

The Special Japan-Australia Strategic Partnership within the DSD: Seeking Partnership with the Philippines in Maritime Security



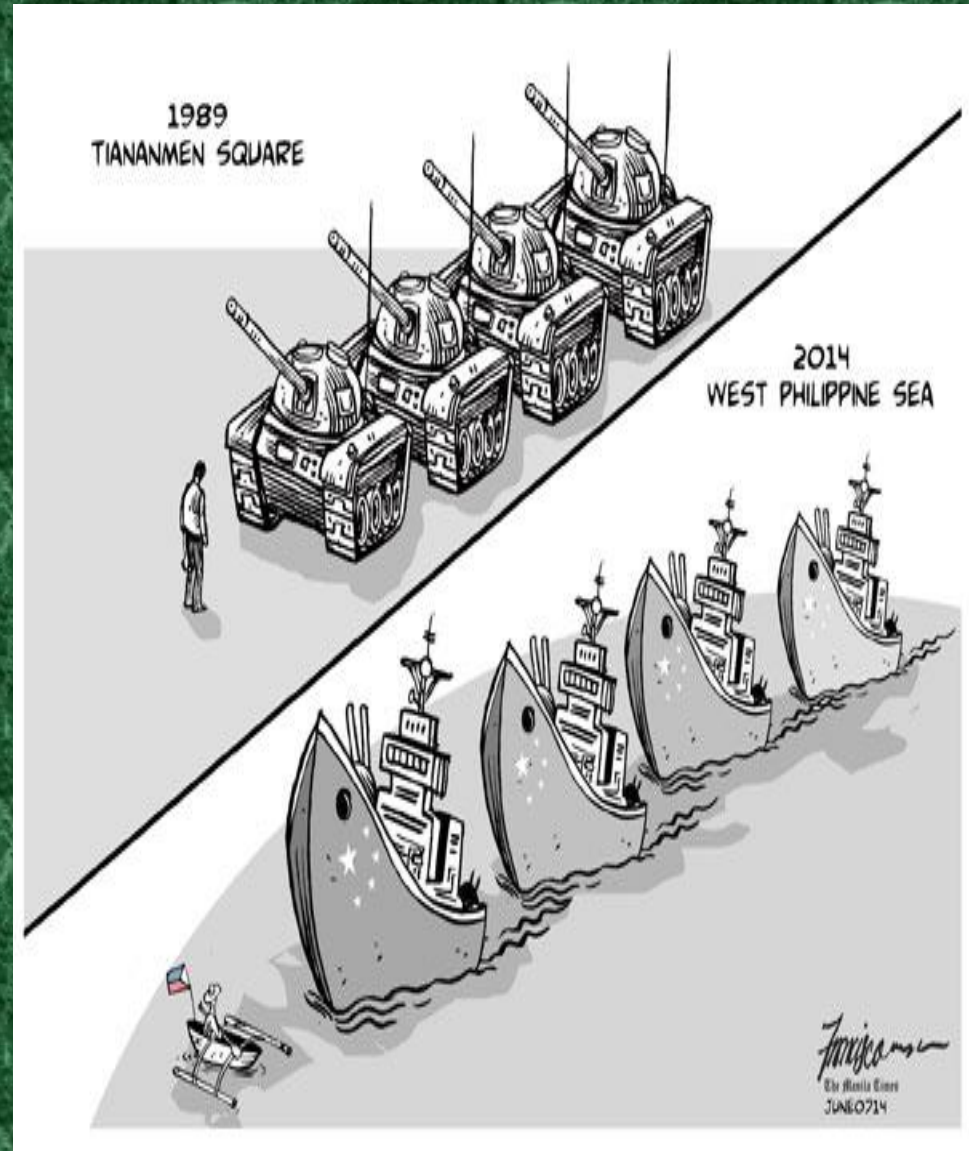
Introduction



The three-month Scarborough stand-off in 2012 exemplifies China's protracted, low-intensity, and incremental moves to gain control of the South China Sea.

