

Philippine Civil and Maritime Security: From Archipelagic to Maritime Power



Chester B. Cabalza, Ph.D.

International Development and Security Cooperation

**THE FUTURE OF PHILIPPINE FOREIGN POLICY:
ON MARITIME SECURITY CAPABILITY AND STRATEGY**

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1. Direction of the third horizon of military's modernization and shift from Internal Security Operations (ISO) to Territorial Defense Operations (TDO)

2. Rebranding of the Revised AFP Modernization Program and Philippine Coast Guard Modernization as Public Investments and Country's Pride

3. Increased Multilateralism (Naval and Coast Guard Diplomacy) and Full Implementation of an Independent Foreign Policy



What to expect from PH Coast Guard Modernization

- PCG's multi-role response vessels (fifth coming from Japan) and pro-active fleet policy
- Aggressive recruitment in PCG
- Generalist Human Resources from different fields and specializations
- PPP projects
- Delimit its function and mandate on maritime safety and security under DOTr.



Golden Age of PH Naval and Coast Guard Diplomacy?

- Annually close to 20 unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral naval exercises are conducted with PH allies.
- In December 2020, French shipbuilder Naval Group announced plans to open an office in Manila in 2021.
- PH Naval Assets is ranked #26 out of 140 countries overtaking Pakistan & UK
- PCG is the first in ASEAN and continue on modernization process
- Presence of QUAD and the creation of AUKUS
- PN Submarine Program
- Fate of the Self-reliant Defense Posture (SRDP)
- Status of the Capability, Materiel and Technology Development (CMTD)
- Philippine coastal and defense maritime technological requirements
- A whole-of-alliance approach

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PH Balancing Act as a Middle Power (Regional Context)

- While the US employs diplomatic, economic, strategic and informational strategies; **China is anchored in increasing economic prowess and military command** to counter US-led dominance in the region.
- In spirit, **Southeast Asia has become the new theatrical stage of power hegemony** just like the symphony of the Concert of Europe in 1815.
- It also brings forth **Asean's dual strategy** to preserve its centrality in geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific region while augmenting its ability to endure an institutional hedging strategy.



Prospects for PH as a Middle Power

- Manila's call for a **'Whole-of-Alliance'** approach.
- Confidence Building Mechanism following **Jakarta and Hanoi style of dealing with Beijing.**
- **PH as a new hub of the Belt Road Initiative** with the continuity of the mega infrastructure programs



What to Expect to the QUAD?

- Despite differences in threat perception, risk tolerance, military capability and strategic culture—cooperation among **the QUAD countries is likely to deepen as long as China continuously challenge key aspects of the status quo liberal rules-based order** that benefit the four.
- Quad States should **cooperate to improve joint interoperability, intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities**, share logistics for power projection and enhanced access to joint development of defense technology.
- They should also cooperate on standard setting and **create an Indo-Pacific quadrilateral critical infrastructure funding scheme** as a viable alternative to China's Belt and Road Initiative for small states that could be targeted by China for power projection purposes.

Relevance of AUKUS to PH and ASEAN

- Maintaining a **strong relationship between PN and Royal Australian Navy** conducting combined exercises will improve its operation in the WPS to maintain a sustained maritime presence. **Australian naval power will be projected to the first island chain**, enabling side with US in their future conflict with PLA-Navy.
- **AUKUS submarines could stalk and hunt the PLA-Navy's surface combatants and ballistic missile submarines (SSBNs)** in the South and East China Seas, and launch cruise missiles against China's coastal cities while stationed east of the Philippines.
- Aukus deal was part of **larger steps to build cooperation with security partners in Asia** “to sustain peace and stability across the entire Indo-Pacific region”.

The shift to the multipolar and multiplex world



What does the US possess?

- United States is a **maritime superpower** because its heavily armed warships - It can travel thousands of miles in a matter of days.
- **Navy's superior lift capability** - It can transport firepower, fuel, food and cargo to sustain distant combat operations through Ship Building Capability. It is capable of constructing large and deep-draft vessels.
- **Ship Power and Propulsion** – It can maximize the power on surface ships for use both in advanced weapons and sensors.
- **Smart Shipping** - aimed to fully optimized the energy efficiency, emission reduction and fuel consumption.
- **Use of Sensors** - to facilitate speed of application on charts automation, self-calibration, fault tolerance, high transmission capabilities, wireless capabilities, among others.

Where the US is frail...

- **CYBER ATTACK**

- The maritime industry is very technology dependent uses (i.e computers, navigation, communications, ship systems monitoring and control etc).

- **DWINDLING MARITIME INFRASTRUCTURE**

- Deteriorating Maritime infrastructure due to the pending ship yard act in US Congress.

- **PENDING JONES ACT**

- Jones Act ensures a strong and vibrant maritime industry,

- helps ensure the United States maintains its expertise in shipbuilding and waterborne transportation.

- The Jones Act will help the US Navy's ability to meet strategic sealift requirements and Navy shipbuilding.

Where the US is good at?

