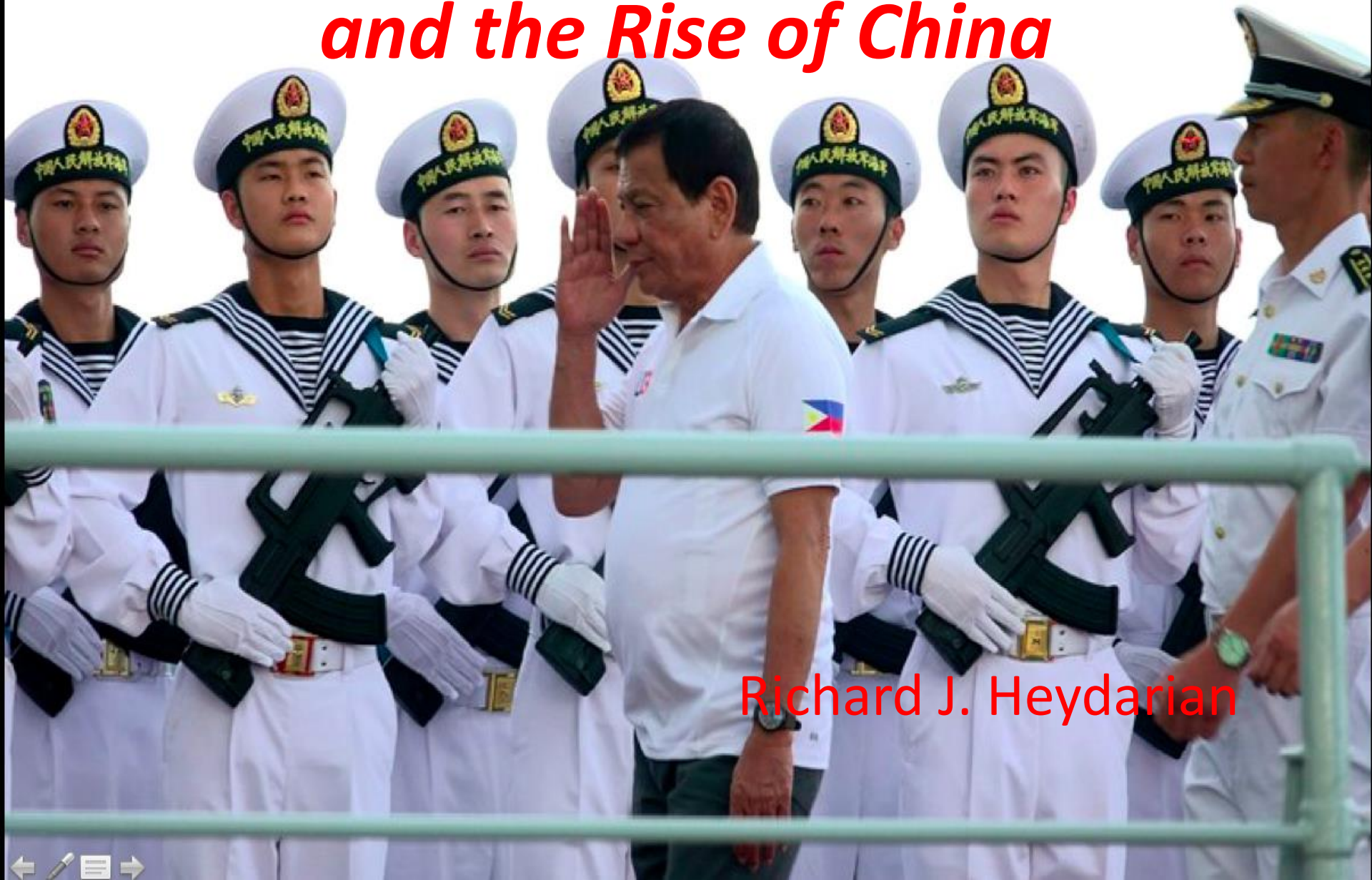


# *Divided Resistance: ASEAN, US, and the Rise of China*



Richard J. Heydarian

# Kübler-Ross Grief Cycle

## Denial

Avoidance  
Confusion  
Elation  
Shock  
Fear

## Anger

Frustration  
Irritation  
Anxiety

## Bargaining

Struggling to find meaning  
Reaching out to others  
Telling one's story

## Depression

Overwhelmed  
Helplessness  
Hostility  
Flight

## Acceptance

Exploring options  
New plan in place  
Moving on

Information and  
Communication

Emotional  
Support

Guidance and  
Direction

# Outline

- **Chinese ADIZ as Inevitability?**
- **Pushback**
- **The Duterte Shock**
- **Doctrine of “No Sole Control”**



