vessels anchored at Whitsun Reef, about 320 kilometers west of Palawan Island in the South China Sea, on March 27 | NATIONAL TASK FORCE-WEST PHILIPPINE SEA (NTF-WPS) / PHILIPPINE COMMUNICATIONS OPERATIONS OFFICE / VIA AFP-JIJI

One big problem is how to calibrate the response. China's use of commercial fishing boats amounts to a "gray zone" tactic that allows Beijing to deny anything is amiss. Sending an aircraft carrier or other warships near the reef risks appearing like an overreaction that would make the U.S. look like the aggressor.

On the other hand, doing nothing could look weak. Over the past few years the U.S. has stepped up challenges to Chinese sovereignty in the waters, increasing the frequency of so-called freedom of navigation operations around disputed territory. The Biden administration also reaffirmed that the U.S.-Philippine defense treaty covers any attacks in the South China Sea, a clarification made under President Donald Trump that came after decades of official ambiguity.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (5) [FONTE: EEAS, 24/04/2021]



South China Sea: Statement by the Spokesperson on challenges to peace and stability

Tensions in the South China Sea, including the recent presence of large Chinese vessels at Whitsun Reef, endanger peace and stability in the region.

The EU is committed to secure, free and open maritime supply routes in the Indo-Pacific, in full compliance with international law, in particular the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), in the interest of all.

The EU reiterates its strong opposition to any unilateral actions that could undermine regional stability and the international rules-based order. We urge all parties to resolve disputes through peaceful means in accordance with international law, in particular UNCLOS, including its dispute settlement mechanisms. The EU recalls in this regard the Arbitration Award rendered under UNCLOS on 12 July 2016.

The EU supports the ASEAN-led process towards an effective, substantive and legally binding Code of Conduct, which should not prejudice the interests of third parties. The EU urges all parties to pursue sincere efforts towards its finalisation.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (6) [FONTE: Politico, 18/04/2021]

Europe's strategic long-shot: More warships in the Indo-Pacific

Naval ambitions come as part of EU's strategy to extend its Asian reach and counter the rise of China.



The move — is an important diplomatic step for the bloc. | Mario Tama/Getty Images

The EU is on Monday set to commit to a "meaningful" naval presence in the Indian and Pacific Oceans but it is still unclear whether many European countries would be willing (or even able) to send serious firepower to the region and risk antagonizing China.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (7) [FONTE: Politico, 18/04/2021]

At a Foreign Affairs Council meeting on Monday, EU countries represented by foreign ministers are expected to adopt a document that for the first time sets out a comprehensive European strategy toward the Indo-Pacific region. According to a draft, the strategy seeks to address Beijing's rise and broaches topics ranging from reducing economic dependence on China to expanding Europe's role in digitalization throughout Southeast Asia. Most contentiously, the plan will also acknowledge "the importance of a meaningful European naval presence in the Indo-Pacific."

For most of the EU, with a chronic aversion to military adventurism half a world away, anything more than token naval missions would be a dramatic change of geostrategic direction, particularly since there are now intense fears about China's military intimidation of Taiwan and the Philippines. The U.S. has long been the region's naval policeman, seeking to counterbalance China and North Korea, while Europe has played a very small role to date.

Still, one EU diplomat described Monday's draft as a "pivot." Alessio Patalano, a specialist in East Asian warfare at the Department of War Studies at King's College London also said it was a "striking expansion" for the EU.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (8) [FONTE: Reuters, 4/04/2021]

East Asia Pacific

US Hails German Warship Plan to Sail South China Sea

By Reuters March 04, 2021 09:42 AM



WASHINGTON - The United States on Wednesday hailed plans by NATO ally Germany to sail a warship across the contested South China Sea, calling it welcome support for a "rules-based international order" in the region, something Washington says is threatened by China.

German government officials said on Tuesday a German frigate would set sail for Asia in August and, on its return journey, become the first German warship to cross the South China Sea since 2002.

"The United States has a national interest in the maintenance of peace and stability, respect for international law, lawful unimpeded commerce, and freedom of navigation and other lawful uses of the sea," a spokeswoman for the U.S. State Department said.

