

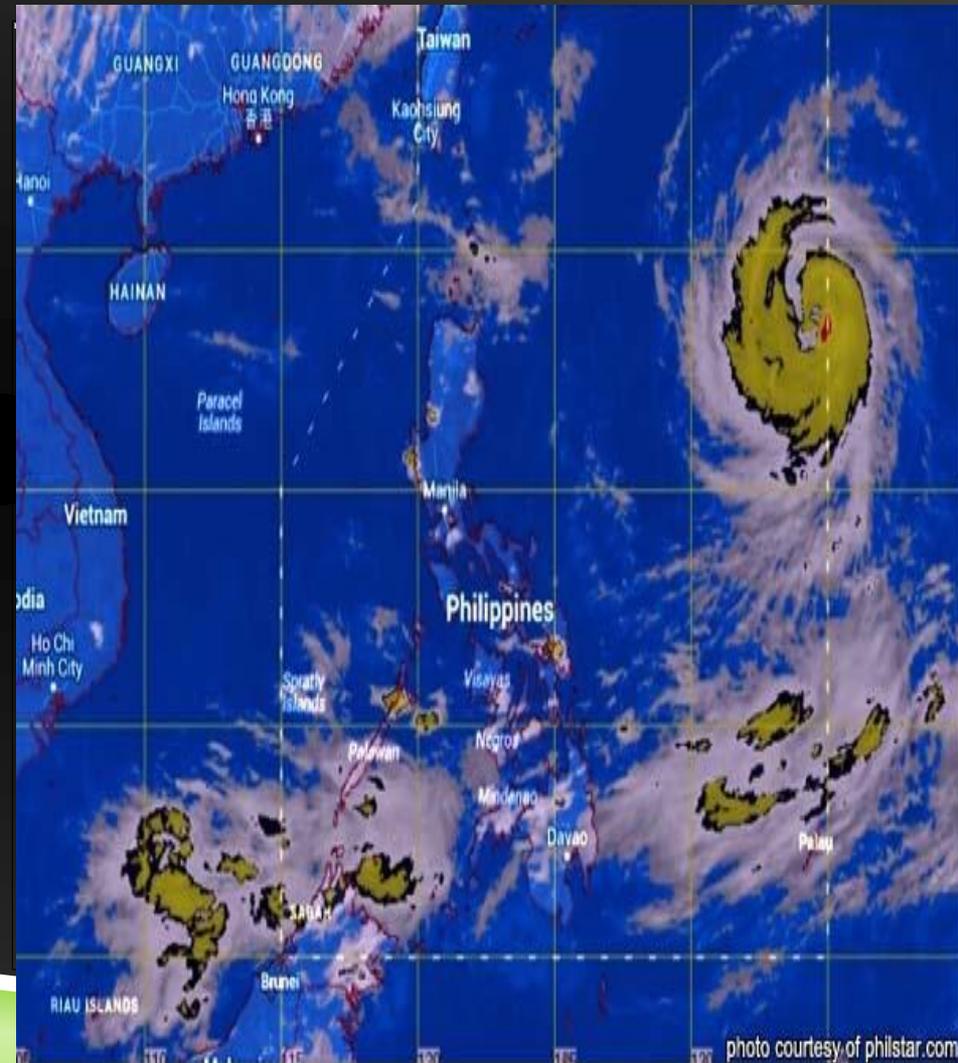


# **The Role of America's Alliances in The Philippines' Balancing Policy on China:**

**From the Aquino to the Duterte Administration  
Round-Table Discussion, March 24, 2017, The Tower Club,  
Philamlife Tower, Paseo De Roxas, Makati City**

# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ In early November 2013, a category-5 typhoon, code-named Haiyan, hit the Central Philippines. The typhoon caused an estimated 6,000 fatalities, left more than 3 million people homeless, destroyed 3,500,000 residential houses, and devastated several farmlands and fishponds in five-major islands, which accounts for 12% of the country's Gross Domestic Product.



# INTRODUCTION



► **The aftermath of typhoon exposed the weakness of the Aquino Administration and the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) in dealing with a major natural calamity. In the most affected islands of Samar and Leyte, the first humanitarian assistance and relief efforts were conducted by international relief agencies and foreign governments.**

# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ The aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan exposed the limitation of the AFP's capabilities for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Reduction (HADR) given it limited all-weather communication facilities, three C-130s, and 44 helicopters (only 28 operational).