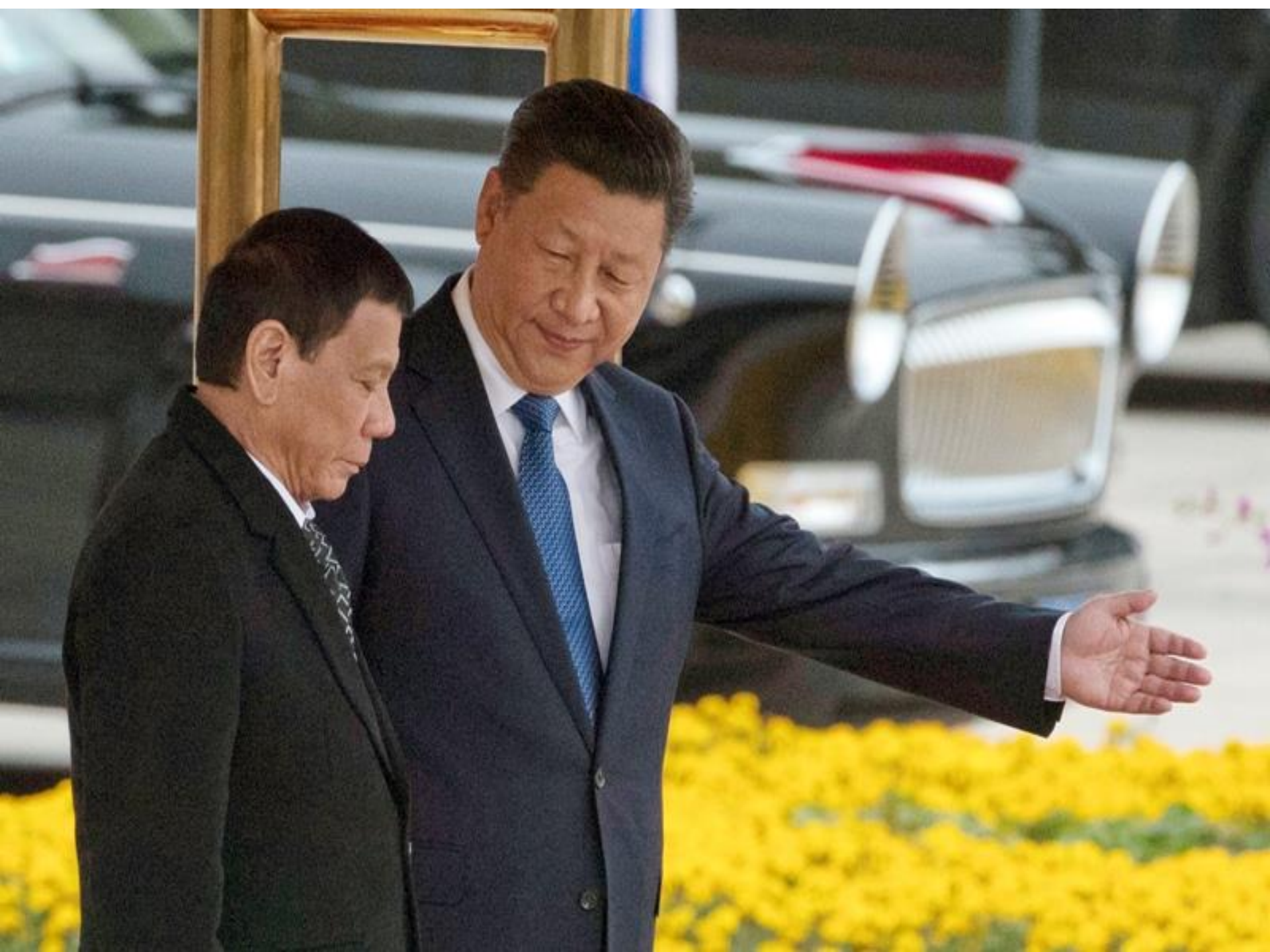
# Militarization on Steroids

- HQ-9B surface-to-air-missiles (SAMs);
- YJ-12B anti-cruise ballistic missiles (ACBMs);
- Electronic jamming equipment;
- Nuclear-capable bombers;
- Accelerated reclamation and completion of military facilities on artificially-created islands in Spratlys and Paracels;
- Chinese Coast Guard placed under PLAN's command;
- Largest ever naval exercise in the South China Sea, led by no less than Xi Jinping;



# Pushback

- FONOPS by Trump administration: More regular, more flexible, more aggressive, and expanded in scope (i.e. Scarborough Shoal).
- Europeans joining the fray, conducting separate FONOPs;
- Australia considering its own, already doing aerial patrols in the South China Sea;
- India and Japan expanding their footprint in the area;
- **FONOPs alone, however, are provocative enough to give China an excuse to dig in, but not robust enough to deter its assertiveness**





# **5 Drivers of Strategic Recalibration**

- 1.) Wholesale rejection of American-leaning elite;**
- 2.) “Authoritarianization” and concentration of executive power’;**
- 3.) American strategic ambivalence;**
- 4.) Chinese art of the deal;**
- 5.) Personalization of foreign policy – “I, me, and myself” as raison d'état**

# Duterte Shock

- Opted for a “soft-landing” by “setting aside” the Philippines’ arbitration award – snuffed out the lawfare momentum.
- Almost overnight, extinguished the Philippines’ role as **the vortex of resistance** against China within the ASEAN;
- Leveraged his ASEAN chairmanship to tell external powers to back off, **leave the disputes ‘left untouched’** – allowed China to use ASEAN as a shield against international community measure;
- Views China as a personal “protector”; called for weaker nations to be “meek” and “humble” in exchange for Chinese “mercy”, joked about the Philippines becoming “province of China”.
- Downgraded security cooperation with the U.S. (accompanied by invectives at its leaders);

# Limiting US Forward Deployment Capacity: Delays, Disagreements and Downgrades

- Basa Air Base \*Luzon)
- Fort Magsaysay (Luzon)
- Antonio Bautista\* (Palawan)
- Mactan-Benito Ebuen Air Base (Visayas)
- Lumbia Air Base (Mindanao)



# Mayor's Diplomacy: Chinese Military Access in Davao

- Unprecedented visits by Chinese military personnel
- Visit by Flotilla of three Chinese warship (2017)
- Visits by Chinese aircraft (2018)
- Call by the ruling PDP-Laban party for a formal defense agreement
- Question: Surveillance? Conclave? Test-case? Preview?



# Dual Government: Internal Pushback

- The AFP has emphasized its “constitutional duties” to protect the Philippines’ territorial integrity and sovereign rights;
- Gradually restoring security cooperation with the US: Balikatan exercises (60% increase) and return of joint amphibious exercises in South China Sea;
- Visit to and warm embrace of multiple US aircraft carrier visits in first half of 2018;
- Veto any ‘strategic alignment’ with China, but Duterte stumbling into a ‘strategic leaning approach’.





# **VFA: The OS of the MDT**

- **Crucial on three fronts:**
  - 1. Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief Operations (HADR)**
  - 2. Counter-Terrorism**
  - 3. Maritime Security**

# Trump 'fine' with VFA termination? 'He deserves to be reelected,' says Duterte

Malacañang says President Duterte 'is glad that the American President understands and respects his decision to end the Visiting Forces Agreement'



**Aika Rey**

@reyaika

Published 12:12 AM, February 16, 2020

Updated 7:14 AM, February 16, 2020

[Facebook](#)