A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (9) [FONTE: South China Morning Post, 25/04/2021]

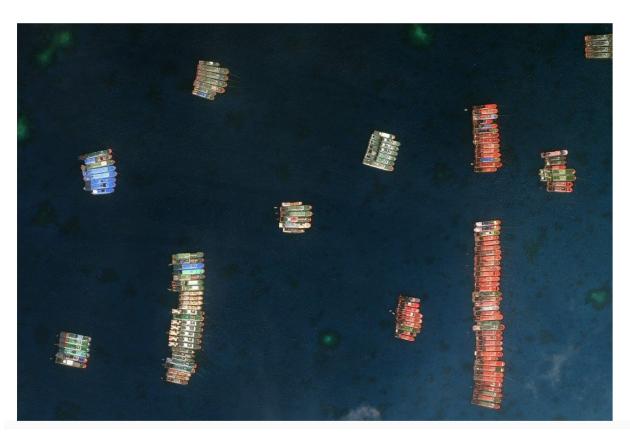
China / Diplomacy

EU hits out at Beijing's actions in South China Sea

- Bloc criticises actions that threaten regional peace and stability, citing presence of Chinese fishing boats at Whitsun Reef
- EU recently unveiled its Indo-Pacific strategy, and individual members are considering whether to send warships to patrol region



▼ Why you can trust SCMP



A União Europeia e as disputas no mar do Sul da China (10) [FONTE: South China Morning Post, 25/04/2021]

The European Union has criticised China's activities in the South China Sea, accusing it of threatening regional peace and stability.

On Saturday the bloc issued a statement saying it strongly opposed "unilateral actions that could undermine regional stability and the international rules-based order".

"Tensions in the South China Sea, including the recent presence of large Chinese vessels at Whitsun Reef, endanger peace and stability in the region," it said, referring to the presence of a large number of ships at a reef claimed by the Philippines.

The EU also referred to a 2016 ruling by an international arbitration tribunal that declared China's claim that it had "historical rights" to the South China as invalid. Beijing refused to take part in the lawsuit or accept the decision.



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What the Whitsun Reef incident tells us about China's future operations at sea

An innocent fleet of fishing boats or a bold demonstration of China's willingness to deploy its growing maritime militia? Samir Puri and Greg Austin explore what an incident at Whitsun Reef in the South China Sea tells us about China's ability to engage in future maritime hybrid warfare.

China has sparked fresh controversy in the Spratly Islands with the appearance of some 200 fishing boats at Whitsun Reef for several weeks in March. The vessels were clearly inside the limits of the Philippines' Exclusive Economic Zone and very close to a Vietnam-occupied reef. Media coverage of the incident outside China has focused on the relationship between the fleet and the country's maritime militia, while China denies that the fleet 'belongs' to the militia and says that these are fishing vessels seeking shelter from the weather. Less attention has been paid to what the incident conveys about the potential of the militia for involvement in hybrid warfare in the future.

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The utility of China's maritime militia

Long-term watchers of China's maritime grey-zone operations interpret the Whitsun Reef incident as evidence that the country's maritime militias are starting to realise their potential. Their very utility lies in the ambiguous provenance of vessels and the challenge of determining their degree of separation with the PLA Navy. These activities may not be limited to the South China Sea – incidents involving 100 to 200 Chinese fishing vessels loitering have also been reported near the Galapagos Islands and in North Korean waters.

There are at least three general categories of mission that the maritime militia could be used for. First, to surround a foreign ship in peacetime to express China's opposition to its presence. In March 2009, the USS Impeccable, a US Navy-owned oceanographic surveillance ship, was approached while in the South China Sea by a mixture of PLA Navy vessels and civilian fishing trawlers believed by the US to be maritime militia ships.

The second type of mission involves the maritime militia staking 'grey-zone' claims over contested features, like the Whitsun Reef incident, with China deploying ostensibly civilian ships that are hard to attribute to the state. There are escalatory risks in both types of operation if, for instance, these ships are confronted by the vessels of another country.

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The Whitsun Reef incident is unprecedented in scale and notable for its duration: the largest numbers of Chinese fishing vessels gathered at any time at one Spratly reef, and staying there for several weeks. The event was interpreted by several governments as a geopolitical gambit of some kind, though just what exactly is unclear.

Fishing boats or military assets?

The militia has come under increasing attention as part of China's 'greyzone' strategy. It is an irregular or part-time force, often complemented by serving or retired People's Liberation Army Navy personnel. The militia is a third tier of military force (after regulars and reserves), with localised organisations that can be used in auxiliary roles to support military operations, and only as combatants in extreme or urgent situations. Individuals who are designated as reservists, often retired PLA officers, can be assigned to militia units, but the majority of militia personnel are not reservists. Boats used in auxiliary operations are called up on a needs basis and not maintained as 'militia ships'. It is likely that the PLA Navy operates an undetermined number of boats designed for fishing, which are mostly or fully manned by regular naval personnel and used for covert operations. While the US Coast Guard estimates the militia has a fleet of 3,000 vessels, the precise number of boats that can be called upon at any moment with reasonable levels of readiness would be hard to assess.

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Sugestões de leitura

BENNY MORRIS AND DROR ZE'EVI

THIRTY-YEAR GENOCIDE

TURKEY'S DESTRUCTION OF ITS

CHRISTIAN MINORITIES

1894-1924



CHINA'S MARITIME GRAY ZONE OPERATIONS



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