Introduction

The stand-off began on 10 April when the Philippine Navy's (PN's) flagship tried to apprehend several Chinese fishing vessels. However, two Chinese maritime surveillance vessels arrived and prevented the arrest of the Chinese fishermen.



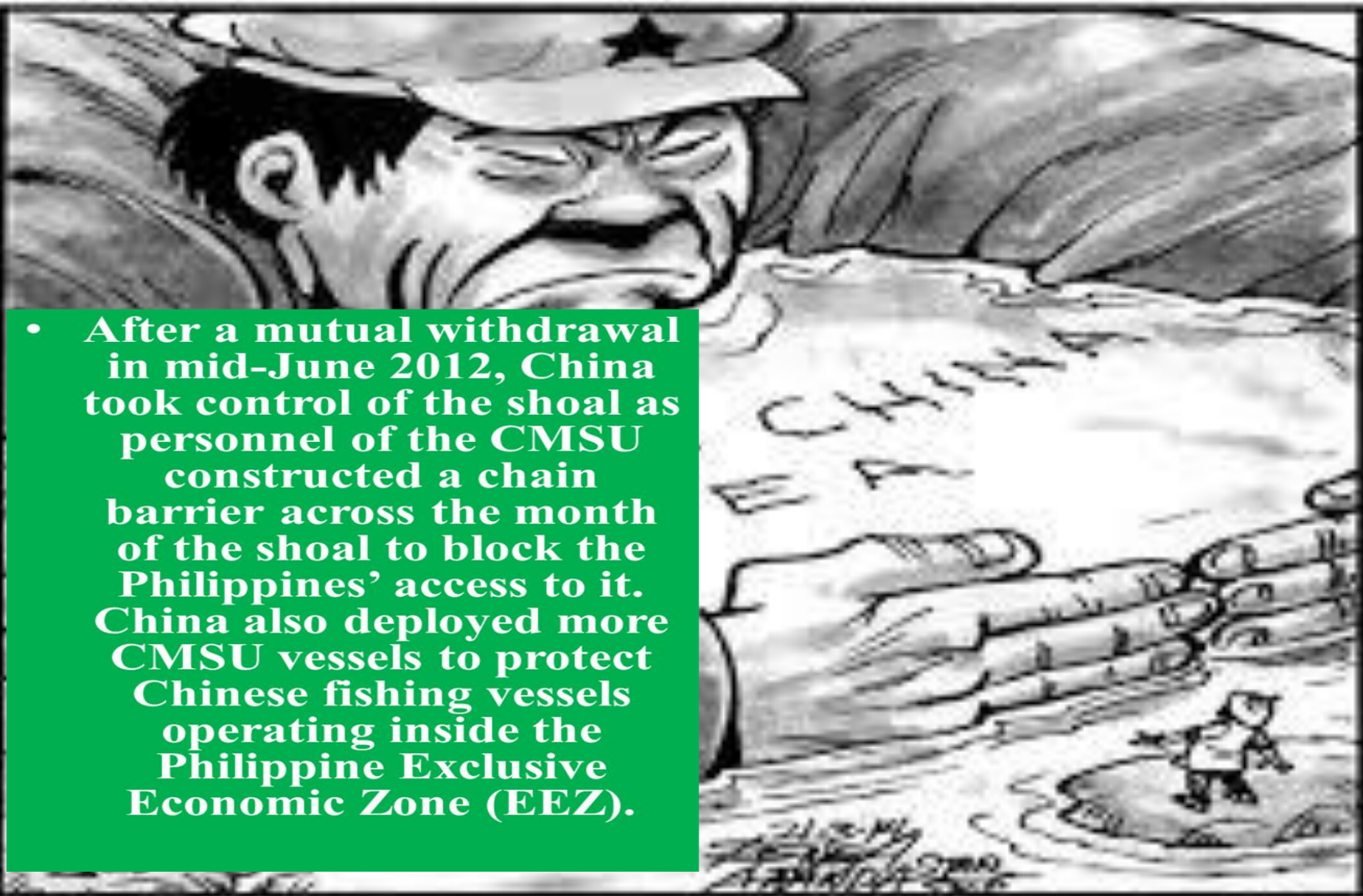
Introduction



During the stand-off, China raised the stakes as it deployed its most advanced and largest patrol vessel—the *Yuzheng* 310. The incident underscored an international reality—Chinese economic and naval power cast a long shadow over the Philippines and Vietnam.