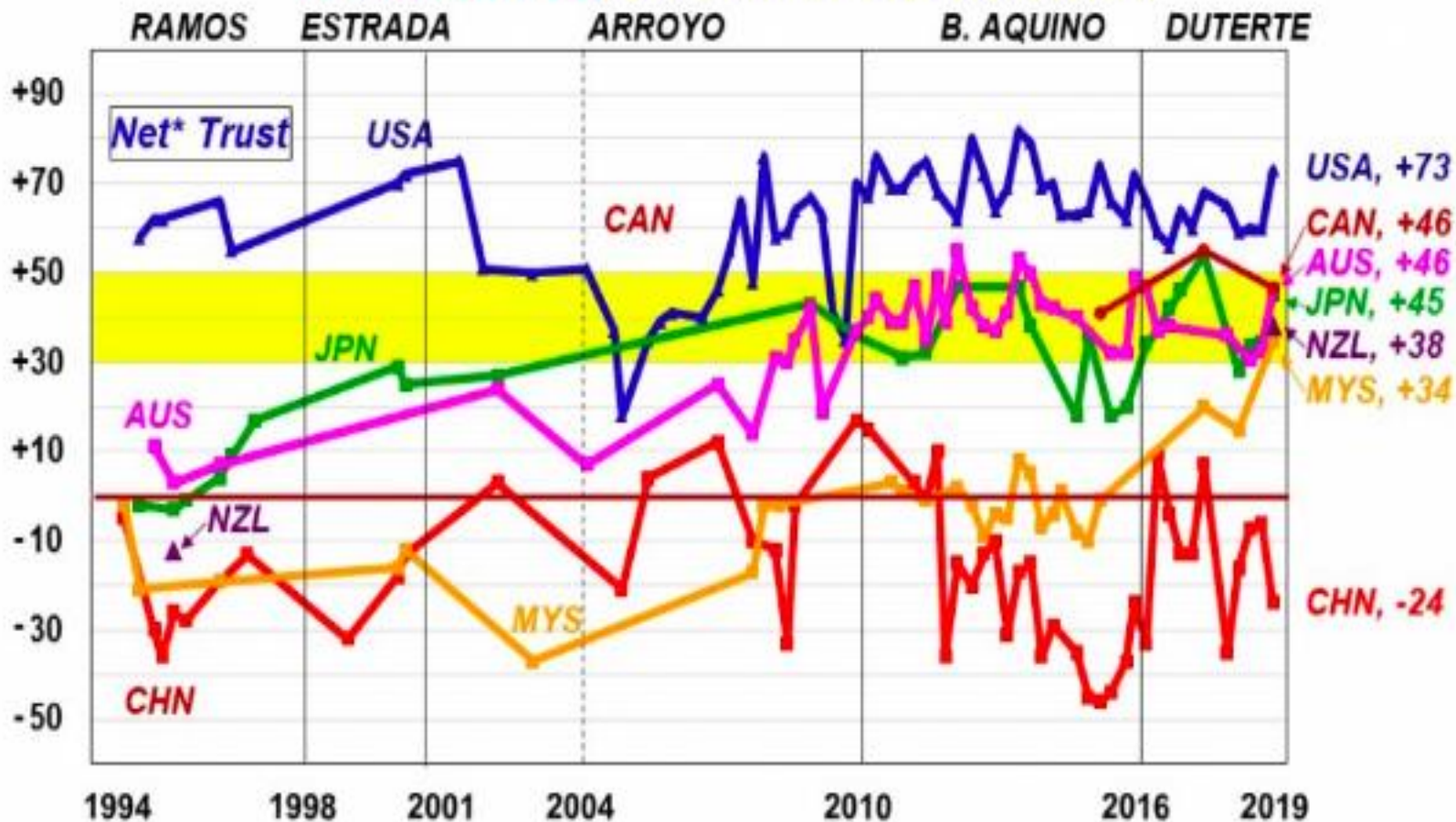
[Twitter](#)

[Reddit](#)



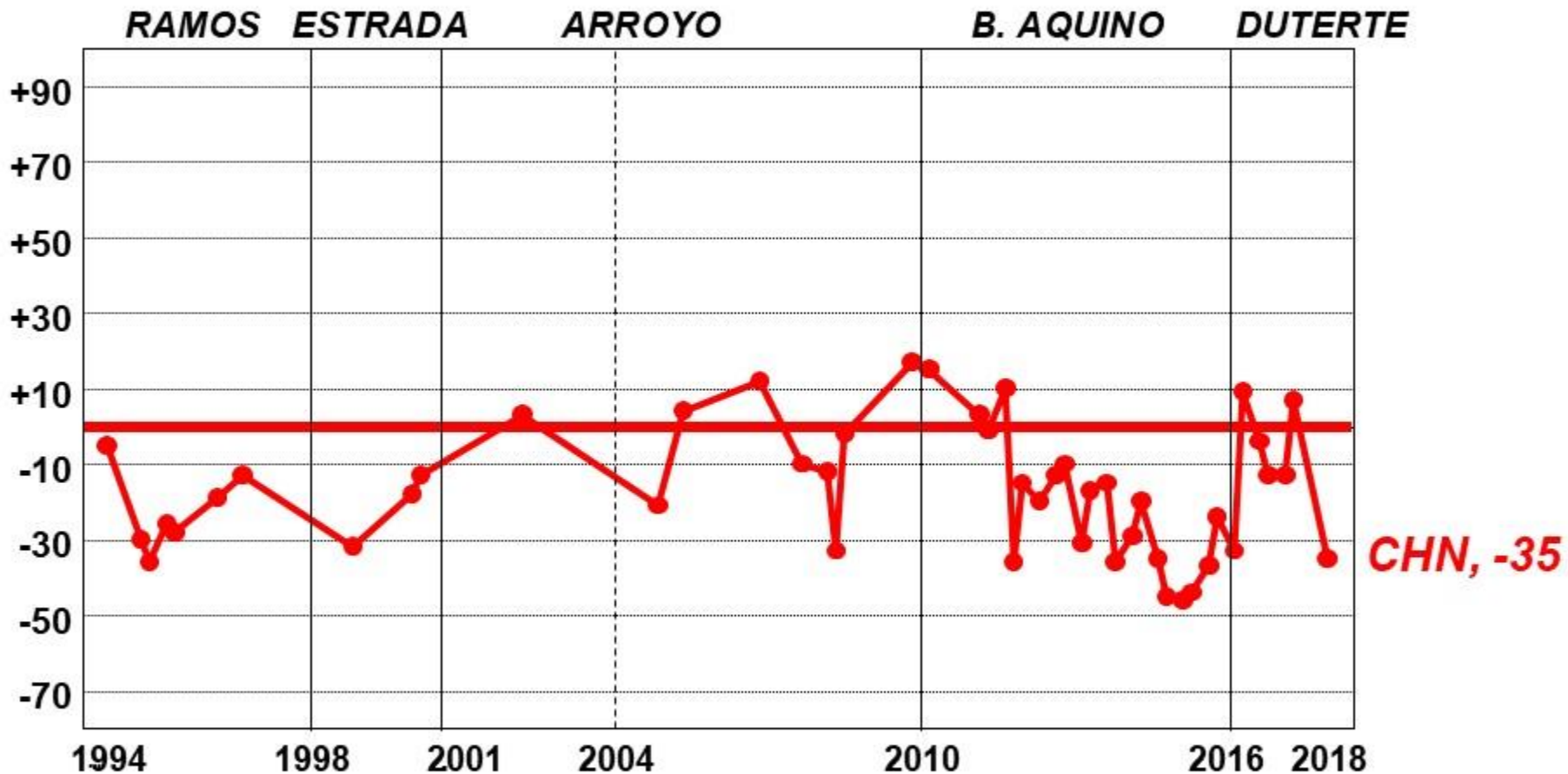
BUDDIES. Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte and US President Donald Trump share a light

# NET\* TRUST IN THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, JAPAN, NEW ZEALAND, MALAYSIA, AND CHINA: PHILIPPINES, JUN 2019 AND EARLIER



\* Net trust (% Much trust minus % Little trust) correctly rounded.

