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Sea Power Centre and Centre for Maritime Policy

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NAVAL COOPERATION AND COALITION BUILDING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC: STATUS AND PROSPECTS

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Sea Power Centre Working Papers

The Sea Power Centre Working Paper series is designed as a vehicle to foster debate and discussion on maritime issues of relevance to the Royal Australian Navy, the Australian Defence Force and to Australia and the region more generally.

About the Author

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SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

- Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific remain politically and economically unstable, and the maritime security environment is worsening. Conflict on the seas is a constant possibility and law and order at sea is deteriorating.
- Great power rivalries continue to grow and are complicating naval cooperation in Southeast Asia. Such rivalries, and a generally poor maritime security environment, have increased the need for the building of confidence and cooperation at sea in the region.
- Although many forms of naval and maritime cooperation have proliferated, including within the Western Pacific Naval Symposium, the key multilateral forum for regional naval cooperation, many constraints to further cooperation remain. These include a preference for bilateral, as opposed to multilateral cooperation in Southeast Asia, fiscal and capability limitations, and an unwillingness to get caught up in great power disputes, particularly those centred on China. Bilateral maritime border patrols in Southeast Asia are positive steps and there is some potential for the expansion of such schemes, particularly in the Gulf of Thailand and the Sulu Sea.
- Cooperation to improve surveillance and enforcement of fisheries in the Southwest Pacific will continue to evolve, perhaps expanding to areas of the high seas covered by the Western and Central Pacific Tuna Convention.
- Current efforts to develop common doctrine and SOPs may enable greater cooperation on the water, as will improving communications interoperability. Key navies such as the RAN and USN will need to take responsibility for command and control arrangements for multilateral maritime operations.
- Coalition-building is actively being promoted by the U.S. and Japan. Japanese proposals to fight piracy are likely to be politically untenable in the region. U.S. initiatives to improve cooperation and interoperability in benign and constabulary operations, such as peacekeeping, disaster relief and search and

rescue have been more successful, yet will most probably remain bilateral in nature, despite U.S. efforts to link its bilateral relationships into a new multilateral network.

- Australia can play an active role in promoting further cooperation by improving existing relationships, continuing to support the WPNS, expanding its training and education assistance to regional navies, and developing a regional maritime information database.

INTRODUCTION I

This report investigates the current status of naval cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific, the trends in naval and maritime cooperative activities, and the prospects for further cooperation and potential coalition-building in the future. Its focus is on *benign application of maritime power operations* and *constabulary operations in normal and low intensity operations conditions*. The report also includes consideration of relevant non-naval cooperation in benign and constabulary operations, particularly given the regional proliferation of coast guards and other maritime enforcement agencies.

In order to achieve this task, the report first provides an overview of the regional maritime security environment, and then creates a framework for analysis based upon different political *levels of naval cooperation*, ranging from alliances to maritime cooperation that may not involve navies at all. The next two sections use the framework to analyse the current status of naval cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific, respectively, and finally, the prospects for future cooperation and coalition-building are appraised, concluding with some potential implications for Australia.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT II

Geographical Parameters

The geographical parameters of this study limit its scope to cooperative naval and maritime activities within Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific. The use of the terms “region” and “regional” throughout this study refer, therefore, to either or both of those two subregions, areas described by the new Defence White Paper, *Defence 2000: Our Future Defence Force*, as Australia’s “nearer region and immediate neighbourhood.”

The Southeast Asian subregion comprises the ten ASEAN states (Brunei, Burma [Myanmar], Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam), plus newly independent East Timor.

The Southwest Pacific comprises Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea and the small island states of the South Pacific, including: the Cook Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Palau, the Marshall Islands, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Vanuatu, as well as French and U.S. Pacific territories.

The geographical parameters also encompass the relevant ocean areas within and surrounding the two subregions. In Southeast Asia those areas include regional seas stretching from the semi-enclosed South China Sea and the marginal Philippine Sea, through the other semi-enclosed seas and archipelagic waters surrounding the Philippines and Indonesia, and on the western side of peninsular Southeast Asia and Burma, the Andaman Sea and northeastern reaches of the Bay of Bengal. Southeast Asia’s maritime nature ensures that not only local states are involved in cooperative activities in the region; Southeast Asian waters provide links rather than barriers, intimately connecting India and Bangladesh in the west, Australia and PNG in the south, and China and Taiwan in the north, to the region. China, India and Taiwan all possess islands in Southeast Asian waters, whilst Japan, South Korea and the U.S. also have vital interests in maintaining freedom of navigation throughout the region.

Strategic Overview and Regional Political Trends

The regional strategic situation, whilst remaining relatively benign in terms of inter-state conflict, continues to be challenged by the internal difficulties faced by most countries within the region. Within Southeast Asia only Singapore can be forecast with any confidence to remain politically stable and economically strong over the next 10-15 years, whilst periodic high rates of economic growth in many other Southeast Asian countries may be offset by domestic political and social problems, and by a reticence to undertake necessary economic and political reforms.

In the Southwest Pacific only Australia and New Zealand remain free from current or potential threats to national viability, whether economic, environmental or political. Increasing levels of dependence may also lead to higher levels of political infiltration of South Pacific island states by external powers seeking to gain economic advantage or strategic footholds.

It is significant for both Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific that the two states traditionally looked upon within each subregion to provide “indigenous” (sub)regional leadership, Indonesia and Fiji, respectively, are amongst the most internally threatened and unstable of regional states and in no position to regain leading roles in the short term. This will leave Southeast Asia leaderless for some time, whilst ASEAN may be a less united body than was previously the case due to growing divergences and the pressures of enlarged membership. In the Southwest Pacific Australia and New Zealand will have little option but to take even greater responsibility for maintaining stability, which may require greater financial and security commitments.

The greatest near-term threat of inter-state conflict may result from territorial disputes, including those that involve maritime territory and related resource jurisdiction over fisheries and offshore oil and gas deposits. The best known and most complicated and dangerous of these disputes is over the Spratly island group in the South China Sea. The Spratly dispute is complicated by the fact that the claimants include not only Southeast Asian states (Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam), but also China and Taiwan. All claimants except for Brunei occupy at least one islet or other feature in the disputed area. There is also a Chinese claim to the Paracel Islands (effectively settled by

Chinese occupation but still claimed by Vietnam) and to resources in waters also claimed by Indonesia.

