

# 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'



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

## The Chernobyl Effect







### The Indo-Pacific: Trump, China, and the New Struggle for Global Mastery

Richard Javad Heydarian

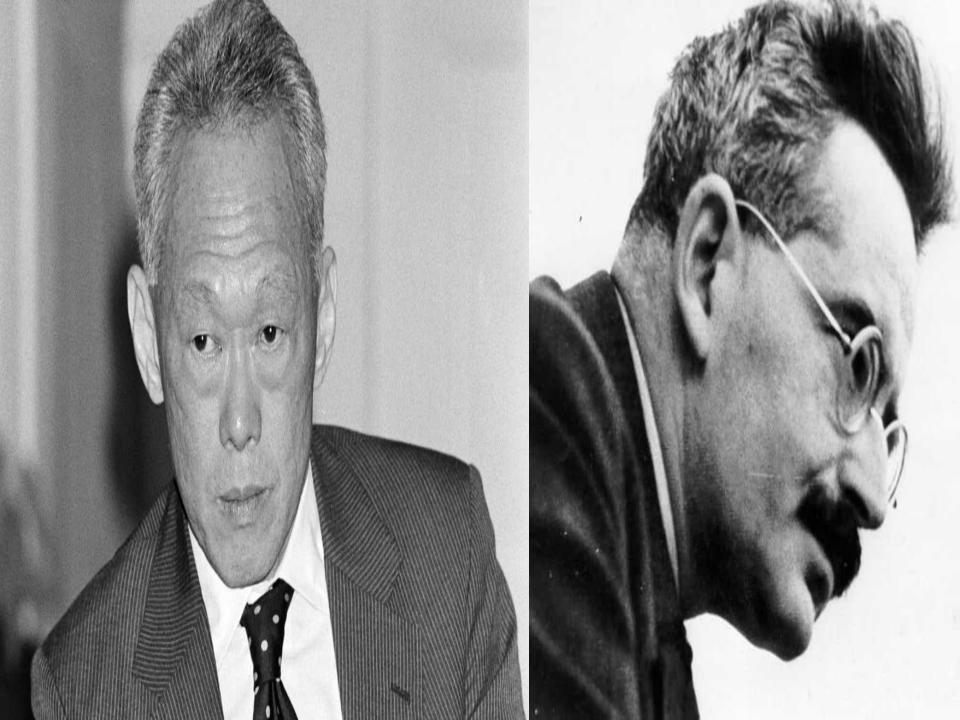


Kübler-Ross Grief Cycle



Information and Communication

Emotional Support Guidance and Direction



Lee Kuan Yew observed, "the size of China's displacement of the world balance is such that the world must find a new balance. It is not possible to pretend that this is just another big player. This is the biggest player in the history of the world."

"Behind every fascism, there is a failed revolution," Walter Benjamin

## From Centrality to Peripherality

- For five decades, the ASEAN gradually developed a de facto
   "security regime" the impossibility and unthinkability of use )or
   threat of use) of war as an instrument of national policy among
   member nations;
- Finalization of ASEAN Free Trade Agreement ahead of time, cautious optimism on a Common Market establishment by 2025
- Non-traditional security (NTS) cooperation, including counterterrorism info-sharing, joint patrols in Malacca and tri-border of PH, Ind, and Malaysia amid the Marawi crisis;
- Convening power: Pan-regional powerbroker through the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the East Asia Forum (EAS), a crucial platform for great powers dialogue based on ASEAN principles of 'common security'.

"An era can be considered over when its basic illusions have been exhausted," observed playwright Arthur Miller

## Middle Institutionalization Trap

- The decision-making modalities and overall institutional structure, which allowed the ASEAN to encompass the world's most diverse region are no longer up to the task;
- Musyawarah (Consultation) and Muafaghat (Consensus)
- The Lee Kuan Yew dictum: Rise of China doesn't't only require an 'adjustment" (tactical), but a wholesale change in the global system (strategic).

## Ripe for Picking: Institutional Deficit

- Consensus-based as unanimous voting: Gives "veto power" to (pro-China) doves.
- Unfair: Puts certain countries, which are highly dependent on China and have no direct stake in a certain issue, under pressure to veto – otherwise risk retribution (i.e., South China Sea); or, self-interested parties vetoing any major move intervention by the ASEAN (i.e., Rohingya crisis)
- Failure to even issue robust "statements".
- South China Sea where most pronounced: DOC repeatedly violated by both China and ASEAN members
- Yet, the cult of 'dialogue' persists, which allows foot-dragging strategy by China?

## ASEAN Peripherality

- Presented China as **THE** partner for national development and regional connectivity and economic integration;
- China via (new and old) partners like the Philippines – not only dividing the ASEAN, but now also using it as a SHIELD against the US and other external powers.
- Growing discussions on "Indo-Pacific" and Quad: Wither the ASEAN?