# NET\* TRUST IN CHINA: PHILIPPINES, AUG 2004 TO JUNE 2018



\* Net trust (% Much trust minus % Little trust) correctly rounded.

**AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT:**

***"The Duterte administration should assert our right and protect our territorial sovereignty in the West Philippine Sea as stipulated in the 2016 decision of the Permanent Court of Arbitration."***

June 15 - 21, 2018 / Philippines  
(In Percent)

*Base: Total Interviews, 100%*

***How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? "The Duterte administration should assert our right and protect our territorial sovereignty in the West Philippine Sea as stipulated in the 2016 decision of the Permanent Court of Arbitration."***

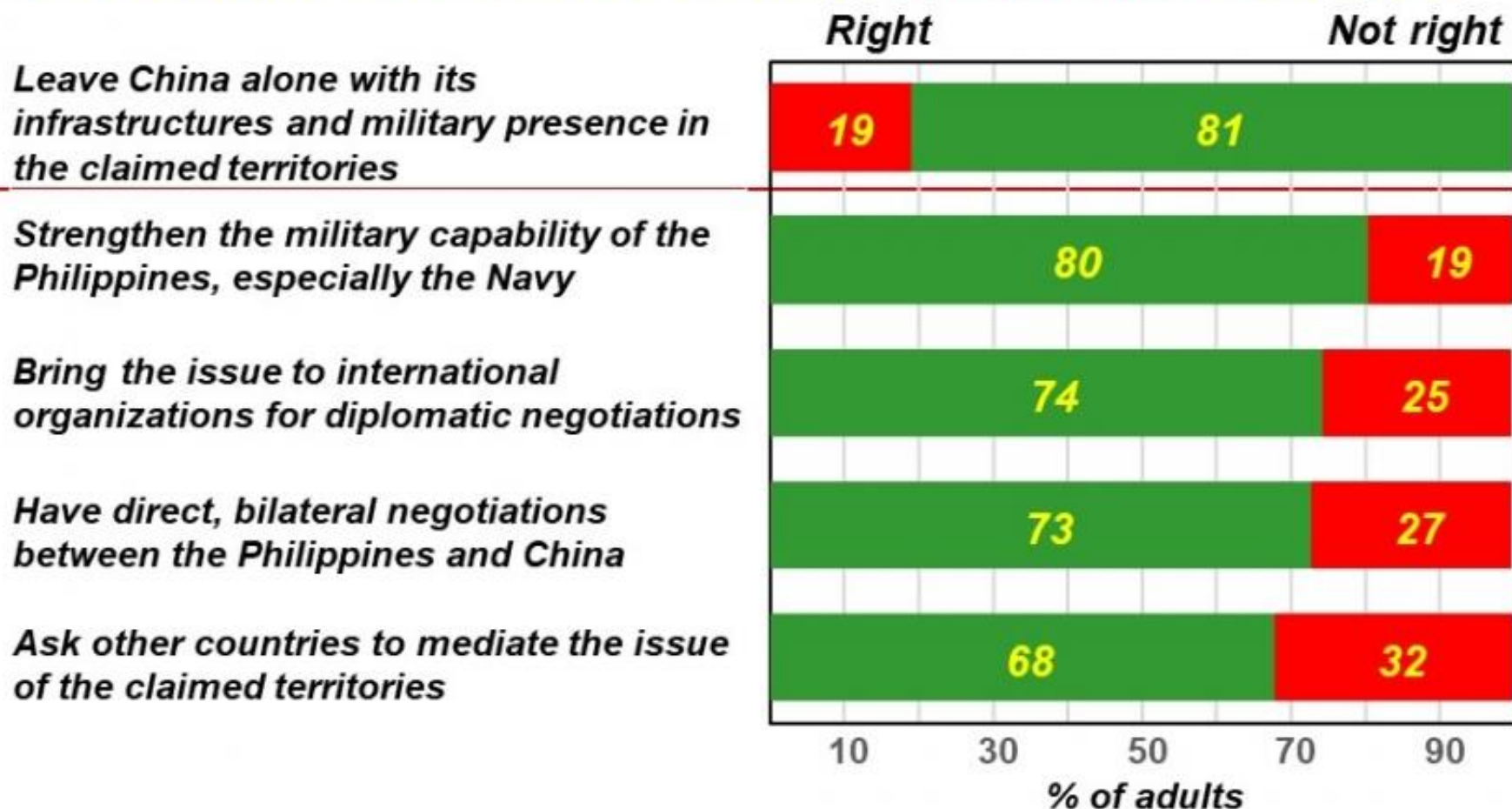
	LOCATION					CLASS		
	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>BAL</u> <u>LUZ</u>	<u>VIS</u>	<u>MIN</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
<b>AGREE</b>	73	75	78	63	71	83	74	67
Strongly agree	46	43	49	42	46	62	46	41
Somewhat agree	27	32	29	21	25	22	27	26
<b>MAY AGREE AND MAY DISAGREE</b>	17	22	17	20	14	13	17	21
<b>DISAGREE</b>	7	3	2	15	13	3	7	7
Somewhat disagree	4	2	1	10	4	0	4	5
Strongly disagree	3	0	1	5	9	3	4	2
<b><u>VOLUNTEERED:</u></b>								
I do not have enough knowledge to give an opinion	2	1	2	1	3	0	2	5
Don't know	0.4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0

*Gaano po kayo sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon sa pangungusap na ito?*

*Q81. "Dapat igiit ng administrasyong Duterte ang ating karapatan at protektahan ang ating teritoryal na soberanya sa West Philippine Sea na nakatakda sa desisyon ng Permanent Court of Arbitration noong 2016."*

*Note: Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off.*

# OPINION ON WHAT'S RIGHT AND NOT RIGHT FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO DO TO RESOLVE THE WEST PHILIPPINE SEA CONFLICT: PHILIPPINES, JUN 2018