The South China Sea and the chokepoints of the Southeast Asian Straits remain vital for the strategic mobility of the leading maritime powers of the region, especially the U.S., which underwrites regional stability, and also for a medium maritime power such as Australia, which necessarily continues to employ a maritime strategy for both the defence of Australia itself and for the protection of its regional and international interests, including the security of seaborne trade.

The inherently maritime nature of the region is, therefore, the common thread to international security on a regional scale. The security of seaborne trade is a particular regional concern. Threats to maritime security in the region, whether internal, cross-border, transnational or inter-state in origin, tend to have *international* consequences. From this perspective, for example, whilst piracy in the region mostly can be viewed as a consequence of economic hardship and law and order problems within states such as Indonesia and the Philippines,¹ the security implications genuinely are international.

The greatest destabilizing factor and long-term threat to regional security may derive from the negative influence of outside powers. In particular, the role of China in the Spratlys/Paracels disputes creates a significant strategic complication for the region,² whilst in more general terms Beijing is concertedly expanding its regional influence in ways that have yet to be proven wholly benign. Other powers may wish to counter Chinese influence in the region by increasing their own: Japan, India and the United States are potential candidates, particularly as China's maritime strategic presence grows.³ There is some evidence to suggest that competition for influence between the three major Asian powers (China, Japan and India) may already be under way in Southeast Asia.

In Tokyo's case, for example, that potentially might lead to an expanded role for Japanese maritime forces in protecting its vital trade routes through the South China Sea and Indonesian Straits. Moreover, any major conflict in Northeast Asia, across the Taiwan Strait, for example (which would most likely involve the U.S. and possibly also Japan in some capacity), would inevitably have negative consequences for security and processes of cooperation in Australia's nearer region, not

least by exacerbating intra-regional insecurities and by threatening disruption to vital Asian sea lines of communication (SLOCs).

Competition between major external powers can be gauged to some degree by an increasing level of naval activity in the region and expanding naval and maritime air (including both cruise and ballistic missile) force structures, whilst territorial and marine resource disputes are also fuelling the growth in maritime strategic capabilities both within the ASEAN grouping, and between ASEAN claimant states and China. Another indicator of a growing strategic competition in the region is the extent to which the larger powers attempt to secure naval or air bases, naval repair and supply agreements, signals intelligence and communications facilities, and space-related facilities such as satellite launch sites, relay stations, and satellite and missile tracking installations. Increased marine scientific research activity and intelligence gathering on the water, and politically motivated regional expansion of national fishing and other commercial fleets may also occur.

In summary, the main types of threats to the regional order that have maritime overtones can be divided roughly into three categories: those deriving largely from internal, mostly non-military security problems of regional states, such as piracy, illegal migration, marine pollution and marine resource depletion, particularly overfishing and the (in)ability of some weaker regional states to enforce their respective national maritime zones; those derived from territorial disputes and related contested jurisdiction over marine resources, especially fish stocks in the short-term but increasingly oil, gas and other seabed minerals in the medium to long term; and, potentially the most dangerous, threats to regional SLOCs caused by either intra- or extra-regional conflicts, especially those involving major powers or, potentially, a widespread civil conflict within Indonesia leading to the break-up of the Javanese empire.

Predicting next year's situation is fraught with difficulties, however, let alone 10-15 years hence. The 1997-98 economic crisis and its political aftermath were unexpected, as were also the civil crises in Fiji and the Solomon Islands in 2000. As one learned analyst has stated, trends "inexorably generate some countervailing trends."⁴ Certainly, counterpoised almost paradoxically against the fissiparous tendencies of some regional states are growing nationalist sentiments throughout much

of the wider Asia-Pacific. Both nationalism within the region and farther afield in Northeast Asia and South Asia may have deleterious consequences for international security in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific subregions.

Rationales, Benefits and Limitations of Naval Cooperation and Coalition-building

In the context of developing naval cooperation and coalitions, the regional political tendencies outlined above may make such schemes both more salient and timely, and at the same time more difficult to achieve in a meaningful sense. There are three broad, interrelated rationales influencing the promotion and conduct of naval cooperation in the region: naval cooperation can be a confidence-building measure (CBM); a means of improving standardisation between navies in order to facilitate basic and benign operational cooperation; and a means of building naval coalitions to undertake more complex combined maritime operations,⁵ or at least to enhance interoperability to the extent that coalition maritime operations can be conducted on an ad hoc basis when necessary.

- The regional strategic context of renewed naval/maritime arms build-ups, heightened tensions between major powers, continued tensions over maritime territorial and resource disputes and, reputedly, a changing naval operational and force structure focus away from coast guard functions towards combat roles, together create a need to develop mechanisms and processes to defuse tensions, and build confidence and trust. Enhancing dialogue, including the discussion of mutual problems, increasing exchanges of personnel and information, creating transparency, and promoting habits of cooperation are potential methods of building confidence, both politically and, in more practical terms, on the water, between navies and other maritime security agencies. Such activities have been described as “building blocks” towards the goal of achieving higher levels of security cooperation, which hopefully might contribute to the creation of a more secure strategic environment.⁶
- For cooperation to be effective on the water, navies need to be able to develop interoperability, particularly in areas such as doctrine, operating procedures and communications, through

training, education and other exchanges, which then need to be practised on a regular basis. Naval cooperation at its most practical and benign, day-to-day level, is important in ensuring good order and safety at sea for all who may use it, and enhances the ability of regional naval forces to respond to civil crises such as natural disasters.

- The enhancement of cooperative habits and procedures, which in turn improves interoperability between forces, may enable coalitions of maritime forces to be formed when they are required, as with the INTERFET operation in East Timor. Potentially, if the politics are ripe, more permanent coalitions may grow from such activities.