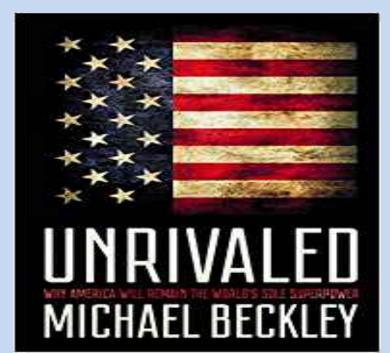


### Militarization on Steroids

- 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;

## China's inchoate Hegemony

- Endurance of American power: Michael Beckley's notion of "net power":
- "[A] nation's power stems not from its gross resources but from its net resources—the resources left over after subtracting the costs of making them."



China's Century?

Michael Beckley

Why America's Edge Will Endure

Figure 1. Per Capita Income, 1991–2010 (\$ in current prices)

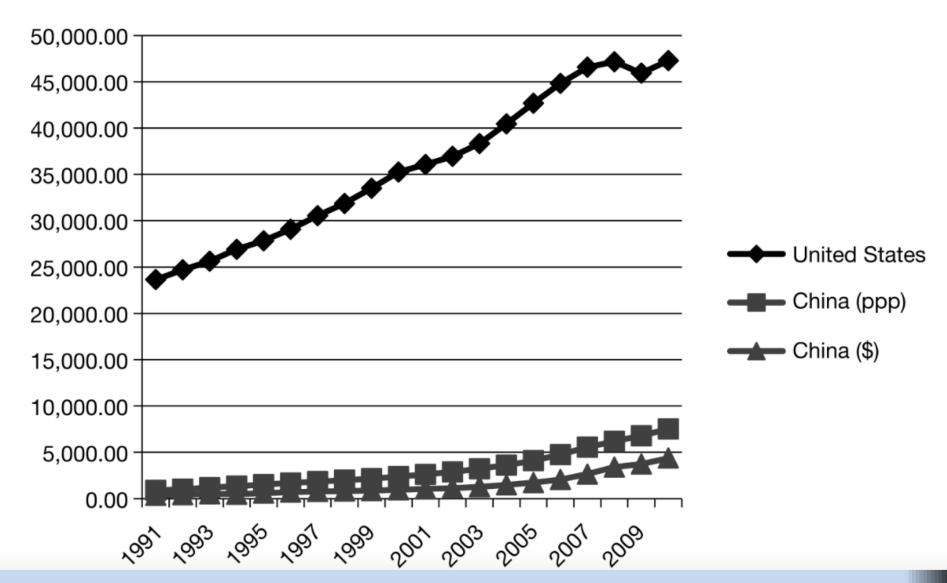


Figure 4. Total Research and Development Spending, 1991–2008 (current PPP \$, millions)