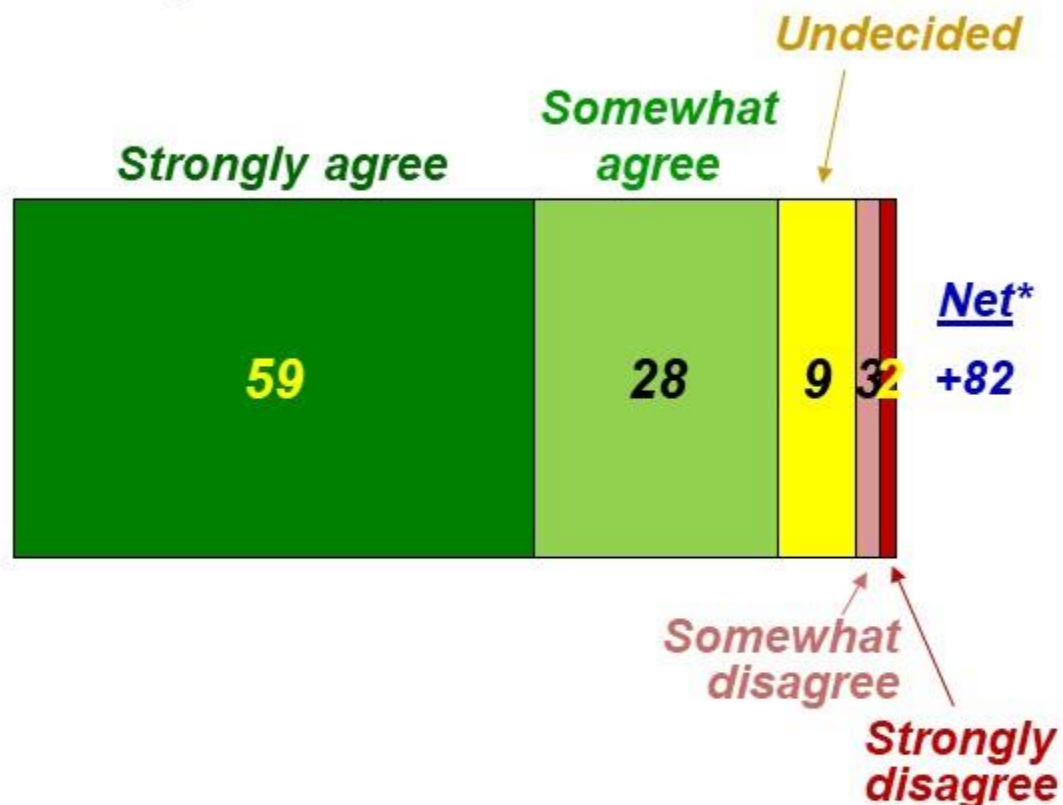


Note: Don't Know and No Answer figures are not shown.

Q121-125. Is this... a RIGHT or NOT RIGHT way for the Philippine government to do in resolving the conflict between the Philippines and China about the West Philippine Sea?

# OPINION ON WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD ASSERT ITS RIGHT TO THE ISLANDS IN THE WEST PHILIPPINE SEA: PHILIPPINES, JUN 2019

**"The Philippine government should assert its right to the islands in the West Philippine Sea as stipulated in the 2016 decision of the Permanent Court of Arbitration."**



\* Net Agree (% Agree minus % Disagree) correctly rounded. Figures may not add up due to rounding errors.

Q. Gaano po kayo SUMASANG-AYON o HINDI SUMASANG-AYON sa pangungusap na ito: "Dapat igiit ng pamahalaan ng Pilipinas ang karapatan nito sa mga isla ng West Philippine Sea ayon sa isinasaad sa 2016 na desisyon ng Permanent Court of Arbitration."? (Lubos na sumasang-ayon, Medyo sumasang-ayon, Hindi tiyak kung sumasang-ayon o hindi, Medyo hindi sumasang-ayon, o Lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon)

---

## Among Filipinos, massive jump in support for strong economic relations with China at expense of being tough on territorial disputes

\_\_\_ is more important

80 %



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q125.

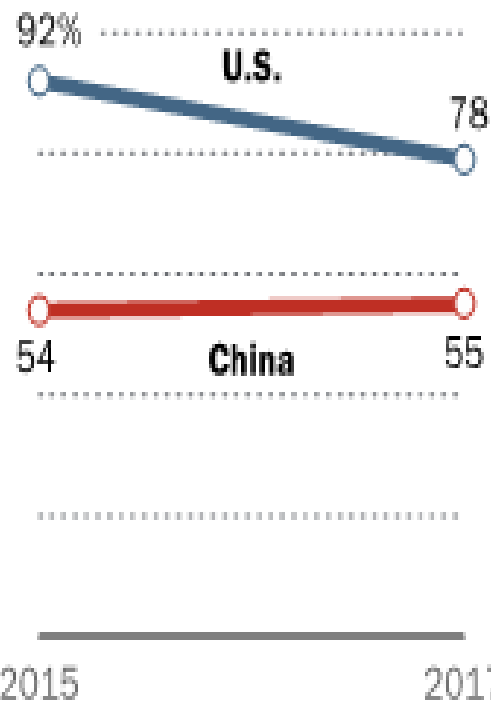
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