# INTRODUCTION



- ▶ **48 hours after Typhoon Haiyan ravaged the central Philippines, the Philippine government requested the international community for humanitarian assistance and relief operations.**

# INTRODUCTION



- ▶ **The United States Pacific Command (PACOM) immediately launched Operation Damayan (Sharing)—a massive humanitarian and relief operation for the victims of Haiyan.**

# INTRODUCTION

- ▶ **America's allies such as Japan, Australia, and South Korea immediately deployed ships, aircraft, and personnel as part of the U.S.-led humanitarian effort. This showed not only the affirmation of the U.S. and its allies commitment to the alliance but also the effectivity of the Philippine government's diplomatic gambit of linking the hub-and-spokes system of bilateral alliances together.**



# INTRODUCTION



- ▶ **Given its gaps in terms of military capabilities, the Philippine defense department and the AFP rely on cooperation and relationship with its allies and security partners to assist their pursuit of their respective mandated missions and objectives. The AFP leverages on its security engagements with foreign militaries to augment its limited capabilities.**

# THE PHILIPPINES' BALANCING POLICY AGAINST CHINA

- ▶ The Aquino Administration's decision to pursue a substantial but much delayed modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP).
- ▶ President Benigno Aquino instructed the PN and PAF to acquire second-hand U.S. Coast Guard Cutters, and affordable jet fighters.



# THE PHILIPPINES' BALANCING POLICY



- ▶ The Philippines finds it imperative to leverage on the U.S. and its strategic allies and partners against an emergent and assertive China.



# THE PHILIPPINES' BALANCING POLICY...

- ▶ **The Aquino Administration's acknowledgement for American diplomatic support and military assistance.**
- ▶ **Establishing informal defense links with the U.S.' two allies and security partners— Japan, Australia, and South Korea.**



# QUESTIONS

- ▶ How is the Philippines forging defense arrangements with the hubs-and-spokes countries?
- ▶ What is the Philippines' game plan in establishing these defense linkages?



# THE SAN FRANCISCO SYSTEM OF BILATERAL ALLIANCE

## POWERPLAY

THE ORIGINS OF THE  
AMERICAN ALLIANCE SYSTEM

IN ASIA

VICTOR D. CHA



# THE SAN FRANCISCO SYSTEM OF BILATERAL ALLIANCES

AN ARMY OF ONE



- ▶ The hub and spokes model of bilateral alliances formed by the United States and its mostly East Asian allies in the early 1950s. (Australia, New Zealand, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand).
- ▶ Each is particular and significant in its own.
- ▶ Together they form a dense web of security and military partnership with the U.S.
- ▶ Relied on U.S. military power to deter Communist external threat and prevent domestic order due to internal insurgency.

# THE SAN FRANCISCO SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES

Extended American strategic deterrent from Western Europe to East Asia.

Enabled the U.S. to maintain a credible military presence in East Asia.



# **SAN FRANCISCO SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES**



**Made the U.S. as East Asia's primary security guarantor.**

**The U.S. dominated the conditions of these alliances.**

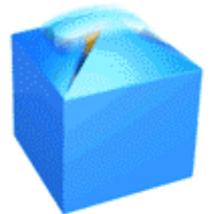
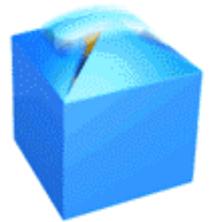
**These alliances have an enduring effect on the U.S. and its allies' foreign policies.**

# THE SAN FRANCISCO SYSTEM OF ALLIANCE AFTER THE COLD WAR

- ▶ Enables the U.S. to play a balancing role in East Asia.
- ▶ Greater ability to restraint and diffuse tension over key regional hotspots—the Korean Peninsula, the East and South China Sea, and the Taiwan Straits.
- ▶ Enables the U.S. to directly persuade China not to maneuver toward predominance of power in East Asia.