Introduction

- **After a mutual withdrawal in mid-June 2012, China took control of the shoal as personnel of the CMSU constructed a chain barrier across the mouth of the shoal to block the Philippines' access to it. China also deployed more CMSU vessels to protect Chinese fishing vessels operating inside the Philippine Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ).**



Introduction

China's efforts to assert its expansive claim against the Philippines began even earlier than 2012. It began in early 2009 and continued way into 2011. These moves showed China's belligerent efforts to consolidate its jurisdictional claims, expand its naval reach, and under the positions of other claimant states through coercive diplomacy.



Introduction



Confronted by China's expansion into the South China Sea, the Philippines realized the need to develop the capability of the AFP to protect its vast maritime borders and its territorial claim over some islands in the Spratlys.

Introduction

The AFP's shift from internal to maritime security gained momentum during the term of President Benigno Aquino III, who in clear emphatic terms, declared the need for enhanced security for national defense through the modernization of the navy and the air force.



Introduction



The shift from internal defense to maritime security requires: the Philippine government providing the AFP with necessary equipment and expertise for external defense; and forming and fostering partnerships with other naval powers with common values and mutual interests in maritime security.

Introduction

Two middle powers have assisted the Philippines in enhancing its maritime security capabilities, Japan and Australia. Incidentally, both middle powers are members of the “Democratic Security Diamond (DSD).”



Introduction



As members of the DSD, Japan and Australia have emphasized the relevance of the regional security architecture, and have actively provided assistance to the maritime capacity building of third countries threatened by the rise of China.

Introduction

Why is the Philippines enhancing its strategic ties with Japan and Australia?

How are Japan and Australia helping the Philippines enhance its maritime security capabilities?



Introduction



What are the respective motives and goals of these three security partners?