---

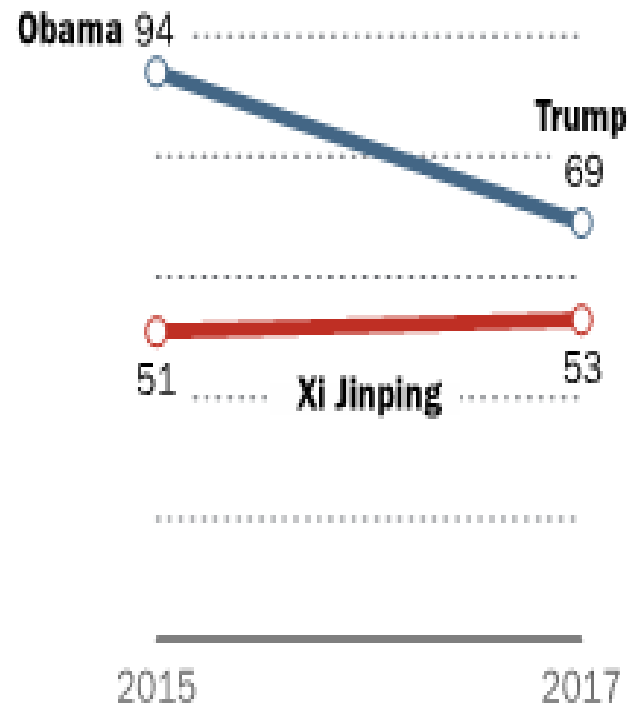


## In the Philippines, narrowing gap on perceptions of the U.S. and China

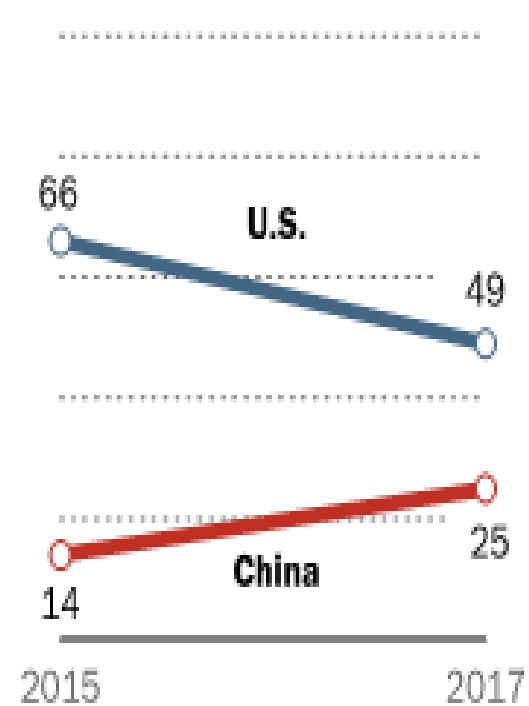
*Favorable view of \_\_\_*



*Confidence in \_\_\_ to do the right thing regarding world affairs*



*\_\_\_ is the world's leading economic power*



Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q12a,c, Q23 & Q30a-b.

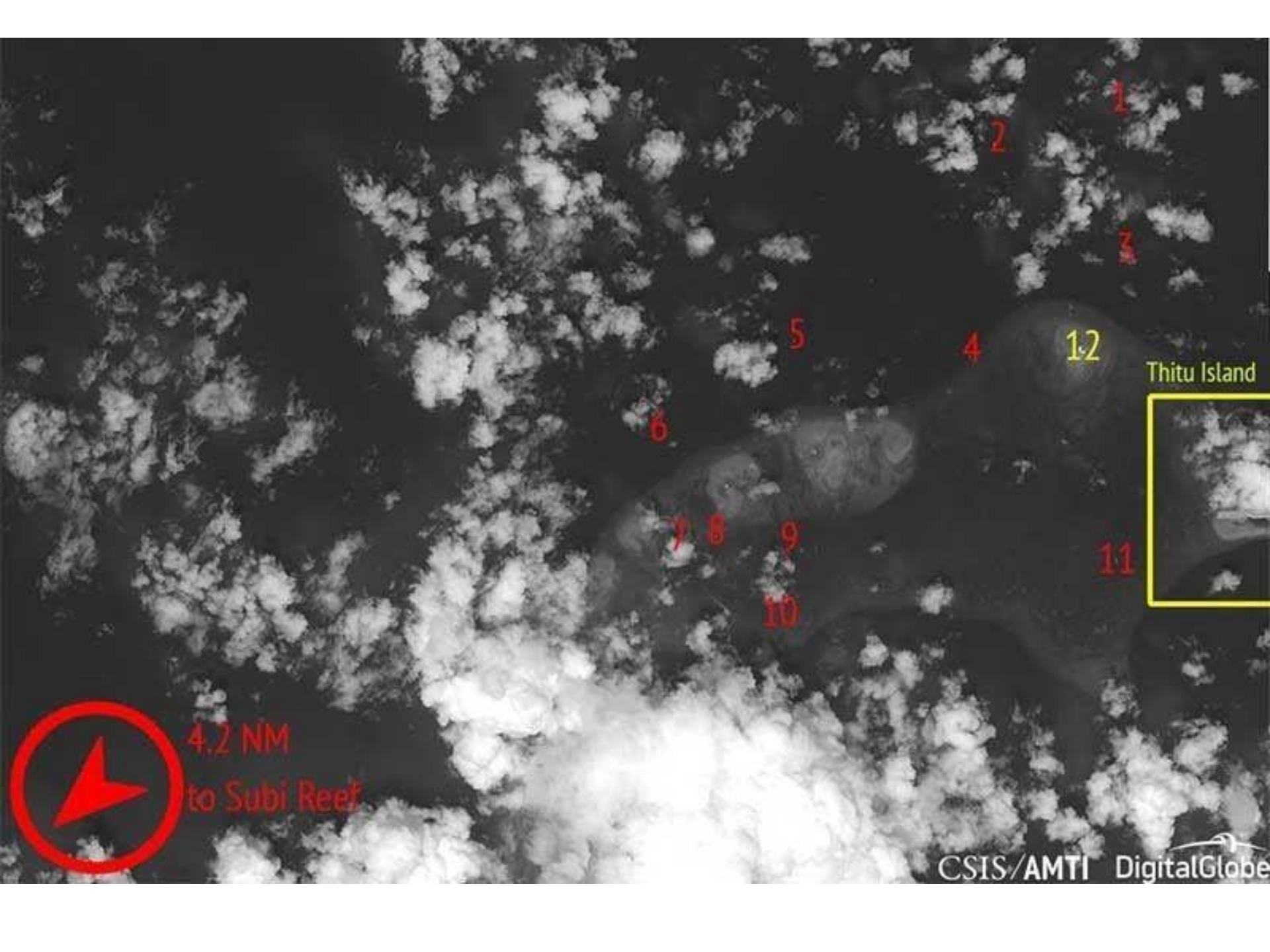
PEW RESEARCH CENTER



# Redlines and Recalibration

- Former Foreign Secretary Peter Cayetano announcing three 'redlines' for the Philippines:
  - 1.) Chinese reclamation on and deployment of weapons systems to the Panatag Shoal;
  - 2.) Unilateral exploitation of energy resources within the Philippines' EEZ;
  - 3.) Coercive expulsion of the Philippine marine detachment in Second Thomas Shoal.





1

2

3

5

4

1.2

6

7

8

9

11

10

Thitu Island

4.2 NM  
to Subi Reef



**Reed Bank**



# Pompeo promises intervention if Philippines is attacked in South China Sea amid rising Chinese militarization



## Most Read World

**1** On Monday, Canada declared a 'climate emergency.' On Tuesday, it approved a pipeline expansion.



**2** Democrats and some Republicans question Trump's vetting process after Shanahan withdrawal



**3** Pompeo warns Iran about trigger for U.S. military action as some in administration question aggressive policy



**4** Japan wraps everything in plastic. Now it wants







US Ambassador Sung Kim

## **Sea militia attacks could trigger US obligations under defense treaty**

Politics

# Mahathir Warns Against New 'Colonialism' During Visit to China

Bloomberg News

August 20, 2018, 2:31 AM EDT

- ▶ Malaysian leader meets Chinese Premier Li Keqiang in Beijing
- ▶ China pledges to increase imports of goods including palm oil

 LIVE ON BLOOMBERG

[Watch Live TV >](#)

[Listen to Live Radio >](#)



# Beware of China 'debt trap', Malaysia's Mahathir tells the Philippines



Enjoy The New York Times.