# Balancing an Emergent China



# **CHINA'S AGGRESSIVE STANCE AGAINST THE PHILIPPINES**

- ▶ Since the last quarter of 2010, the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs noted increase Chinese naval presence and activities in the Spratlys.
- ▶ Firing on Filipino fishermen and harassment of a survey ship commissioned by the Philippine Department of Energy in the Reed Bank.



# THE AQUINO BALANCING POLICY AGAINST AN EMERGENT CHINA

- ▶ The series of incidents between the Philippines and China in the mid-2010s made President Aquino realize that the country is on a direct collision course with China regarding the South China Sea issue.
- ▶ President Aquino decided to hasten the development of the AFP's territorial defense capabilities—navy and air force.



# THE AQUINO BALANCING STRATEGY...

In the Trenches by Phillip Thompson



YEAH, WELL, UNTIL CONGRESS PASSES A DEFENSE BUDGET, THIS IS THE ONLY AMMO YOU'RE GONNA GET.

- ▶ The AFP and the executive branch agreed on a multi-year, multi-billion peso defense upgrade program aimed to build up the military's territorial defense capabilities.
- ▶ Department of Budget and Management's released of a Multi-Year Obligation authority (MOA) to the Department of National Defense.

# THE AQUINO BALANCING...

- ▶ **The Philippine Congress' allocation Php eight billion (US\$160 million) annually for the procurement of weapon systems for territorial defense.**
- ▶ **It also covers the acquisition of radar and communication network and the purchase of three refurbished U.S. Coast Guard Hamilton class cutters for the Philippine Navy.**



# THE AQUINO ADMINISTRATION...



- ▶ **The Aquino Administration's territorial defense goal to establish a modest but comprehensive border protection program.**
- ▶ **The long-term goal is to develop the force structure and capabilities enabling the Philippine military to maintain a "credible deterrent posture against foreign intrusion or external aggression.**

# THE AQUINO ADMINISTRATION'S BALANCING...

- ▶ **Republic Act No. 10349** merely provides **Php 75 billion (US1.5 billion)** for the next five years. This amount is not enough to cover the **AFP's projected purchase of modern weapon systems of territorial defense.**



# THE AQUINO ADMINISTRATION...

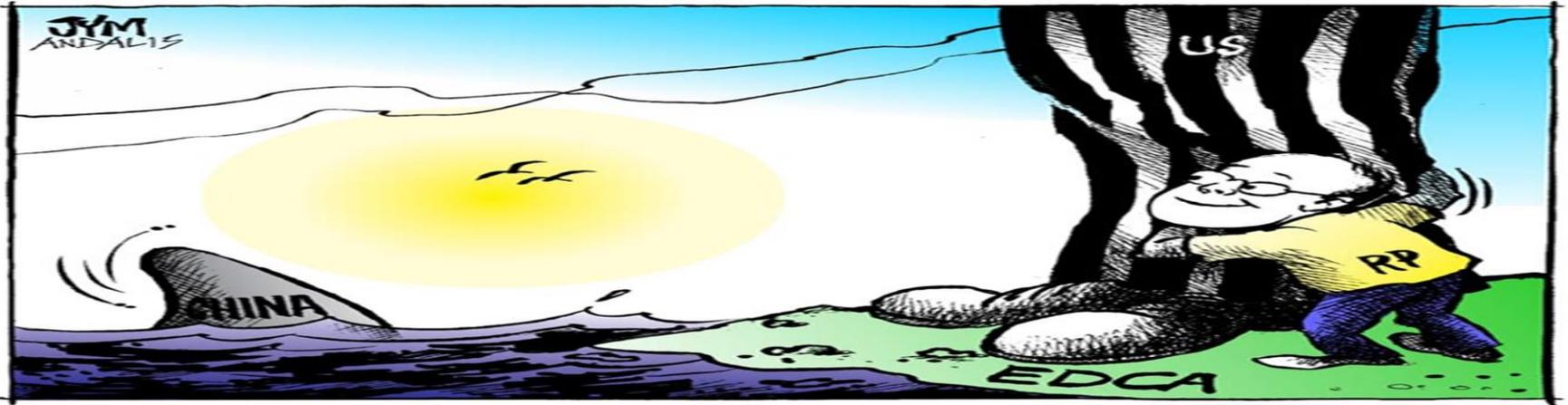
- ▶ The Aquino Administration is still hampered by limited financial resources.
- ▶ The AFP's capabilities are simply no match against China's growing naval prowess.