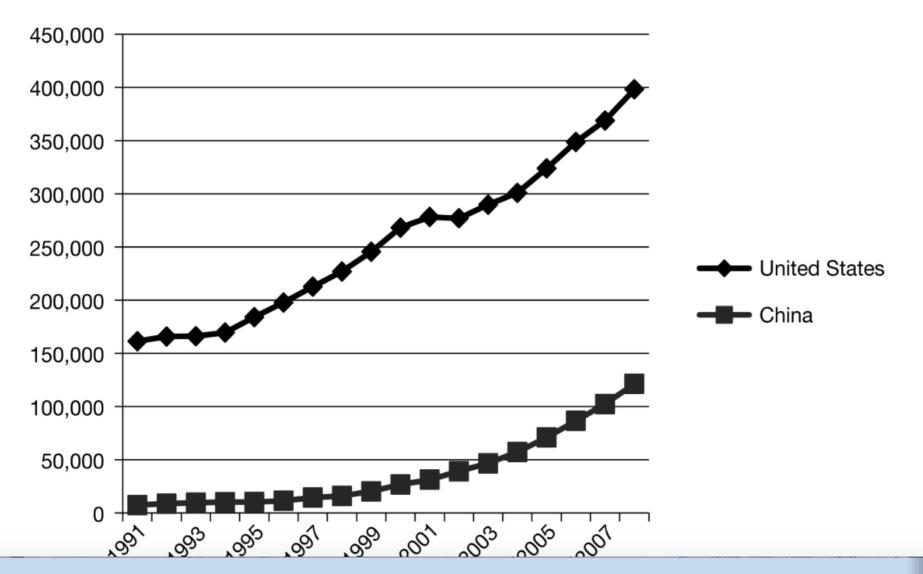
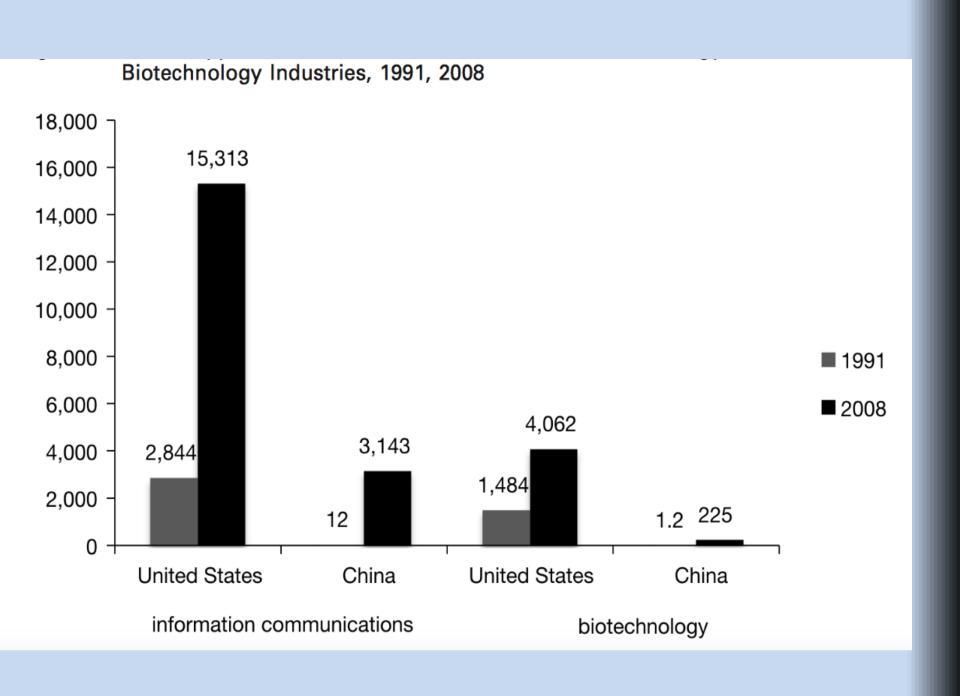


Figure 6. Triadic Patents, 1991–2008 18,000 16,000 14,000 12,000 10,000 United States 8,000 China 6,000 4,000 2,000



## Trump administration's Resurgence: Military Pivot to Asia

Regularized FONOPs

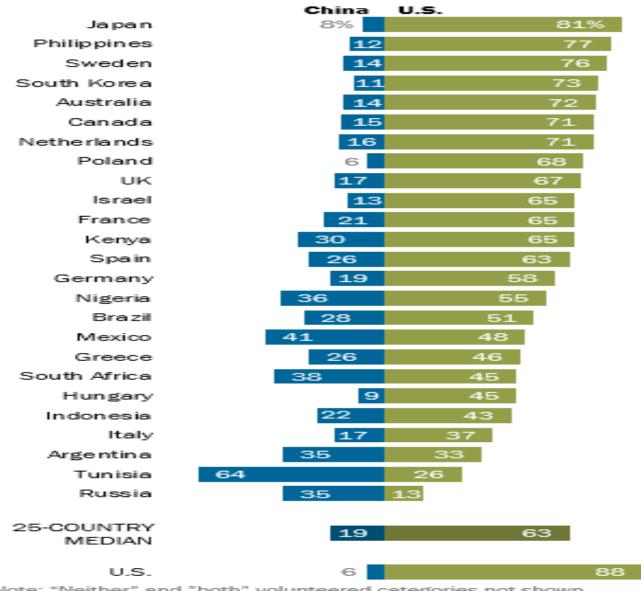
 Expansion of regional military footprint and defense cooperation/aid/arms transfer

US Coast Guard joins the fray

BUILD infrastructure initiative

#### Most prefer U.S. as world leader

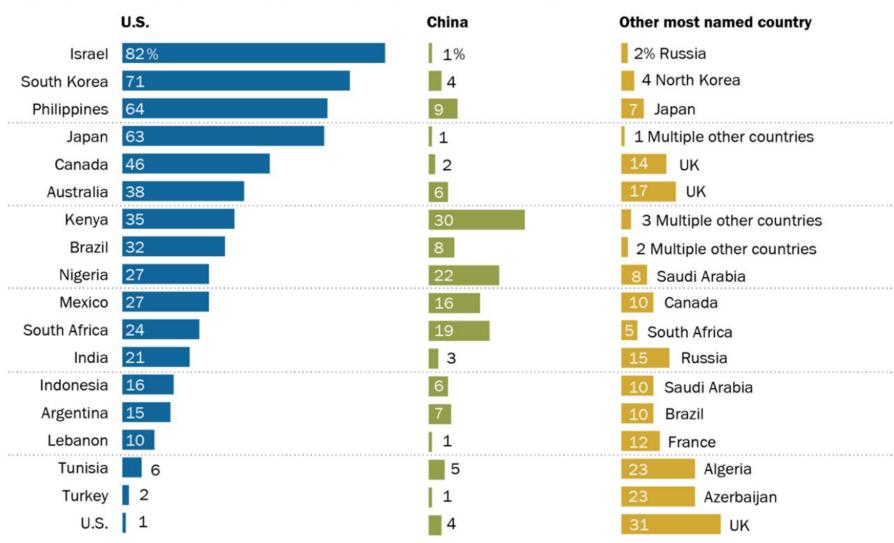
Having \_\_\_ as the world's leading power would be better for the world



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.