The limitations on naval cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific are manifold, including:

- Politics; the most insurmountable reason, due to genuine mistrust and ongoing disputes between many of the ASEAN states. There is also circumspection within Southeast Asia, to varying degrees, about involvement in U.S. coalition-building activities: partly due to political differences with Washington; partly due to a culturally-derived mistrust of institutionalized security cooperation and multilateralism;⁷ and partly due to a desire to avoid involvement in major power disputes, particularly between the U.S. and China. China, in particular, is likely to object to any moves towards naval coalition-building, especially when they are centred around U.S. bilateral security relationships.
- Finances; most states in Southeast Asia and all Pacific island states have severe fiscal limitations. This factor was exacerbated following the Asian economic crisis of 1997-98. Budgets for training and exercises, moreover, have tended not to be as resilient as those for arms purchases. For all the South Pacific island states and the poorest ASEAN states, the level and extent of cooperative activities may only increase with concomitant increases in military aid from donor states.
- Capabilities; many navies are hamstrung by limitations in their force structure, procedures and training, and language capabilities. The Asian concept of “face” may complicate the

issue of capability shortfalls; in order to avoid losing face, it may be viewed as preferable by some forces not to engage in cooperation at all rather than to be shown to be incapable or incompetent.

- National security; cooperative activities can be used as intelligence-gathering exercises. This is a particular problem for navies from a conservative and closed military culture. Some navies may also want to hide capability limitations for security reasons.

A FRAMEWORK FOR REGIONAL NAVAL COOPERATION

III

The terms of reference for this research report, as noted earlier, are to focus on naval cooperation and coalition-building in the lower levels of the *spectrum of conflict*; more specifically, the report focuses on those levels of the spectrum termed *normal conditions* and *low intensity operations* by Richard Hill in his treatise on medium power maritime strategy.⁸ A second framing concept concerns what the RAN's *Australian Maritime Doctrine* refers to as the *span of maritime operations*; in this case, the focus is on the *benign application of maritime power* and *constabulary operations*. To create an overarching analytical framework this report creates another framing concept that of the *levels of naval cooperation*, which addresses regional naval cooperation in terms of different political levels, or intensity, of strategic commitment, shared policy objectives and cooperation. Four levels are identified: *alliances*; *coalitions*; *non-coalition naval cooperation*; and *maritime cooperation*. A final aspect to complete the framework is a survey of the *types of naval cooperation* possible within the parameters of the report, corresponding broadly to the *span of maritime operations*. The *types of naval cooperation* can be divided into four categories: *higher level combat operations*; *constabulary operations*; *benign application of maritime power operations*; and *enabling and/or facilitative cooperation*.

Each *level of naval cooperation* can be linked to certain *types of naval cooperation*, which, corresponding to the *span of maritime operations*, also relate to different levels of the *spectrum of conflict* (see fig. 1).

The Spectrum of Conflict

*Normal Conditions*⁹

Richard Hill describes normal conditions as the situation in which “no use of force is taking place except at an internationally agreed constabulary level,” and where “threats of force are confined to the normal processes of deterrence.”¹⁰ *Normal conditions* involve such naval roles as surveillance and intelligence gathering, readiness, constabulary

duties, disaster relief, and presence for diplomatic and deterrence purposes.¹¹

Low Intensity Operations

Low intensity operations are those operations considered to constitute conflict situations less than outright war, but nevertheless may engender at least the prospects for the use of force and the possibility that such operations may take place in a violent context. Most importantly, low intensity operations tend to be limited in “aim, scope and area.”¹² The types of scenarios that may involve navies in *low intensity operations* include peacekeeping and peacemaking, humanitarian and other forms of intervention, usually by invitation or mandated by the United Nations, demonstrations of right and resolve, some or all of which may necessitate the provision of “cover” and the appropriate support capabilities, both on land and at sea.¹³ *Low intensity operations* may or may not involve national political or strategic objectives and, similarly, the stakes and level of danger involved will differ from case to case.

When using the *spectrum of conflict* as a framing concept, however, it should be remembered that each level cannot easily be compartmentalised, and that the spectrum represents a continuum of military’s activities. Conflict at one level may easily spill over into the next level, thus requiring a greater application of force.

The Span of Maritime Operations

The focus of this report is on the parts of the *span of maritime operations*, which the *Australian Maritime Doctrine* terms the *benign application of maritime power* and *constabulary operations*. These two categories of operations fit roughly within, although are not entirely analogous to, the two levels of the *spectrum of conflict* framed as *normal conditions* and *low intensity operations*.

The following list is a summary of the relevant types of maritime operations as set out in the *Australian Maritime Doctrine*.¹⁴

The Benign Application of Maritime Power

- Evacuation
- Defence Assistance to the Civil Community
- Search and Rescue
- Disaster Relief

- Defence Force Assistance to Allied and Friendly Nations

Constabulary Operations

- Peacekeeping
- Peace Enforcement
- Embargo, Sanctions and Quarantine Enforcement
- Peace Building
- Defence Force Aid to the Civil Power
- Environmental and Resource Management and Protection
- Anti-piracy Operations
- Quarantine Operations, Drug Interdiction and Prevention of Illegal Immigration

Levels of Naval Cooperation

As a general framework for naval cooperation in Southeast Asia and the Southwest Pacific, four broad category levels of cooperation can be identified according to the level of political commitment and degree to which common political and strategic objectives are involved. These levels also should properly be viewed as a *continuum* rather than as exclusive categories; many types of cooperative activity will necessarily overlap categories.

Alliances

Alliances involve the highest degree of political commitment, and naval cooperation carried out under the auspices of an alliance may encompass the entire span of maritime operations from the most benign forms of activity up to the highest level of training and interoperability for war-fighting scenarios required under the rubric of collective defence.

Coalitions

Cooperation at the coalition level entails some degree of political commitment and reasonably, well-defined political objectives by the coalition members although that will not mean that all members of a coalition have exactly the same political objectives.¹⁵ Coalitions are more limited in scope than formal alliances, usually without the same level of *mutual* commitment and degree of shared world-views.