# LINKING THE SPOKES TOGETHER



# LEVERAGING ON THE HUB AND SPOKES



- ▶ The AFP's build-up of its territorial defense capabilities is aimed to complement the deterrence provided by U.S. forward deployed forces. It is predicated upon the U.S.'s assertion of its position as the dominant naval power in the Pacific.

# FOCUS ON THE COUNTRY'S ONLY STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

- ▶ **The alliance is based on the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1951.**
- ▶ **Since 2010, the MDT Board has focused on the maritime dispute in the South China Sea.**
- ▶ **Creation of the Philippine-U.S. Bilateral Strategic Dialogue. Both allies' decision to upgrade their mutual capabilities in maritime security.**



# FOCUS ON THE COUNTRY'S ONLY STRATEGIC ALLIANCE



- ▶ **U.S. support to the Philippine government's counter-terrorism/counter-insurgency operations in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.**
- ▶ **U.S. has deepened its alliance with the Philippines to counter Beijing's political and economic influence in the country.**

# FOCUS ON THE COUNTRY'S ONLY STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

- ▶ Amphibious Landing Exercise (PHILBEX).
- ▶ Exercise *Balikatan* (Shoulder-to-Shoulder).
- ▶ Cooperation Afloat Readiness (CARAT).



# FOCUS ON THE COUNTRY'S ONLY STRATEGIC ALLIANCE

In January 2012, the Second Bilateral Strategic Dialogue agreed on combined training and interoperability of their forces through the Framework Agreement on Increased Rotational Presence and Enhanced Agreement (IRP).



# FOCUS ON THE COUNTRY'S ONLY STRATEGIC ALLIANCE



- ▶ A dynamic partnership between the Philippines and the U.S. has required Manila to also develop security relations with Tokyo, Canberra, and Seoul.
- ▶ Current Philippine security policy requires the country to engage and strengthen its defense relationships with 17 countries that included Japan, Australia, India, South Korea, etc.



# LEVERAGING ON THE HUB-SPOKES SYSTEM

- ▶ Hedging its strategic bets in the light of the country's limited capabilities.
- ▶ Complementing its bilateral security alliance with the U.S.



# LEVERAGING ON THE HUB-SPOKES SYSTEM



- ▶ **The Philippines' policy of leveraging on these security relations jibes with the U.S. policy of linking its alliances in Northeast Asia with those in Southeast Asia.**



# LEVERAGING ON JAPAN



- ▶ **The Philippines and Japan have maintained vigorous economic and transnational relations.**
- ▶ **The two countries' adherence to democratic governance, civil and political liberties, free trade, freedom of navigation, and respect for human rights.**

# LEVERAGING ON JAPAN

- ▶ Japan's strategic and economic interests in the South China Sea dispute.
- ▶ Japan's balancing role against China in the South China Sea dispute by assisting some littoral Southeast Asian states to confront China's aggressive moves.



# LEVERAGING ON JAPAN

- ▶ *In July 2011, the Philippines and Japan agreed on a strategic dialogue on maritime and oceanic affairs. Tokyo's decision to assist in capacity-building training of the Philippine Coast Guard.*
- ▶ *The MSDF's ship visit to Manila during the two-month Scarborough Shoal stand-off between Philippines and Chinese civilian vessels.*



# LEVERAGING WITH JAPAN

- ▶ **High level dialogues between defense officials and reciprocal visits by the Maritime Self Defense Force (MSDF) Chief of Staff and the Philippine Navy (PN) Flag Commander.**
- ▶ **Cooperation in various security related activities such as the Multinational Cooperation Program in the Asia-Pacific, Multilateral Logistic Staff Talks (MLST).**



# LEVERAGING ON JAPAN



- ▶ **Training Exchanges and Subject Matter Exchanges on HADR and Logistics.**
- ▶ **Exchange Visits and Student Exchanges in Staff Colleges.**

# LEVERAGING ON JAPAN

► Tokyo's move to provide the Philippine Coast Guard 10 40-meter patrol boats as part of its ODA to the Philippines by 2014. Two additional vessels are also being considered as part of the grant.