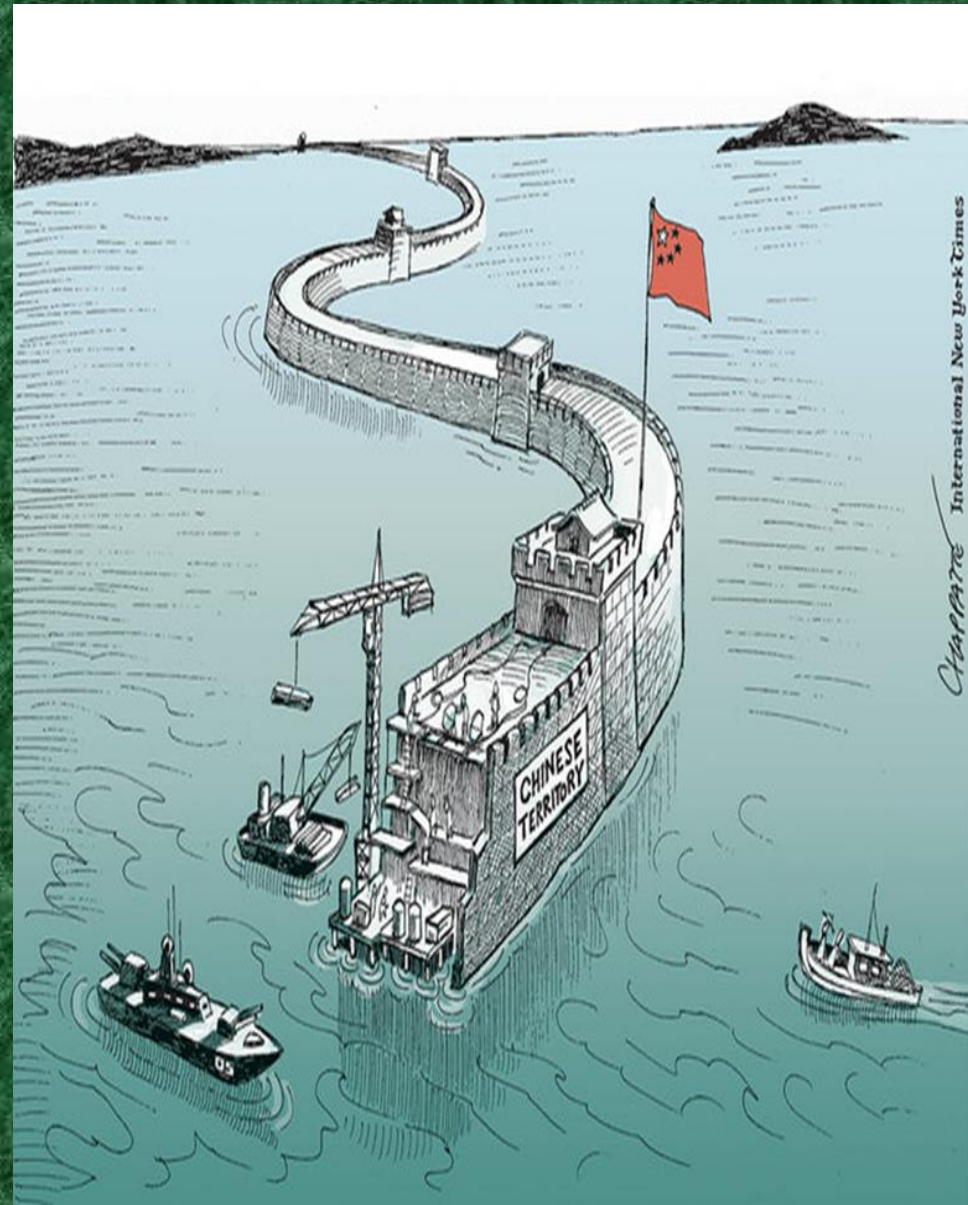
What is the future of this trilateral security partnership?

21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion



21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion

China's phenomenal economic growth has transformed it into an engine of economic growth not only in East Asia but throughout the world. This made China more confident and assertive in foreign affairs but also heightened its military prowess.



21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion

- **Strong economically and militarily, China has taken several provocative actions in the South and East China Sea.**



21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion



China's naval build-up, increasing assertiveness, and development of its extensive anti-access/area denial capabilities in the First-Island chain are designed to challenge the U.S. role as East Asia strategic off-shore balancer in particular, and the U.S.-led international order that was established in the end of the Second World War.

21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion



China's encroachments on the maritime and aviation rights of other littoral states in the South China Sea are the most potential trigger of a systemic war in the early 21st century.

21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion

China's maritime activities such as island creation and base building; its militarization of those bases with all types of missiles and fighter-planes; and the extensions of efforts to control the maritime and air-spaces in both the East and South China Sea could trigger a shooting war with any of the littoral states and even with the U.S.



21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion



21st Century Chinese Maritime Expansion

By early 2010, China's fervent nationalism, growing naval prowess, and unilateral move were overtly directed against the Philippines. On 2 March 2011, Chinese patrol boats harassed a survey vessel commissioned by the Philippine Department of Energy in the Reed Bank.



Tapping the Middle Powers for Maritime Security: the Case of the Philippines



Tapping the Middle Powers for Maritime Security: the Case of the Philippines

The 2nd March Reed Bank Incident and China's arrogant response to the Philippines' diplomatic queries prompted the Aquino Administration to hasten the development of the AFP's territorial defense capabilities.