Within the category of coalitions there are also distinctions to be made in the level of political commitment and cohesiveness. Coalitions can range from formal, established types, often bound together by a treaty

arrangement; to informal types unbound by treaties (yet which may still represent a relatively high degree of strategic affinity; looser coalitions of states that cooperate consistently over a period of time but to a lesser degree level of political commitment and/or formality; agreements promoting military cooperation such as naval basing rights; and ad hoc coalitions brought together for a specific purpose, which are likely to be limited in duration.

Non-coalition Naval Cooperation

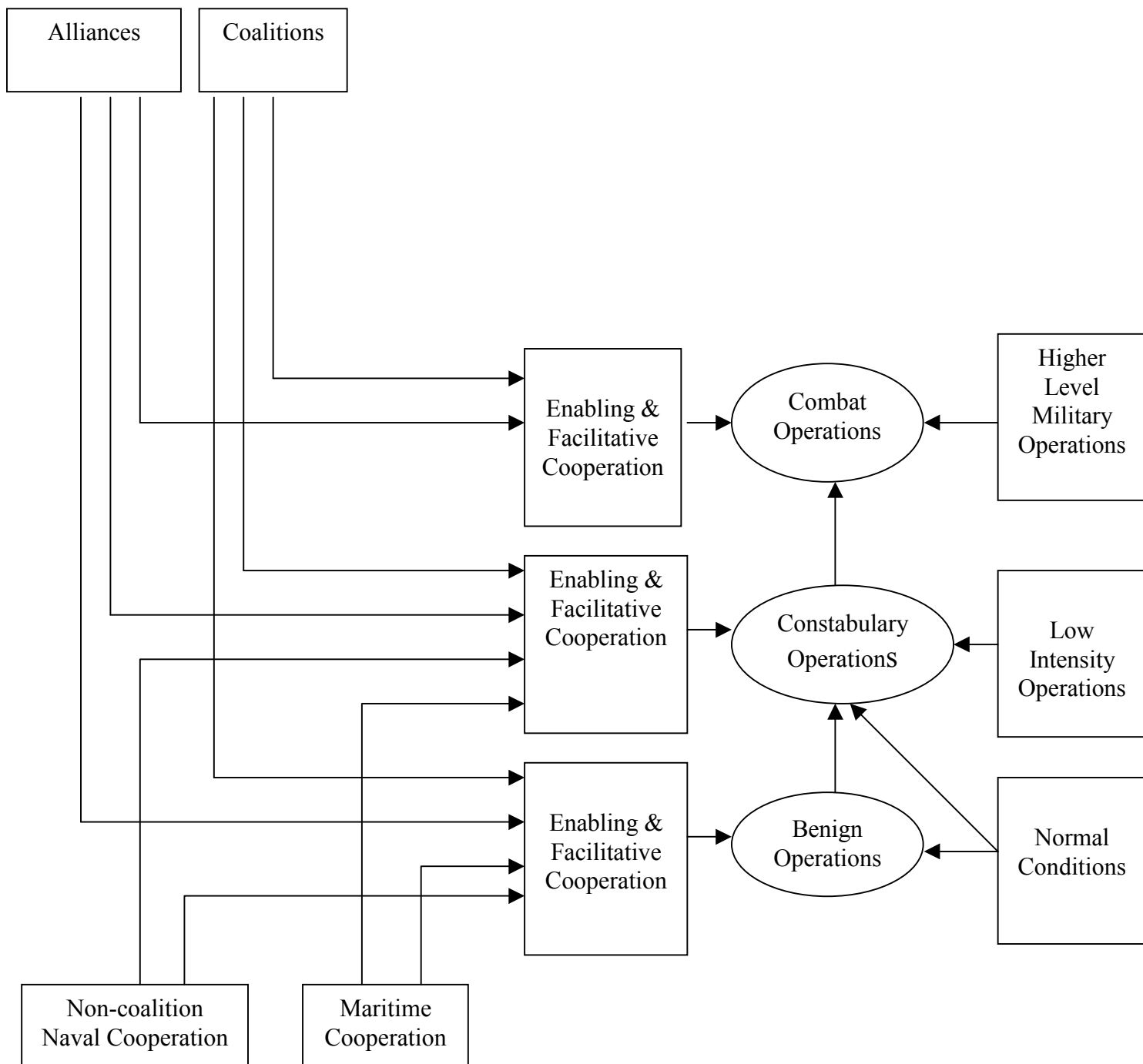
This third level of naval cooperation is comprised of cooperation between navies which takes place outside of coalition or alliance contexts and does not entail any specific common political or strategic objective other than to function, most often, as a form of CBM. Cooperation at this level tends to be limited in scope and focused on either non-controversial issue areas or on basic interoperability requirements to facilitate cooperation in benign or constabulary operations. The foremost example is the multilateral Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS), although there also exist, a wide range of other examples, both bilateral and multilateral, that fit within this category.

In theory at least, if not always in practice, *non-coalition naval cooperation* may be viewed as coalition-building activity. The building of common procedures and operational compatibility between non-coalition navies may provide the bedrock, however, that might facilitate coalition formation if and when political or security conditions become appropriate for such behaviour. Politics will nevertheless dictate that potential coalition building might be possible only between certain sets of states, and will not constitute a generic condition for deeper naval cooperation between *all* regional navies.

Maritime Cooperation

The final level of naval cooperation is the more general category of *maritime cooperation* that involves navies and/or, potentially, other maritime security forces such as coast guards that engage in benign or constabulary operations *in normal conditions only*. Such cooperation,

Figure 1. A Framework for Regional Naval Cooperation



may or may not involve navies directly, but all cooperation within this category has some relevance for navies and naval operations.

The level of political commitment involved as far as potential political-strategic coalition building is concerned is low. Paradoxically, however, the level of cooperation at the political level may be higher than for specifically *non-coalition naval cooperation*. Due at least in part to the less controversial nature of cooperation that does not include military elements, and because such cooperation between the respective non-naval maritime enforcement agencies of different states also tends to be of a more day-to-day, practical nature. The growth of coast guards in regional states suggest that this level of cooperation may become more common in Southeast Asia.