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

| Country           | It will benefit regional<br>economic development<br>and enhance ASEAN-<br>China relations | It provides needed<br>infrastructure<br>funding for countries<br>in the region | It is too early to<br>analyse impacts<br>due to lack of<br>information | It will bring<br>ASEAN member<br>states closer into<br>China's orbit | It will not succeed as<br>most of its projects<br>provide little benefit<br>to local communities |
|-------------------|---|--|--|--|--|
| Brunei Darussalam | 43.2%   | 43.2%  | 38.6%  | 52.3%  | 9.1%   |
| Cambodia          | 41.7%   | 70.8%  | 20.8%  | 50.0%  | 8.3%   |
| Indonesia         | 26.0%   | 38.3%  | 30.4%  | 44.4%  | 19.1%  |
| Laos              | 75.9%   | 55.2%  | 6.9%   | 31.0%  | 3.5%   |
| Malaysia          | 39.2%   | 42.0%  | 28.7%  | 51.8%  | 18.9%  |
| Myanmar           | 29.8%   | 31.6%  | 32.7%  | 29.8%  | 10.1%  |
| Philippines       | 27.0%   | 25.2%  | 34.2%  | 38.7%  | 18.9%  |
| Singapore         | 22.7%   | 42.2%  | 37.5%  | 60.2%  | 14.1%  |
| Thailand          | 37.2%   | 37.2%  | 16.8%  | 51.3%  | 16.8%  |
| Vietnam           | 9.9%  | 13.2%  | 38.0%  | 58.7%  | 20.7%  |

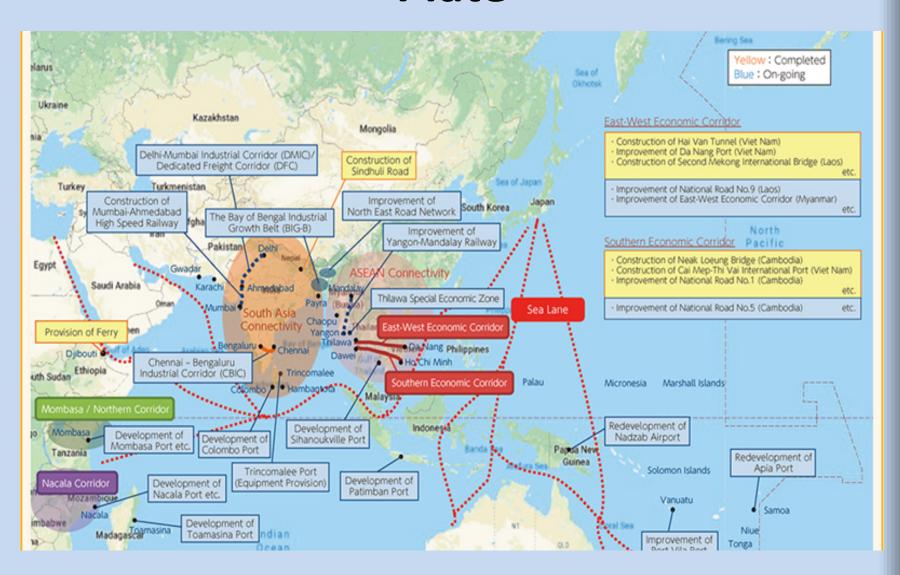
| Country           | China will be<br>a benign and<br>benevolent power | China will remain<br>a status quo power<br>and continue to<br>support the existing<br>regional order | It is too early to<br>ascertain China's<br>strategic intentions<br>at this moment | China will provide<br>alternative regional<br>leadership in the<br>wake of perceived<br>US disengagement | China will become<br>a revisionist power<br>with an intent to<br>turn Southeast<br>Asia into its sphere<br>of influence |
|-------------------|---|--|---|--|---|
| Brunei Darussalam | 9.1%  | 38.6%  | 22.7%   | 61.4%  | 45.5%   |
| Cambodia          | 12.5%   | 20.8%  | 16.7%   | 41.7%  | 50.0%   |
| Indonesia         | 12.3%   | 24.6%  | 29.8%   | 36.0%  | 37.7%   |
| Laos              | 13.8%   | 48.3%  | 17.2%   | 27.6%  | 24.1%   |
| Malaysia          | 9.8%  | 30.1%  | 24.5%   | 44.8%  | 42.7%   |
| Myanmar           | 13.1%   | 30.9%  | 26.8%   | 32.1%  | 22.6%   |
| Philippines       | 8.2%  | 7.3%   | 17.3%   | 36.4%  | 66.4%   |
| Singapore         | 3.1%  | 9.4%   | 37.5%   | 35.2%  | 57.0%   |
| Thailand          | 7.1%  | 30.1%  | 19.5%   | 36.3%  | 45.1%   |
| Vietnam           | 5.7%  | 9.0%   | 27.9%   | 17.2%  | 60.7%   |
|                   |   |  |   |  |   |