Insight. Inspiration. Understanding.  
Make them part of your daily routine.



The New York Times

[View offer.](#)

NEWS / SOUTH CHINA SEA

# Malaysia FM: China's 'nine-dash line' claim 'ridiculous'

*Foreign Minister Saifuddin says Malaysia's decision to take South China Sea claim to UN is its 'sovereign right'.*

by **Ted Regencia**



21 Dec 2019



# Vietnam mulls legal action over South China Sea dispute

James Pearson, Khanh Vu

3 MIN READ



HANOI (Reuters) - Vietnam could explore legal action among various options in its territorial dispute with powerful neighbor China in the South China Sea, a senior government official said on Wednesday.



# Nothing to discuss: Indonesia says 'no legal basis' for China's claim on the Natunas



Dian Septiari

The Jakarta Post

PREMIUM

Jakarta / Wed, January 1, 2020 / 07:30 pm

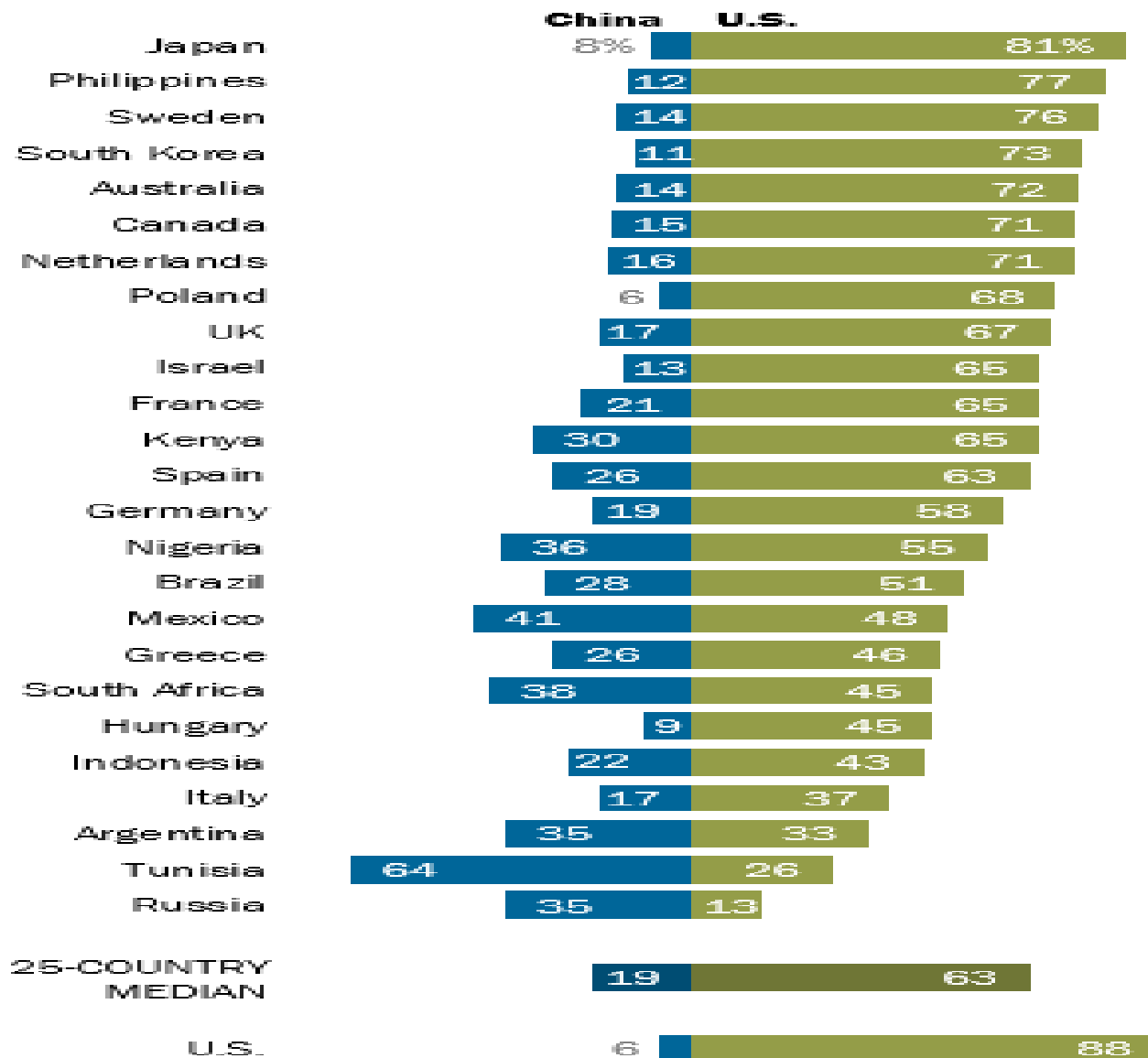


# Trump administration's Resurgence: Military Pivot to Asia

- Regularized FONOPs
- Expansion of regional military footprint and defense cooperation/aid/arms transfer
- US Coast Guard joins the fray
- BUILD infrastructure initiative