Types of Naval Cooperation

Broadly speaking, the various types of naval cooperation may be viewed either as being operationally focused, or as representing some form of CBM. Some types of combined maritime operations and related elements of cooperation, moreover, may themselves serve to build political (and potentially, commercial-maritime) confidence.

Operational cooperation requires navies to share significant levels of equipment standardisation and common standard operating procedures (SOPs); to be fully effective, successful combined operations by the navies of two or more states will have required actual practice through exercising and other forms of exchanges. The larger and more complex the operation, and the higher the level of conflict involved, the greater the extent that prior cooperation, common doctrine, extant command and control (C²) arrangements and equipment compatibility will be necessary. Similarly, the more nations involved in an operation, the more complicated that operation will be; standardisation difficulties will grow as the number of participants grows. Australian Defence Force (ADF) doctrine identifies five “levels of standardisation” that facilitate procedural, doctrinal or technical cooperation for combined operations. In ascending order, the five levels are:

- Coordination.
- Compatibility.
- Interoperability.
- Interchangeability.

- Commonality.

Standardisation for combined operations will be the greatest between alliance partners, who have the most opportunity and political incentives to create deep and meaningful cooperative relationships. The level of standardisation will decline, as a general rule, as we move down the continuum of political-strategic commitment to formal, informal, and ad hoc *coalitions*, *non-coalition naval cooperation*, and so on.

This study categorises the various types of naval cooperation into four categories, based loosely on the span of maritime operations formulated in the *Australian Maritime Doctrine*. These categories are, combat operations; constabulary operations; benign application of maritime power operations; and forms of cooperation that enable or facilitate operational cooperation.

As the following list of naval cooperative activities demonstrate. Many types of cooperation can represent in and of themselves a wide range of activity ranging from simple CBMs to complex combined operations, and may encompass several potential category levels of political commitment and sensitivity in increasingly complex networks of both bilateral and multilateral linkages.

COMBAT OPERATIONS

Combat Operations at or from the Sea

Although strictly outside the scope of this report, it should be noted that the highest and most intense type of naval cooperation, most commonly conducted between allies, but potentially also between both formal and ad hoc coalition partners, remains combat operations in higher intensity conflicts and major war.

CONSTABULARY OPERATIONS

Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping operations may involve navies undertaking, *inter alia*, coastal patrols, amphibious operations and logistics support. Peacekeeping mostly occurs under the auspices of the United Nations and potentially may require forces unfamiliar with each other to cooperate in difficult circumstances.

Peacemaking

Peacemaking is a more complex proposition and may involve amphibious operations and the provision of cover in a potentially hostile environment. Effective cooperation at this level of the conflict spectrum will require a higher level of standardisation most commonly found between alliance or coalition partners. Due to the more political and possibly controversial nature of peace-making operations, even if carried out under a UN mandate. It is less likely that cooperative operations would occur between navies that do not regularly exercise together, although the extent and depth of prior exercising may influence the degree of compatibility and interoperability between navies during actual operations. Unlike the land force element of peacemaking operations, where it is possible for contributing states each to act virtually independently in their own zones of responsibility (as in the INTERFET operations in East Timor), combined naval contributions by necessity require greater levels of cooperation and coordination. Peace-making operations not include only patrolling, surveillance, amphibious operations, the provision of cover, and fire support for land forces, but also logistics, port management and port security type duties.

Mine Countermeasures (MCM)

Although MCM is also a combat operation (in which case cooperation would most likely be carried out within an alliance or coalition context), it is mentioned here because there is also potential for MCM operations to take place as a distinct and non-controversial form of cooperation separate from higher-level conflict scenarios. The scenarios that can be envisaged in *normal* or in *low intensity* operating conditions include: a combined effort by several states to clear mines in the aftermath of a regional conflict,¹⁶ cooperative efforts to clear the seas of old mines remaining from historic conflicts such as World Wars I and II; and the clearing of mines laid by maritime terrorists, pirates or other non-state groups, especially in straits and archipelagic waters. Within these contexts MCM operations may be viewed as a specific form of peacetime SLOC security/shipping protection.

Sanctions Enforcement

Like peacemaking operations, sanctions enforcement most commonly will be carried out by states with similar political motivations under a

UN mandate. Cooperative maritime sanctions enforcement is not uncommon, such as the ongoing effort against Iraq in the Persian Gulf and NATO's embargo against Serbia in the Adriatic during the height of the conflict in the Balkans.

Surveillance and Intelligence Sharing

Cooperative maritime surveillance is an important form of cooperation that can involve navies, as well as the other military services, and other types of government agencies. The use of commercial contractors or non-governmental assets, such as commercially derived satellite imagery, also may be employed. Cooperative surveillance may occur on an ad hoc basis for a specific operation or may take place as an extant, permanent activity. Surveillance is relevant for the entire span of maritime operations, including cooperation at the constabulary and benign end of the spectrum and, in particular, for marine resource protection and other law and order at sea activities.

The exchange of information and intelligence amongst navies and other maritime security agencies is also common. At the deepest level of cooperation there is a high level of intelligence sharing between allies, whilst even at the other end of the spectrum of political commitment, at the level of *maritime cooperation*, there also may be significant sharing of maritime information amongst navies, coast guards and other maritime enforcement agencies.

Natural Resources Protection and Enforcement

Cooperation for natural resource protection has in the past been limited to surveillance and information sharing. However, there may be limited prospects for cooperation in the field of fisheries enforcement on the high seas of the western and central Pacific amongst signatory states of the Western and Central Pacific Tuna Convention.

Anti-piracy and Maritime Boundary Patrols

Combined patrols to combat piracy and sea robbery are a useful form of cooperation in high risk areas for piratical-type attacks, especially in straits and archipelagic waters. Patrols on the high seas may constitute another form of peacetime SLOC protection, if such operations are ever deemed necessary. Cooperative efforts are also possible to combat other forms of illegal activity at sea, such as arms, people or narcotics smuggling.