| ASEAN   | 16.8%                      | 51.2%     |   |           | 3.7% | 11.4%                   |
|---------|----------------------------|-----------|---|-----------|------|-------------------------|
|         |                            |           |   |           |      |                         |
| Country | Decreased<br>substantially | Decreased | No change from the Obama administration | Increased |      | Increased substantially |

| Brunei Darussalam | 15.9% | 50.0% | 25.0% | 9.1%  | 0.0% |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| Cambodia          | 16.7% | 70.8% | 4.2%  | 8.3%  | 0.0% |
| Indonesia         | 19.1% | 54.8% | 18.2% | 7.0%  | 0.9% |
| Laos              | 24.1% | 27.6% | 41.3% | 3.5%  | 3.5% |
| Malaysia          | 24.8% | 55.9% | 13.8% | 4.1%  | 1.4% |
| Myanmar           | 8.3%  | 55.4% | 19.6% | 14.9% | 1.8% |
| Philippines       | 21.6% | 49.6% | 18.0% | 7.2%  | 3.6% |
| Singapore         | 23.4% | 53.9% | 21.1% | 1.6%  | 0.0% |
| Thailand          | 17.5% | 55.3% | 13.2% | 12.3% | 1.7% |
| Vietnam           | 3.3%  | 33.6% | 22.1% | 36.1% | 4.9% |

| Country           | No confidence | Little confidence | No comment | Confident | Very confident |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|----------------|
| Brunei Darussalam | 4.4%          | 13.3%             | 28.9%      | 46.7%     | 6.7%           |
| Cambodia          | 0.0%          | 0.0%              | 12.5%      | 79.2%     | 8.3%           |
| Indonesia         | 2.6%          | 20.2%             | 14.9%      | 50.9%     | 11.4%          |
| Laos              | 6.9%          | 17.2%             | 31.0%      | 34.5%     | 10.4%          |
| Malaysia          | 2.8%          | 17.5%             | 11.9%      | 57.3%     | 10.5%          |
| Myanmar           | 0.6%          | 11.7%             | 15.8%      | 52.6%     | 19.3%          |
| Philippines       | 0.9%          | 9.1%              | 7.3%       | 62.7%     | 20.0%          |
| Singapore         | 3.1%          | 22.1%             | 23.6%      | 44.1%     | 7.1%           |
| Thailand          | 3.5%          | 14.9%             | 21.1%      | 50.9%     | 9.6%           |
| Vietnam           | 3.3%          | 8.9%              | 18.7%      | 58.5%     | 10.6%          |

## Middle Powers Stepping up to the Plate



Breaking Ground

Across Southeast Asia, Japan's infrastructure projects overtake China's

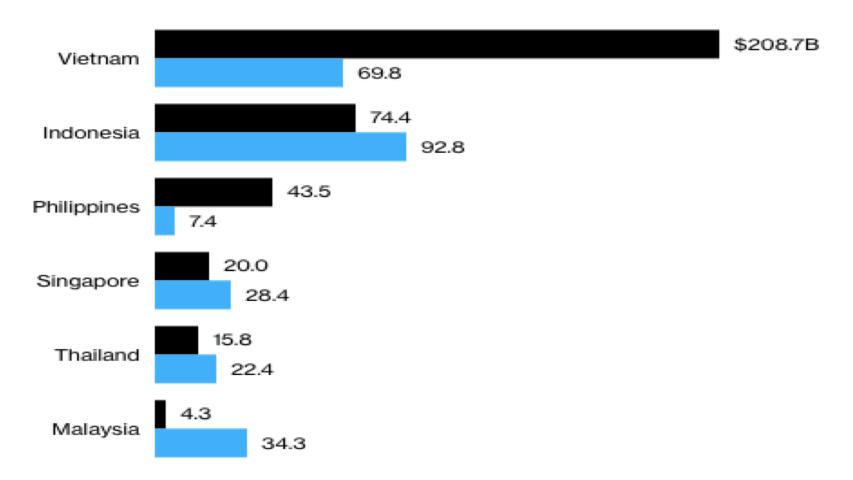
|             | China | Japan |
|-------------|-------|-------|
| Cambodia    | 28    | 14    |
| Indonesia   | 55    | 51    |
| Laos        | 23    | 4     |
| Malaysia    | 31    | 10    |
| Myanmar     | 16    | 16    |
| Philippines | 8     | 29    |
| Singapore   | 13    | 24    |
| Thailand    | 9     | 15    |
| Timor-Leste | 2     | 3     |
| Vietnam     | 25    | 74    |
| TOTAL       | 210   | 240   |
|             |       |       |