- **Projection of Maritime Power** - the US long used the Navy to influence the behavior of allies and adversaries during time of peace.
- **Multilateral and Minilateral** groupings/relations- used to address maritime issues.
- **Support on R&D** - Federal gov't support focusing on defense needs, and the critical role of small entrepreneurial firms in commercializing new technologies.
- **Science, technology, and innovation - Cornerstones of US economy.**
Strengthening these areas can foster open, transparent, and meritocratic systems of governance throughout the world.

Why the US is threatened?

- **China's military modernization effort**, including its naval modernization effort, has become the top focus of U.S. defense planning and budgeting.
- China wants its navy to be capable of acting as part of its **grey zone strategy** and **Chinese anti-access/area-denial (A2/AD) force**—a force that can deter U.S. intervention in a conflict in China's near-seas region over Taiwan or some other issue, or failing that, delay the arrival or reduce the effectiveness of intervening U.S. forces.
- The U.S. Navy has **shifted a greater percentage of its fleet to the Pacific**; assigned its most-capable new ships and aircraft and its best personnel to the Pacific.
- Some claim that the biggest long-term threat to the US Navy, and to the U.S. military generally, is not foreign but domestic: **a shrinking budget**.

The Revisionist China

- China's **naval modernization** underway for **25 years** since 1990's
- China's Navy in East Asia that **surpassed the US Navy in numbers of battle force ships**
- China's naval ships, aircraft, and weapons are **far more modern comparable to Western navies**
- China is **capable of conducting conventional and nuclear precision strikes**
- China is also **developing hypersonic glide vehicles**

Why we should watch for China?

- China's naval ships, aircraft, and weapons are now much more modern and capable than they were at the start of the 1990s.
- **China's naval modernization effort encompasses a wide array of platform and weapon acquisition programs**, including anti-ship ballistic missiles (ASBMs), anti-ship cruise missiles (ASCMs), submarines, surface ships, aircraft, unmanned vehicles (UVs), and supporting C4ISR (command and control, communications, computers, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance) systems.
- **China's coast guard is, by far, the largest of any country in East Asia. The Chinese Navy is now the number one navy in the world in terms of gray ships.**

What are China's weaknesses?

- Joint operations with other parts of China's military, antisubmarine warfare (ASW), long-range targeting, and a **lack of recent combat experience**.
- China's naval modernization effort appeared to be **focused on increasing total platform** (i.e., ship and aircraft) numbers **than on increasing the modernity** and capability of Chinese platforms.
- Particular areas of **weakness in** China's maritime capabilities include **undersea warfare, amphibious lift, and aerial refueling capabilities**.
- Capabilities gaps in **maritime strike aircraft is considered a low-observable aircraft**.
- **China has only one foreign base in Djibouti** compared to US 800 plus bases worldwide

Still weak on...

- China lags behind in terms of its nuclear undersea capabilities.
- China's carrier force faces several glaring weaknesses that limit its capabilities.
- The carrier has deficiencies with their engines which is a historic problem for China.
- Chinese aircraft carriers—the *Liaoning* and the *Shandong* are conventionally powered and **do not possess advanced steam catapult technology**. Main challenge is how to infuse a nuclear-powered reactor on the ship.
- **Cyber attacks that could disrupt its "informationized" high-technology weapons**, including missiles, submarines, aircraft, and space systems that could be crippled by electronic or cyber strikes.

What can we hope for China?

- China **relies primarily on its coast guard** as a potential backup force (enforcement of China Coast Guard Law)
- China's **navy operates primarily in China's home waters**, Chinese navy ships are conducting increasing numbers of operations away from China's home waters.
- **China's long-distance naval deployments have been for making diplomatic port calls.**

Why China is threatened?

- China's navy is viewed as posing a **major challenge to the U.S. Navy's** ability to achieve and maintain wartime control of blue-water ocean areas in the Western Pacific.
- Countering China's projected anti-ship ballistic missiles (ASBMs) could involve employing a combination of active (i.e., "hard-kill") measures, such as shooting down ASBMs with interceptor missiles, and passive (i.e., "soft-kill") measures, such as those for masking the exact location of Navy ships or confusing ASBM reentry vehicles.
- The **maritime militia contributes to China's 'Cabbage Strategy'**, where vessels are placed in a 'layer-like' formation around the islands of contention, denying access to waters and gradually shifting the status-quo of control.

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For the Marcos Administration

- ❑ **If China is a true friend to the Philippines**, it has to allow the Marcos administration to help the country's military modernization and strengthen its Territorial Defense Operations. **A Philippine Independent Foreign Policy needs strong armed forces and coast guard to become a maritime power.**
- ❑ The Navy and Coast Guard should **maintain sovereignty patrols** on the country's maritime domains, ensuring a surface force to meet the current mission and long-term obligations, including the safeguard of sea control and denial, projecting power, maintaining maritime security, and also performing functions to support mission other than war.
- ❑ The **AFP and PCG should improve its human, organizational, and information capital**. It shall **build a culture of jointness** and establish integrated secure communications and information system to institutionalize integrated joint logistics support systems and develop a professional and highly motivated regular and reserve force.
- ❑ AFP/PCG to **focus on Territorial Defense Operations** than Internal Defense Operations