BENIGN APPLICATION OF MARITIME POWER OPERATIONS

Non-combatant Evacuation Operations

Navies can play important roles in evacuation operations in failed states and other places of chaos and civil disorder. There is a considerable degree of complementarity between combined training and exercising for evacuation, disaster relief and some forms of peace operations involving amphibious capabilities; in this way, cooperation and combined training in benign operations such as evacuations are highly relevant for coalition-building activities for more complex and risky operations such as peacekeeping and peacemaking.

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR)

Cooperation between armed forces, including navies, to assist in disaster relief and other civil emergencies is another potentially non-controversial form of defence cooperation, assuming there is agreement from the host/victim nation. As also is the case with evacuation operations, interoperability of shipboard helicopter capabilities is an important enabler for naval HA/DR cooperation.

Search and Rescue (SAR)

Search and rescue operations are a long-standing form of cooperation between navies, air forces, coast guards and other relevant maritime agencies, based upon international obligatory norms. For navies, SAR may also include submarine rescue operations.

ENABLING AND/OR FACILITATIVE COOPERATION

Exercises

Combined exercises are amongst the most common forms of naval cooperation and are conducted across all four levels of naval cooperation, from the most basic and benign passage exercises (PASSEXs), to complex war-fighting exercises involving a high degree of interoperability at the alliance level.

Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs) and Common Doctrine

The development of standard operating procedures and common doctrine will be necessary to enable cooperation to be effective for exercises and combined operations, even for cooperation at the most benign level of the political and operational spectrums. Particularly

important for the effectiveness of combined operations is the development of SOPs for command, control and communications (C³), and for coordination and planning purposes.

Maritime Information Databases

There exists some potential for the establishment of maritime information databases, both as an example of the type of practical, politically non-controversial cooperation possible, and as a form of CBM. This form of cooperation may also involve civilian agencies and non-governmental organizations.

Marine Scientific Research

Navies may play a role in furthering knowledge of the marine environment through cooperation in the gathering and dissemination of marine scientific research data, especially hydrographic and oceanographic data, the production of maps and charts, and meteorological information. This type of cooperation, although seemingly benign, can be limited, however, by political sensitivities over national sovereignty, the security of intelligence data, and the potential relevance of the data for combat operations.

Provision of Matériel

An important aspect to the facilitation of cooperation with less well-endowed navies is the provision of equipment, from entire naval platforms (for example, the Pacific Patrol Boat project), to seemingly innocuous things such as fire-fighting equipment or training manuals, whether through arms sales or defence aid/cooperation programs. Navies (and other maritime security agencies) that lack basic capabilities simply will be unable to undertake meaningful cooperation with the comparable forces of other states. The compatibility of communications equipment is an especially important capability before exercises or operational cooperation can occur.

Personnel Exchanges, Education, and Training

The exchange of naval personnel to serve in each other's forces is a common form of cooperation between alliance partners, and potentially may also occur between close coalition partners. At lesser levels of political sensitivity, there is a considerable level of cooperation and exchange for both the training and education of naval personnel. Predominately, training and education tends to be offered by larger or

more developed navies through defence cooperation/assistance schemes for smaller, less developed navies, and can include the long-term posting of technical advisors. However, it is not uncommon to have bilateral exchanges of officers undertaking each other's staff courses, for example. This type of cooperation can promote mutual understanding between navies (and military cultures), build personal relationships between officers from different navies, enhancing the future potential interoperability of personnel, and thus also machines, during combined exercises and operations.

A distinction should also be drawn between training, which tends to be technical and, functionally, operations-focused, and education, which provides a broad-based, yet professionally relevant opportunity for naval officers to enhance their knowledge and understanding of the contexts in which they operate. A bridge linking functional training and education, and indeed all areas of cooperative military activities, is language training. There is a particular opportunity (and responsibility) for native English-speaking states to provide assistance for English language training, the common language for all mariners, to naval officers from non-English-speaking states if and where it is needed.

INCSEA Agreements

Avoidance of incidents at sea (INCSEA) and similar agreements constitute a form of cooperation that seek to avoid potentially dangerous actions by navies during peacetime and create detailed procedures to follow should incidents or accidents between naval forces actually occur.

Multilateral Forums and Conferences

Multilateral naval forums have great potential to promote cooperation between navies, particularly between those states that do not share traditional security relationships. Involvement of naval personnel in other official cooperative security forums may also promote naval interaction.

Participation of naval personnel in relevant conferences is another potential form of low-level cooperation, and may include conferences of an official ("Track I"), unofficial ("Track II"), industry or entirely academic nature. Likewise, participation in other Track II activities is another avenue for low-level cooperation and contact.

Port Visits/Fleet Reviews/Senior Personnel Visits

The most basic cooperative “building block” for navies involves port visits, visits and meetings of senior naval personnel, and participation in fleet reviews. Although these activities are commonplace between allies and friends, they also provide the least controversial possibilities for cooperation between states with little political common ground, including even between actual or potential adversaries.

THE CURRENT STATUS OF NAVAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IV

Using the framework establishing *levels of naval cooperation* developed in the previous section, this section sets out the current status of naval cooperation in Southeast Asia. This analysis is not an attempt to extensively list every detail of all extant cooperative arrangements that take place between navies in the Southeast Asian region, but does illustrate the range of naval cooperation occurring within each politically-defined level of cooperation.

Alliances

The primary alliance relationship relevant to the Southeast Asian region is the ANZUS alliance between Australia and the United States. The full range of cooperative activities take place from basic port visits to intelligence and personnel exchanges to complex exercises for war-fighting purposes, such as the regular TANDEM THRUST combined joint forces exercise.

Australia has also had a close alliance relationship with New Zealand; however, political changes in Wellington and concomitant ideologically-driven reductions in the capabilities of the NZDF may result in a weakening of the alliance and a reduction of the geographical scope of New Zealand's defence interests to the Southwest Pacific. The RAN and RNZN can be expected to maintain a close relationship, particularly in their surveillance and other security roles in the Southwest Pacific, yet both New Zealand's political shift and a likely move away from combat roles for the RNZN may mean that New Zealand will take on the status more of a close coalition partner than that of an ally, with little relevance for shared Australasian interests in Southeast Asia.