Source: Fitch Solutions (data provided 18 June 2019)

#### **Building Battles**

Japan far outpaces China in value of infrastructure projects in Southeast Asia

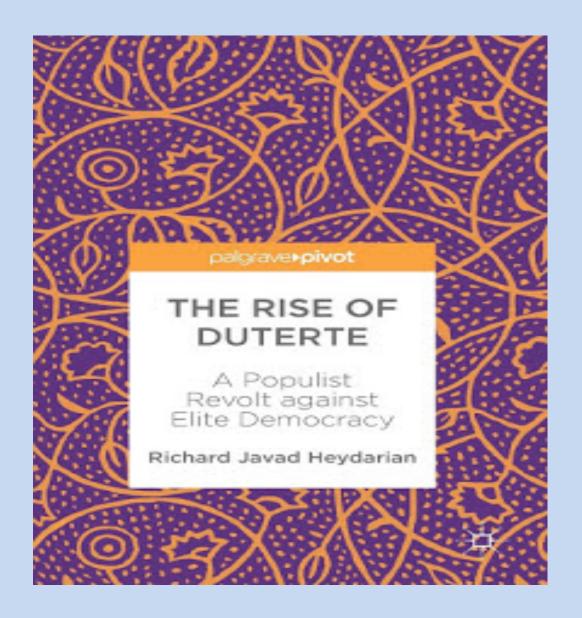
Japan China



Source: Fitch Solutions (data provided 18 June 2019)

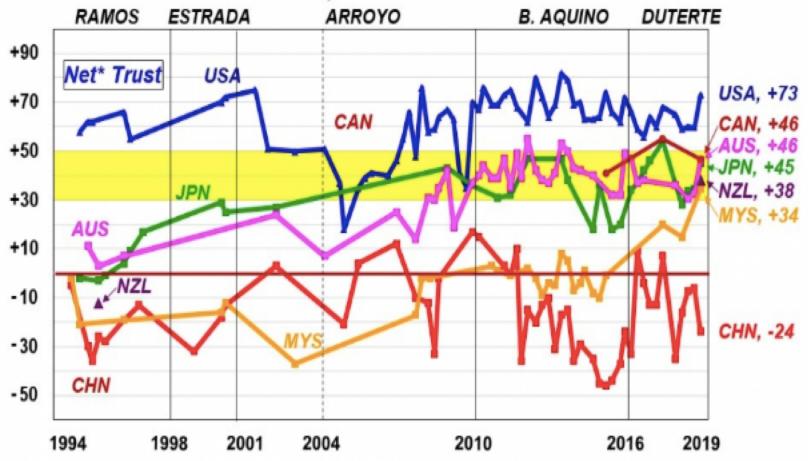
## Smaller Powers' Dynamic Rebalancing







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

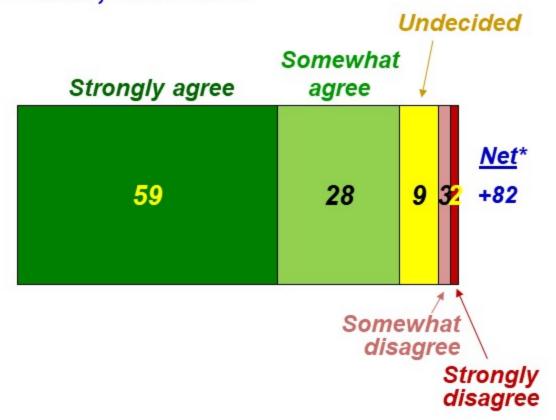


<sup>\*</sup> Net trust (% Much trust minus % Little trust) correctly rounded.



## 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."



<sup>\*</sup> 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 Pllipinas 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)



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#### **ECONOMY**

### Duterte shelves Chinese projects but still pushes 'Build, Build, Build'

In infrastructure policy revamp, Manila cuts reliance on loans and embraces PPP

CLIFF VENZON, Nikkel staff writer NOVEMBER 15, 2019 18:31 JST



## Philippine-U.S. war games to include allies Japan, Australia

3 MIN READ



(In this April 19 story, corrects to Australia, Japan second attendance in exercises.))

MANILA (Reuters) - Australian and Japanese troops are joining for the second time annual U.S.-Philippine military exercises involving thousands of troops, as the two-week drills move toward becoming multilateral war games.