# LEVERAGING ON JAPAN

The Philippines has offered the Self-Defense Forces access to former American military bases if Tokyo is interested in negotiating an access agreement with Manila.



# LEVERAGING ON AUSTRALIA

- ▶ The 1995 Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperative Activities between the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Australian Defense Force.
- ▶ MTA *Lumbas*.
- ▶ Philippines-Australia Maritime Surveillance Exercise (MARSUVEX).
- ▶ Fleet Concentration Period Exercise **KAKADU**.



its

# LEVERAGING ON AUSTRALIA

- ▶ Both countries are formal U.S. treaty allies that are also engaged in bilateral security relations.
- ▶ Philippine Navy—Royal Australian Navy *Lumbas* Exercise. Philippine Army—Royal Australian Army *Dawn Caracha*.



# LEVERAGING ON AUSTRALIA

- The signing and the ratification of the Philippines-Australia Status-of-Forces Agreement.
- Australia's support to the Philippines' position on the peaceful settlement of the South China Sea dispute.



# LEVERAGING ON AUSTRALIA

- ▶ **The Philippines' offer of a strategic partnership with Australia similar to its strategic partnerships with the U.S. and Japan.**



# LEVERAGING ON SOUTH KOREA

- ▶ **The Philippines is the only Southeast Asian country that sent combat troops to the Korean Peninsula as part of the U.S.-led UN Forces that defended the Republic of Korea against the invasion of the People's Republic Korea.**
- ▶ **Both countries are U.S. allies that share common interests in maintaining security and stability in the Korean Peninsula.**



# LEVERAGING ON SOUTH KOREA

- ▶ **The May 1994 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on Logistics Cooperation and Defense Cooperation provides both countries the framework to identify specific firms in their respective defense industry that can participate in cooperative defense projects between the two countries..**
- ▶ **In 2008, the Philippine Department of Defense acquired various ammunition for its light artillery units from two South Korean arms manufacturers.**



# LEVERAGING ON THE SPOKES

- ▶ **Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and Republic of Korea Armed Forces (ROKAF) Intelligence Exchange Conference.**
- ▶ **The Army-to-Army Intelligence Exchange Conference.**
- ▶ **The Joint Committee on Logistic and Defense Cooperation between the Philippines and the Republic of Korea.**



# LEVERAGING ON SOUTH KOREA

- ▶ **The Philippines and South Korea entered into a two year negotiation for a government-to-government procurement arrangement for the Philippine Air Force's (PAF) lead-in-fighter plane. In March 2014, the Philippines signed a contract with Korea Aerospace Industries for the acquisition of 12 F/A-50 fighter planes for the PAF. The Korea-Trade Promotion Agency guaranteed the government-to-government contract.**



# THE HUB AND SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION : OPERATION DAMAYAN

## OPERATION DAMAYAN

GUAN, PHILIPPINES



(WORDS AND PHOTOS) ROBERTO DE VIDO

# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION *DAMAYAN* (SHARING)



- ▶ In mid-November 2013, Typhoon Haiyan destroyed the central Philippine city of Tacloban and adversely affected an estimated 9.5 million people.

# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION *DAMAYAN* (SHARING)



- ▶ It also devastated roads, ports, and communication infrastructure and turned many of the people designated to respond to the natural disaster, the AFP and the PNP, into victims.

# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION *DAMAYAN* (SHARING)



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# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION DAMAYAN (SHARING)

- ▶ The widespread destruction of lives and properties in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan exposed the AFP's limitations in terms of HADR capabilities. The AFP's HADR operation was hampered by the shortage of large troop carriers, the lack of basic provision such as food, heavy equipment, reliable communication, technology, helicopters and strategic sea and airlift capabilities.



# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION DAMAYAN (SHARING)



- ▶ 48 hours after Typhoon Haiyan made a land-fall in the central Philippines, the Philippine government requested for U.S. assistance. On the basis of this request, U.S. Secretary of Defense, Chuck Hagel, directed the PACOM to support the U.S. government's HADR operations in the Philippines.

# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION DAMAYAN (SHARING)

- ▶ **PACOM deployed 2,150 Marines and sailors ashore, and some 50 ships and aircraft to distribute food, water, and other supplies and speed up the delivery of relief supplies and facilitate the movement of AFP/PNP units by reopening roads, ports, and airports.**



# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION DAMAYAN (SHARING)



- ▶ The Australian Defense Force deployed a C-17 Globemaster and a C-130 that airlifted doctors, paramedics, and logistic support staff to the disaster area. The ADF also sent the *HMAS Tobruk* to deliver supplies and ferry engineers from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Combat Engineering Regiment to Leyte.

# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION *DAMAYAN* (SHARING)

Japan sent three Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) destroyers that brought 1,000 Ground Self-Defense Force to deliver emergency supplies to Samar and Leyte. Japan also dispatched three Ch-46 transport helicopters, three UH-1 utility helicopters, the transport vessel *Osumi*, two KC-767 air tankers, seven C-130s transport aircraft, and U-4 utility support aircraft to the multilateral forces involved in Operation *Damayán*.



# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION DAMAYAN (SHARING)

- ▶ The Republic of Korea dispatched two C-130s and sent a 529-military contingent that was deployed in Leyte and Samar for six months.



# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION *DAMAYAN* (SHARING)



- ▶ The affirmation of American commitment to its security partners and the reliability of the bilateral system of alliances.

# THE HUB-AND-SPOKES SYSTEM IN ACTION: OPERATION *DAMAYAN* (SHARING)

- ▶ Operation *Damayán* also showed that the allies can operate in far-flung places, build military-to-military relations, and get realistic training in inter-operability—all can be applied in the alliance's primary mission--war-fighting.



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION



Mayor Duterte's was highly critical of the Aquino Administration's policy of balancing on China. He wants bilateral negotiations and joint development with China. He also stated that he doesn't believe in arbitration.

# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

**President Duterte's down-playing of the PCA Award to the Philippines during the ASEAN Summit in Laos; the declaration of the end of the Philippine Navy and U.S. Navy Joint patrols in the South China Sea; and calling for the withdrawal of American Special Forces from Mindanao.**



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

While in Hanoi, Vietnam. President Duterte announced that the Philippine-U.S. Amphibious Landing Exercise (PHILBEX) 2016 would be the last joint military exercise between two allies.



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

President Duterte called for a review of the 2014 Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement that was signed by then Defense Secretary Voltaire Gazmin and U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines Philip Goldberg.



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

- ▶ On 20 October 2016, President Rodrigo Duterte announced that the Philippines' separation from the United States following high level talks with Chinese leaders in Beijing.



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

According to him, “It is not severance of ties. When you say severance of ties, you cut diplomatic relations. I cannot do that. It is the best interest of my countrymen to maintain that relationship.”



PHOTO FROM CNN WIRE IMAGES / MARO/PCO

# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

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# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

**President Duterte did not mention anything about unilaterally abrogating the alliance and EDCA. But this led to the postponement of the 24 October Mutual Defense Board (MDB) Meeting that was supposed to plan for 28 joint military exercises for 2017.**



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION



**An unnamed Philippine military official said that Philippine defense secretary and the AFP would try to convince President Duterte in a cabinet meeting on 7 November to keep the alliance intact and retain some useful joint exercises.**

# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

On 7 November 2016, Defense Secretary Delfin announced that *Balikatan* Exercises will continue and EDCA will be implemented. Military exercises with 2,000 U.S. and Philippine troops will continue. Those exercised will focus on counter-terrorism, humanitarian response, special warfare operations on counter-terrorism, engineering, civil actions will be allowed. However, PHILBEX amphibious involving Marines and Training CARAT drills with the U.S. Navy would be discontinued



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION

Interestingly, President Duterte has maintained and nurtured Philippine security partnership with Japan, China's main rival in East Asia. Philippine-Japan security partnership is maintained intact through joint political consultations, ship visits, and recently the provision of Japanese ships and planes to the Philippine Coast Guard and Navy



# ALLIANCE POLICY IN CRISIS: THE DUTERTE ADMINISTRATION



HAVE

DAY

A

DAY

GREAT DAY!

GREAT DAY!