At a less formal level, Australia also maintains de facto alliance relationships with both Canada and the UK, including occasional exercises,¹⁷ both bilateral and multilateral, with both the RCN and RN, as well as personnel exchanges and a high level of intelligence sharing. Australia, Canada and the U.S. liase through the Trilateral Pacific Area Cooperative Forum, and RCN ships also take part in TANDEM THRUST. It is also implicit in America's alliances with both Japan and

South Korea that the U.S. take responsibility for its Northeast Asian allies' SLOC security in Southeast Asian seas.

Pacific and Indian Oceans Shipping Working Group (PACIOSWG)

The PACIOSWG is an arrangement to promote common doctrine and procedures for the naval control of shipping (NCS) in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. NCS doctrine and procedures are practised in the annual BELL BUOY exercise, hosted by each PACIOSWG member on a rotating basis. The PACIOSWG core membership is comprised of the allied nations of Australia, Canada, the U.K. and the U.S., and has been extended to include other U.S. allies and coalition partners. Chile and South Korea joined in 1989, initially as observers, and France is an occasional participant. The addition of extra members and the collapse of the common Soviet threat mean that, beyond the core members, the PACIOSWG is taking on the semblance of an informal coalition for NCS exercising. The 2000 BELL BUOY exercise was hosted by Australia: based upon a scenario of threats to Australian trade, all members except France participated.

Coalitions

Formal Coalitions

The first layer of coalition activity concerns naval cooperation that is carried out as an element of wider treaty commitments. In Southeast Asia the relevant treaties are U.S. commitments to the external security of both Thailand and the Philippines (the U.S. explicitly excludes the territorial features within the disputed Spratly island group claimed by Manila from its security guarantee), and a primarily Australian commitment to the external defence of both Singapore and Malaysia under the auspices of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA).

The U.S. conducts regular bilateral exercises with both Thailand (COBRA GOLD) and the Philippines (BALIKITAN), and naval/maritime exercises under the annual Cooperation Afloat Readiness and Training (CARAT) series of bilateral exercises between the U.S. and six Southeast Asian states.¹⁸ The U.S. armed forces also use Thai facilities for transit and provisioning purposes, although its military ties with the Philippines are only now re-building following the enactment of a new Visiting Forces Agreement in 1999. Officers from both Thailand and the Philippines benefit from the American International Military

Education and Training (IMET) scheme for Southeast Asian officers based in the U.S.

In May 2001 the United States also linked its separate COBRA GOLD, BALIKITAN and TANDEM THRUST exercises, collectively termed TEAM CHALLENGE, in order to provide a basis for greater future coordination, in the hope that it may lead to a region-wide multilateral exercise with the U.S. at its core. This represents not only a concerted effort on the part of Washington to construct a greater breadth and depth of security cooperation in Southeast Asia, but also part of an attempt at informal coalition-building between U.S. allies, coalition partners and friendly nations throughout East Asia.

FPDA exercises include the development of capabilities and procedures to conduct combined maritime operations, naval operations involving surface combatants and submarines (STARDEX), and coalition maritime contributions to the air defence of Singapore and peninsular Malaysia (ADEX). The most recent FPDA naval exercise, held in the South China Sea in August 2001 (STARDEX 2001), comprised over 30 ships and submarines playing out a multi-threat scenario. Nominally, New Zealand and the United Kingdom also are FPDA partners. Britain's commitments are probably real; however, it takes part only in some FPDA activities, whilst the aforementioned reduction of both New Zealand's political commitments to regional strategic engagement and its strategic capabilities mean that its role in the FPDA is now somewhat limited. Australia's coalition relationships with Singapore and Malaysia are the most important and developed in the FPDA, forming the centrepiece of Australia's regional engagement policies.

Informal Coalitions

Although the FPDA is a multilateral arrangement, certain bilateral ties within the coalition naturally are stronger than others in a region where bilateralism remains the preferred method of security cooperation; each individual relationship tends to advance at its own pace. Beyond the multilateral constraints of the FPDA the bilateral relationship between Singapore and Australia has developed into a stronger and deeper (informal) strategic partnership, including bilateral naval exercises (such as SINGAROO).

Singapore has also developed a close, yet informal, strategic relationship with the U.S., and may become more deeply involved in U.S.-led coalition-building activities; Singapore participated in the normally bilateral COBRA GOLD exercise in 2001, for example. The Singaporean part of CARAT 2000 also featured a more sophisticated and combat-oriented emphasis than American exercises with the other CARAT navies. Construction by Singapore of a dock at its new Changi naval base specifically large enough to accommodate an American aircraft carrier is a highly tangible expression of its diplomatic efforts to ensure an ongoing U.S. strategic presence in Southeast Asia. Since the closure of its bases in the Philippines, Singapore has become, in the words of then U.S. Secretary of Defense, William S. Cohen, “the headquarters for [U.S.] naval logistics in the West Pacific.”¹⁹

Singapore’s strategic partnerships with both the U.S. and Australia have evolved into the strongest coalition ties in Southeast Asia, despite their relative informality, and suggest a near-term future of deeper trilateral cooperation between the armed forces of the three states (the RAN, RSN and USN already combine for the MCM and ordnance disposal exercise, TRI-CRAB, for example).

Basing Arrangements

Naval basing agreements, as in the Singapore-U.S. case, constitute another form of coalition-level naval cooperation. Russia maintains the old Soviet lease on the large Cam Ranh Bay facility in Vietnam, which is due to expire in 2004. Moscow’s presence is limited, however, to infrequent visits by ships of Russia’s Pacific Fleet, and a small number of permanent personnel conducting signals intelligence (SIGINT) operations with the ability to eavesdrop on maritime traffic in the South China Sea.²⁰ The Russian defence minister has indicated that Moscow will not renew the lease: other parties, including India, have already expressed interest in the facility.