The Philippines and the United States have for more than 30 editions been holding bilateral "Balikatan" (shoulder-to-shoulder) drills to test the readiness of their militaries to respond to threats that include natural disasters and militant extremist attacks.



NEWS





BAGOING 2019F-150 NA MODELO





#### PH, US conduct first-ever airborne

By Priam Nepomuceno, Philippine News Agency on September 23, 2019

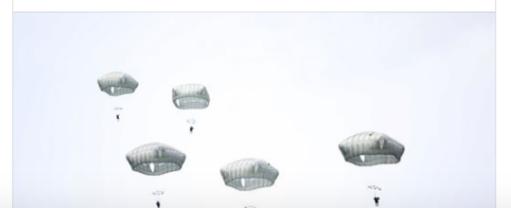




PH, US paratroopers hold first Combined Airborne Operation

FORT BONIFACIO, Metro Manila – The Philippine Army and the United States Army hold its first Combined Airborne Operations to further strengthen both forces' capabilities and camaraderie today, Sept. 22, at Cesar Basa Air Base, Floridablanca, Pampanga.

The exercise aims to enhance the combined airborne and territorial defense capabilities as well as the other competencies in urban combat operations of both forces.... See More



#### **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





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



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**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.



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# 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



### **Way Forward**

 The new "Indo-Pacific" paradigm shouldn't mean sidelining the ASEAN, but engaging and empowering it;

- Capacity-building assistance to ASEAN claimants;
- Expanded 'minilateral' engagement with key ASEAN countries, especially Singapore, Indonesia and Vietnam;

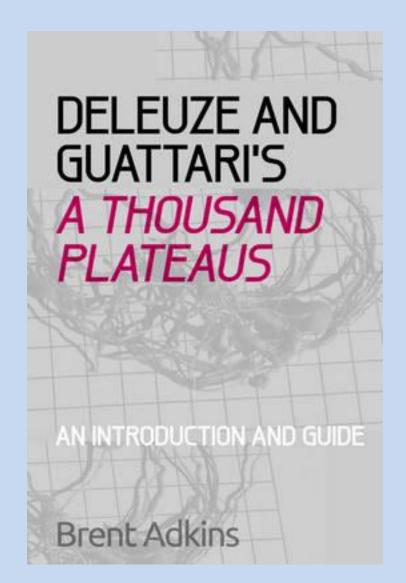
# Capacity-Building: Enhancing Maritime Security

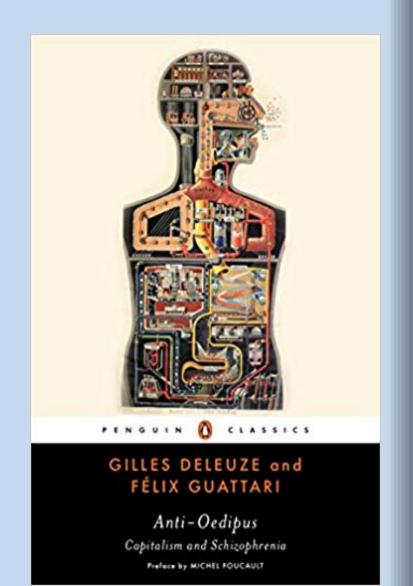
- Japan enhancing the Coast Guard, ISR, and Maritime Security capabilities of PH, VNM, and Malaysia;
- US's Maritime Security Initiative (MSI), amounting to \$425 million, extending it to also Indonesia;
- Australia expanding counter-terrorism cooperation with the ASEAN, key role in Marawi, but need to expand in realm of maritime security;
- India, held first ever summit with ASEAN leaders, expanding security cooperation with Vietnam, the Philippines, and Myanmar; to hold joint naval exercises with key ASEAN countries in March.