Tapping the Middle Powers for Maritime Security: the Case of the Philippines



In June 2011, the Philippine government and the AFP agreed on a multi-year, multi-billion peso defense upgrade spending and military build-up. The Philippine government committed billions of pesos to develop the Philippine military's capabilities for greater domain awareness of Philippine territorial waters and Exclusive Economic Zone.

Tapping the Middle Powers for Maritime Security: the Case of the Philippines

Despite its determination to shift the AFP's focus from internal security territorial defense/maritime security, the Aquino Administration was constrained by insufficient financial resources even with its modest acquisition goals.



Tapping the Middle Powers for Maritime Security: the Case of the Philippines

The Philippine government could not readily purchase such war materiel such as blue-water missile-armed ships, search-and research vessels, naval helicopters, strategic sea-lift ships, and top-of-the line interceptors that can be deployed in the South China Sea.



Tapping the Middle Powers for Maritime Security: the Case of the Philippines

In December 2012, the Aquino Administration passed Republic Act No. 10349 authorizing the extension of the original AFP modernization law. The law allots US\$1.5 billion for the next five years. The amount, however, is miniscule for the purchase of the necessary military hardware for the build-up of the Philippines' maritime security capabilities.



Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond

Asia's
Democratic
Security
Diamond

セキュリティー・
ダイヤモンド構想

Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond

The DSD was a brain child of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. He initiated the creation of the DSD to oppose Chinese maritime expansion and to defend peace, stability, and the freedom of navigation within the diamond.



Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond



Its immediate goal is to prevent the South China Sea from becoming a Beijing-Lake, a sea deep enough for the PLAN to base its nuclear powered attack submarines, capable of launching missiles.

Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond

In forming the DSD, PM Abe saw the prospect of Australia, India, Japan and the United States forming the diamond that will safeguard the maritime commons stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Western Pacific.



Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond



- Within the DSD, Japan and Australia have enhanced their bilateral security ties to forge what is described as a “Special Strategic Partnership.”

Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond

Both are not only bound by their membership and reliance on the U.S. system of alliances, they share a common concern about the long-term credibility of U.S. security guarantees due to questions of American political resolve, defense cuts, and its economic dependence on China.



Fostering Maritime Security in the Indo-Pacific: The Democratic Security Diamond



Japan and Australia are pursuing two common policies: a) focusing their attention to the security of the Asia-Pacific; b) cooperating on capacity-building assistance directed on Southeast Asia and the South Pacific.

Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

During the 2012 Scarborough stand-off between Manila and Beijing, Tokyo announced that its plan to provide the Philippines with 10 new patrol vessels to bolster the latter maritime patrol capability.



<http://izzati-moffet.blogspot.com/2013/01/philippine-coast-guard-to-receive->

Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

In July 2012, then
Japanese Defense
Minister Satoshi
Morimoto met
then Philippine
Defense Secretary
Voltaire Gazmin
to sign a bilateral
agreement on
maritime security.



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security



<http://www.manilalivewire.com/2015/03/japan-and-u-s-to->

- The 27 June 2013, meeting between Japanese Defense Minister Itsunori Onodera and Philippine Defense Secretary Voltaire Gazmin that confirmed the two countries' continuous exchanges of information aimed at strengthening Philippine-Japan defense relations and working together to facilitate the U.S. Strategic Rebalancing to Asia.

Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

The two sides agreed for Reciprocal visits between the Chief-of-Staff of the Japanese Maritime Self-Defense Forces (JMSDF) and the Flag Officer of the Philippine (PN); holding of the Japan-Philippine Maritime Chief of Staff Meeting; JMSDF ships port calls in Philippine ports; and active participation in the Pacific Partnership 2013.



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

In June 2015, President Aquino made his first state visit to Japan. During his visit, he met Prime Minister Shintaro Abe and the two heads of government discussed how they can strengthen their strategic partnership in the face of China's aggressive behavior.





Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

The two leaders also signed “A Joint Declaration on a Strengthened Strategic Partnership for Advancing the Shared Principles Goals of Peace, Security and Growth in the Region and Beyond.” The five-page document provides a detailed action plan for strengthened strategic partnership between the two countries.

Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

- **Arms Transfer**—Japan's provision of ten patrol boats to the Philippine Coast Guard. Possible provision of equipment to enhance the AFP's maritime domain awareness capabilities.
- **Negotiation for a Possible Philippine-Japan Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA)** that would allow Japan Self Defense Force access to Philippine military facilities.



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

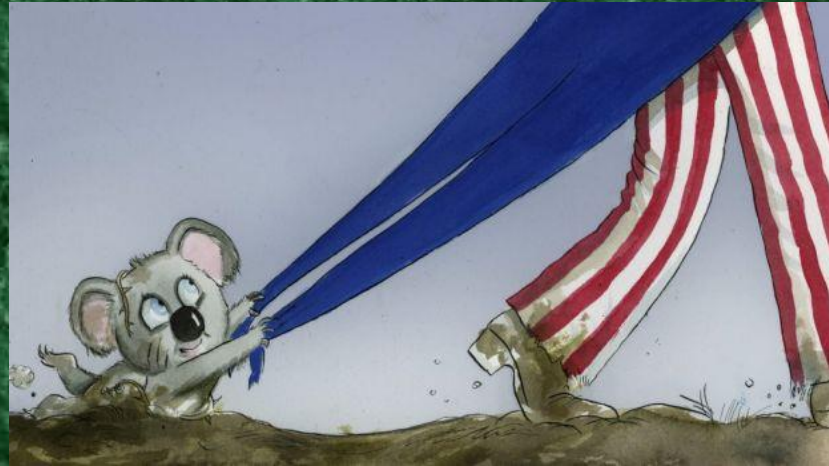
- The 1995 Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperative Activities between the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Australian Defense Force.
- MTA *Lumbas*.
- Philippines-Australia Maritime Surveillance Exercise (MARSUVEX).
- Fleet Concentration Period Exercise KAKADU.

its



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

- 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*.



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

- The signing and the ratification of the Philippines-Australia Status-of-Forces Agreement.



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security

Australian Defense
Force's
participation in
four annual joint
Philippine-U.S.
Balikatan
Exercises.



Capacity-Building for Philippine Maritime Security



- Australia's provision of five Balikpapan-class landing craft heavy (LCH) to the Philippine Navy . The newly acquired ships were sold to Manila for a friendship price of Php270 million (US\$5.8 million).

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

In his speeches in late 2016, President Rodrigo Duterte signaled that he wants to create a diplomatic/strategic distance between the Philippines and the U.S., while pivoting towards China and Russia.



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



His foreign policy gambit has two implications: It moved the Philippines away from the U.S. toward a more independent posture; and it made the PCA's landmark decision on the South China Sea as nothing more than a "piece of trash paper."

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

President Duterte's appeasement policy on China at the expense of Philippine-U.S. security relations does not sit well with the AFP that has close relations with the American armed services. The AFP is anxious that the president is throwing away the only card the Philippines has to play in its territorial dispute with China—U.S. security umbrella.



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



Thus, despite earlier rantings against the Aquino Administration's modernization program, the current administration announced that it would continue the program as it jibes with its plan to develop a credible deterrence to secure Philippine territory, especially its maritime borders.

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



In 2016, Philippine defense budget went up by 15%. There are acquisitions of maritime surveillance planes from Japan , and the signing a contract with South Korea for the purchase of two missile-armed frigates for the Philippine Navy.

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

During the ASEAN summit in Laos, Prime Minister Abe held his first meeting with President Duterte during which he unveiled Japan's plan to provide two 90-meter patrol vessels to the Philippines. PM Abe expressed Japan's goal to assist the Philippines to improve its maritime surveillance capabilities in the light of China's growing activities in the South China Sea.