# Most prefer U.S. as world leader

*Having \_\_\_ as the world's leading power would be better for the world*



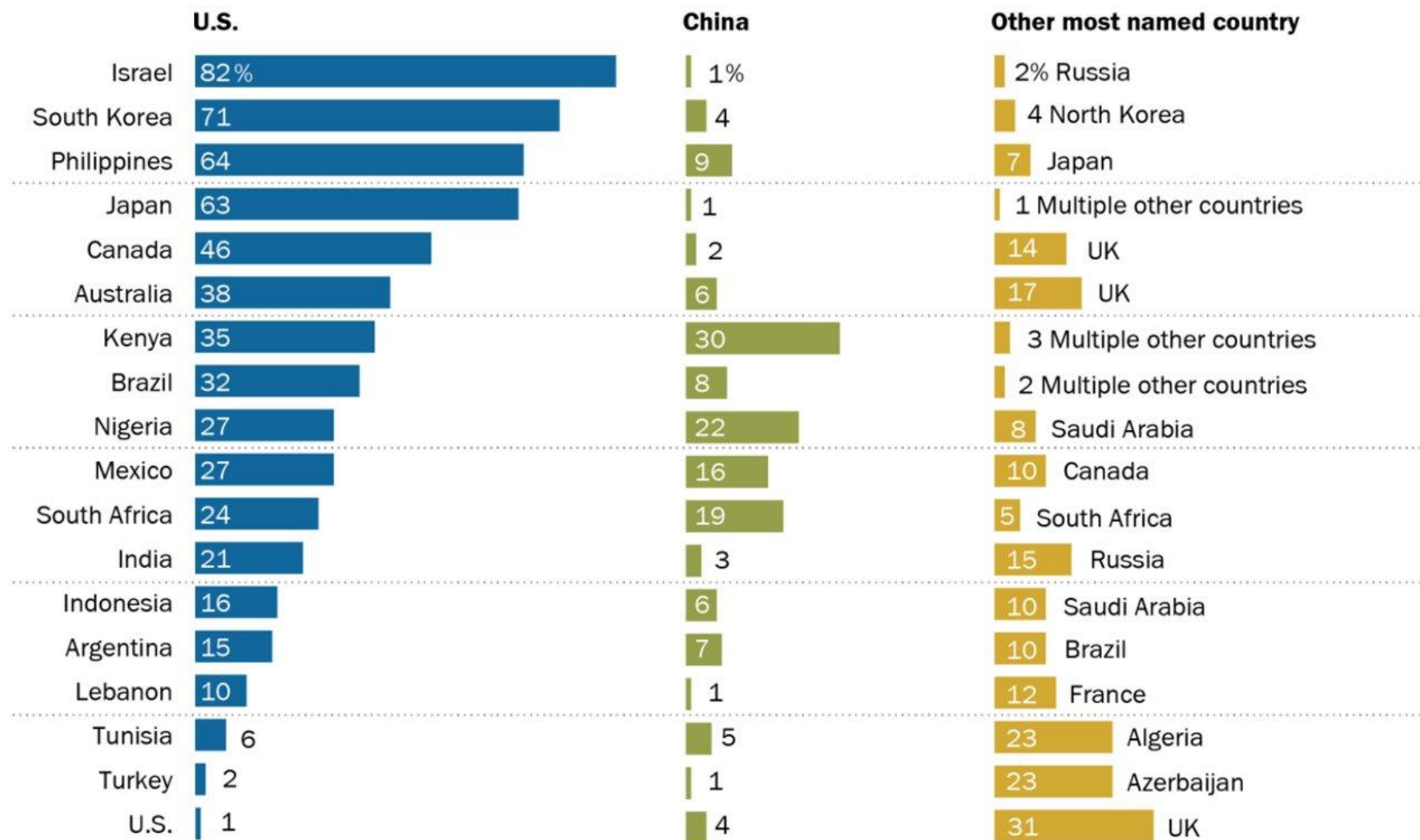
Note: "Neither" and "both" volunteered categories not shown.

Source: 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q33.



## Many see U.S. as their country's top ally

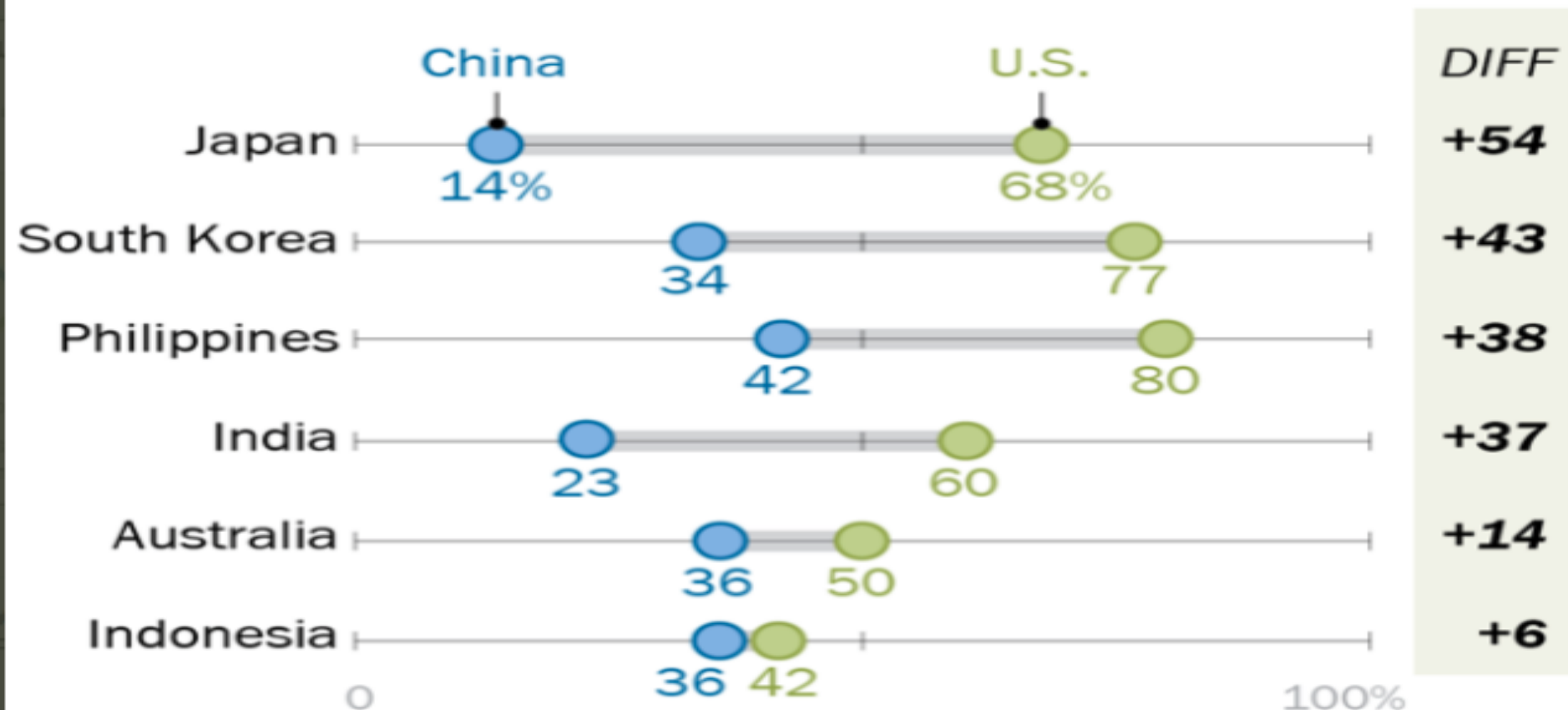
% who say their country can most rely on \_\_\_ as a dependable ally in the future



Note: Figures represent results of an open-ended question, where interviewers selected from a precoded list. Other countries named not shown.  
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q22.

# Views of the United States are generally positive in the Asia-Pacific

*% who have a favorable opinion of ...*



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes. Q8a-b.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

# Negotiating a New Minimum: Optimal Point of Convergence

- No power should exercise “sole control” in the South China Sea as an international waterway;
- Mahathir’s proposal for demilitarization;
- Jokowi’s proposal for joint patrols;
- Negotiations of Code of Conduct should be tied to “freeze” on militarization, reclamation, and naval exercises;