# Negotiating a New Minimum: Optimal Point of Convergence

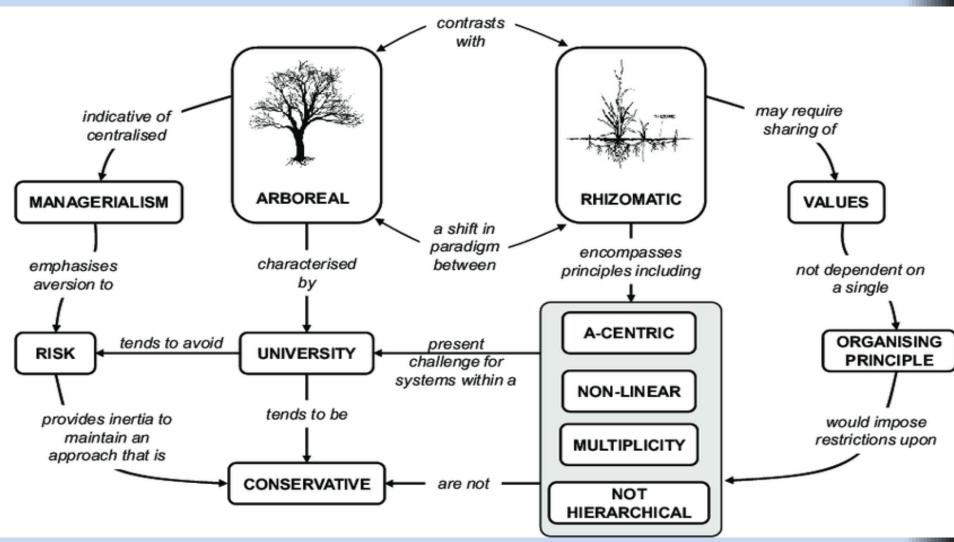
- No power should exercise "sole control" in the South China Sea as an international waterway;
- Mahathir's proposal for demilitarization;
- Jokowi's proposal for joint patrols;
- Negotiations of Code of Conduct should be tied to "freeze" on militarization, reclamation, and naval exercises;
- Greater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

#### Rhizomatic Order

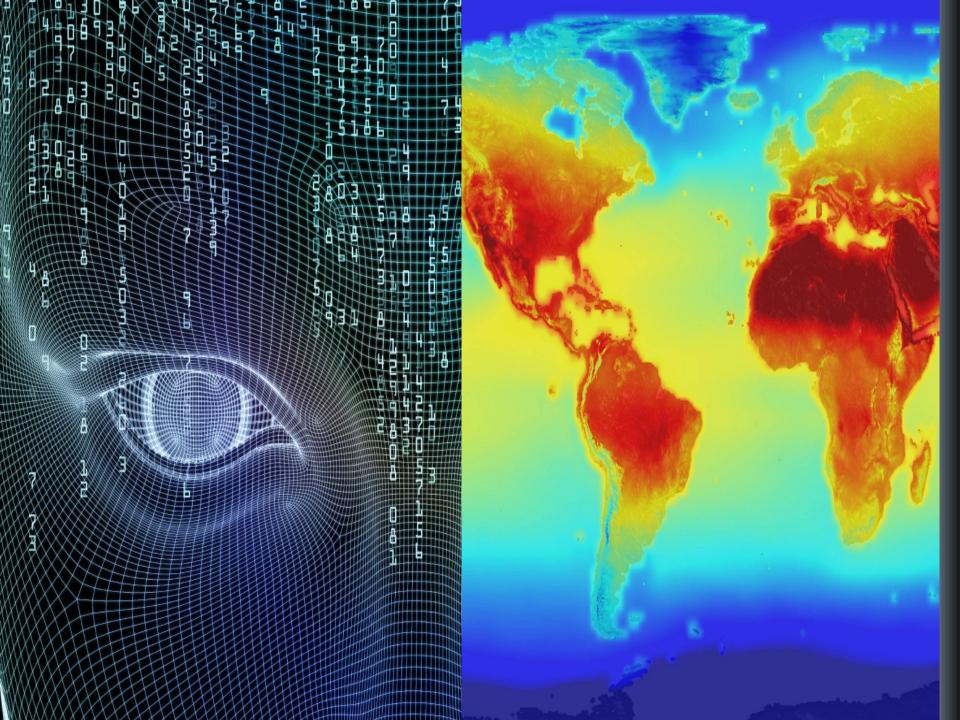




## Rhizome vs Heirarchy: Cooperation and Balance of Power



Source: Ian Kinchin (2017)



"A multiplicity has neither subject nor object, only determinations, magnitudes, and dimensions that cannot increase in number without the multiplicity changing, in nature (the laws of combination therefore increase in number as the multiplicity grows)" (Deleuze and Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus*, p.8).

"An assemblage is precisely this **increase in the dimensions of a multiplicity** that necessarily changes in nature as it expands its connections" (Ibid.)

In the coming decades, the Indo-Pacific will likely morph into a regional order that is neither dominated by the U.S. nor China, but instead anchored by what Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari would term as a "rhizomatic" order (as opposed to an arboreal-hierarchical order), where a network of relatively autonomous and highly interdependent powers, with varying degrees of strategic freedom and geopolitical influence, collectively shape the regional security architecture.

- Of the top 10 countries <u>most vulnerable</u> to the adverse impact of climate change, according to an HSBC study, seven are from the Indo-Pacific region, namely India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Oman and Kenya.
- Asia is home to almost a billion workers with "vulnerable" jobs bereft of proper compensation, benefits and security of tenure, according to the International Labor Organization (ILO).
- The ILO estimates that in several Southeast Asian countries, namely Cambodia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam, up to 137 million jobs (56 percent) are at risk of automation.