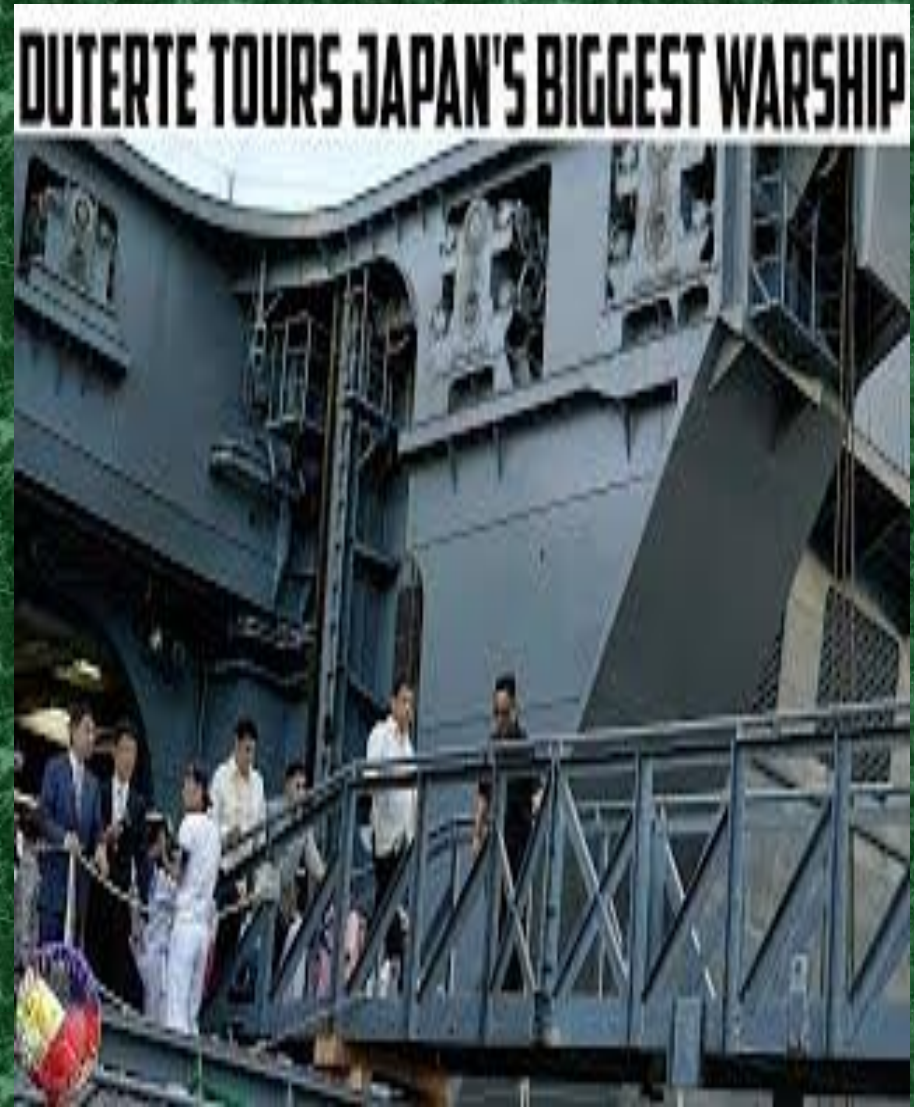
Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



President Duterte expressed his willingness to advance security cooperation with Japan. During his working visit in Tokyo, he showed his resentment of the U.S. does not necessarily extend to American allies like Japan and even offered praise for Japan. He assured his host that maritime security cooperation between Japan and the Philippines will continue.

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

The Duterte Administration is strengthening the country's security partnership with Japan. Tokyo reaffirms its commitment to strength the Philippine Coast Guard (PCG); President Duterte is open to joint naval exercise with Japan; and the two countries signed the 26 October 2016 on Japan-Philippines Joint promoting the "Philippine-Japan Strategic Partnership."



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

Japan is strengthening its security partnership with the Philippines to limit China's growing economic and political influence in the country.



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



- **Current 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.**

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

- Australia's continuing participation in the Philippine-U.S. *Balikatan* 2017.



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security



**Australia's deployment
of two Royal Australian
Air Force (RAAF)
Orion aircraft for
surveillance and
reconnaissance support
to the AFP combat
operations against
Islamic militants in
Marawi City.**

Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

Provision of
military training
to AFP on urban
warfare, and
intelligence-
sharing with the
Philippines.



Assisting the Duterte Administration's Capacity-Building for Maritime Security

- Increased port-visits by Royal Australian Navy (RAN) ships and joint Philippine-Australian exercises on Humanitarian Assistance and Risk Reduction (HADR) operations.



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation



- A dynamic partnership between the Philippines and the U.S. has required Manila to also develop security relations with middle powers like Japan, Australia, and South Korea.

The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation



Current Philippine security policy requires the country to engage and to strengthen its defense relationships with 17 countries that included Japan, Australia, India, South Korea, etc.

The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation

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





- 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.



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation



Philippines' efforts to enhance its security relations with Japan and Australia is based on the calculation that they are also American allies like the Philippines.

The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation

Philippines' current security relations with Japan and Australia is based on the expectation that by establishing defense ties with these two American allies, Manila is augmenting its alliance with Washington.



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation

Despite earlier threats to abrogate its alliance with the U.S., President Duterte found it necessary. On 7 November 2016, Defense Secretary Delfin announced that *Balikatan* Exercises would continue. Military exercises with 2,000 U.S. and Philippine troops are still conducted. Those exercises now focus on counter-terrorism, humanitarian response, special warfare operations on counter-terrorism, engineering, civil actions will be allowed.



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation



The Duterte Administration is implementing the 2014 Enhance Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) and well as conducting joint U.S.-Philippine military exercises. These are indications of a reversal of the previous statements that Duterte made about his “separation” from the United States.

The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation

Capacity-building of like-minded states is a new and important area of the Japan-Australia strategic partnership. The two countries consider fostering relations with the third countries through capacity building as important for two reasons: a) creation of concert of like-minded states would enmesh China in a web of regional institutions, and norms; b) an association of like-minded powers could be transformed into a counter-vailing military alliance or a coalition, even if the U.S. is absent.



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation



Japan and Australia see the Philippines as one of those like-minded countries that can play an important security role in preserving the liberal international order in East Asia.

The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation

- Australia's and Japan's security partnership with the Philippines will be constrained by following policies: both countries will never extend any security guarantee to the Philippines; and both countries will never provide any lethal combat equipment to the AFP.



The Future of this Trilateral Security Relation

- Both Australia and Japan have no intention of replacing the U.S. as the Philippines' only formal treaty ally.



Conclusion



Conclusion



Confronted by China's maritime expansionism in the South China Sea, the Philippines has forged security ties with two middle powers, Japan and Australia.

Conclusion

- These efforts on the part of the Philippines are based on the calculation that fostering diplomatic and defense ties with these two middle powers, that are American allies too, will augment the Philippine-U.S. alliance.



Conclusion

On their part, Australia and Japan have assisted the Philippine because they are American allies and also because they are also members the Democratic Security Diamond (DSD).



Conclusion



As members of the DSD, the two middle powers are pursuing two common policies: a) focusing their attention to the security of the Asia-Pacific; and b) cooperating on capacity-building assistance directed on Southeast Asia and the South Pacific.

Conclusion

Australia and Japan view fostering security relations with the Philippines, through capacity building, as important for two reasons: a) creation of concert of like-minded states would enmesh China in a web of regional institutions, and norms; b) an association of like-minded powers could be transformed into a counter-vailing military alliance or a coalition, even if the U.S. is absent.

US, JAPAN, INDIA, AUSTRALIA
FIRST STEP TO ASIAN NATO



Conclusion

Both middle powers, however, have no intention of replacing the U.S. as the Philippines's formal treaty ally. They still want and hope that their traditional security ally—the U.S.-- will remain the dominant power way into the 21st century.