Also relevant is the relationship between China and Burma. China has supplied Hainan-class patrol boats, electronic warfare and radar systems; constructed maritime surveillance facilities and modernized Burmese naval bases; and provided training and technical support. The maritime surveillance systems include several coastal SIGINT sites along the Bay of Bengal, a large intelligence-gathering facility on Great Coco Island operated by Burma’s navy, and electronic intelligence (ELINT) systems

on the Hainan-class patrol boats. These systems provide intelligence on Indian Navy activities on the Andaman Islands, other Indian military activities in the Indian Ocean, and on maritime traffic passing through the Malacca Strait. The systems are most likely operated by the Burmese, with Chinese technical assistance, and the intelligence data shared.²¹

Despite constant assertions in recent years, especially from India, that China is constructing a deep water naval base in Burma that would enable China's navy to project its power into the Indian Ocean, there seems to be no conclusive evidence to substantiate those claims at the present time.

Ad Hoc Coalitions

The only regional example of an ad hoc coalition established for a limited period and for a specific purpose involving naval forces has been the Australian-led UN INTERFET operation in East Timor. Operation STABILISE involved amphibious, sea lift and logistics, port control and management, hydrographic, ordnance disposal, surveillance, patrol and cover operations by participating navies. In addition to the RAN, naval assets from Canada, France, New Zealand, Singapore, the U.K. and the U.S. took part.

Non-coalition Naval Cooperation

Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS)

The WPNS is the foremost mechanism in the Asia-Pacific for the promotion of multilateral *non-coalition naval cooperation*. Established in 1988 the WPNS holds regular (biennial) Symposia, the most recent hosted by New Zealand in November 2000, and annual Workshops, where the agenda for the subsequent Symposium is settled. There is a WPNS Secretariat, which was due to move from New Zealand to Papua New Guinea by the end of 2000. Currently, the WPNS is comprised of the navies of 17 member and four observer countries.²²

Each member is represented at WPNS Symposia by that country's Chief of Navy or his representative. Although navies are government organisations, the WPNS is not a forum for either policy debate or policy-making. Working under the constraints of policy neutrality, the WPNS discusses and coordinates practical means for naval cooperation

in the region. WPNS decisions and initiatives are made on a consensus basis and are non-binding on member navies.

The WPNS mission statement sets out the purpose for the forum:

The WPNS aims to increase naval cooperation in the Western Pacific among Navies by providing a forum for discussion of maritime issues, both global and regional, and in the process generate a flow of information and opinion between naval professionals leading to common understanding and possibly agreements.

The WPNS tended in its early years to concentrate on the less controversial non-military aspects of cooperation (maritime cooperation rather than deeper naval cooperation), such as the exchange of maritime information and procedures for communicating that information. A number of publications were incrementally developed, however, as well as some common doctrine for basic operational cooperation such as Replenishment at Sea (RAS) and SAR.

After a relatively slow period the WPNS has regained some impetus as navies become more attuned to processes of multilateral cooperation and exchange, and after some prompting by certain members. The most significant products of the WPNS process have been the Military Information Exchange Directory (MIED) and the Code for Unalerted Encounters at Sea (CUES).

The MIED provides guidelines and a signals format for reporting specific maritime information between member navies. It includes a separate section for each member state, including points of contact for reporting information in the following issue areas:

- Marine Pollution.
- Search and Rescue.
- Humanitarian Activities.
- Suspicious Activities Indicating Narcotics Trafficking.
- High Seas Robbery.
- Fisheries Infringement.

Not all countries have supplied the relevant information and many country sections are incomplete. The MIED is still something of a work in progress; with constant updates and further contributions from all member states, however, it will lay the basis not only for better

information exchange between navies but may facilitate further types of cooperation in the future.

CUES is an RAN initiative that offers safety measures, a means to “limit mutual interference and uncertainty,” and facilitates communication when naval or public ships, submarines or aircraft make casual or unexpected contact, whether that contact takes place on the high seas, territorial waters, contiguous zones, EEZs, or in archipelagic waters. It includes details of standard safety procedures and standard maritime communications procedures and instructions.

Although CUES is not an especially original document, it is significant that the WPNS member states have agreed to such a measure. Adoption remains voluntary on a country by country basis although, theoretically, naval vessels of all WPNS members will carry a copy of CUES and all Seaman Officers of WPNS navies will become familiar with the document.

Under American guidance the WPNS has also adopted some non-WPNS-specific common doctrine to support multinational maritime operations in non-controversial areas. These are publications in the EXTAC (experimental tactic) 1000 series, and provide a “language independent” means of communicating at sea; The EXTAC series includes doctrine for areas such as Maritime Manoeuvring and Tactical Procedures (EXTAC 1000) and Replenishment at Sea (EXTAC 1003).

The WPNS may have crossed the threshold from being primarily a dialogue forum towards more meaningful and tangible cooperation, with Australia and Singapore in the vanguard of WPNS evolution. The U.S. is also promoting concrete measures for greater cooperation in areas such as humanitarian assistance and disaster relief as well as in the more difficult and controversial field of peacekeeping, in so far as those measures are consistent with current American coalition-building strategies.

Significantly, the inaugural multilateral tactical training exercise held under WPNS auspices took place in Singapore in May 2001. Comprised of shore-based computer-simulated exercises to practice procedures for manoeuvring and SAR using common procedures such as CUES, 14 member and observer navies took part.²³

An even more significant step for WPNS cooperation took place between 11-22 June 2001, when Singapore also hosted the first WPNS exercises conducted at sea: the First Western Pacific Mine Countermeasure Exercise and the First Western Pacific Diving Exercise. The two exercises were held in the Singapore Straits and in Indonesian waters in the South China Sea, and involved around 1500 personnel and 15 ships from 16 countries,²⁴ the most extensive cooperative naval activity yet held in Southeast Asia.

The current agenda of the WPNS includes consideration of the following areas:

- Humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR).
- SAR, possibly including submarine rescue exercises.
- Cooperative anti-piracy patrols.
- MCM; another Australian initiative, the Second International MCM Seminar was hosted by Singapore in November 2000 and attended by 18 member and observer navies. The Seminar functioned very much as a precursor to the First Western Pacific MCM Exercise. Indonesia is also keen to enlist the support of WPNS navies to clear Second World War mines from its waters. Common doctrine in the EXTAC series may also be adopted for MCM.
- Further common doctrine development for operations in the areas noted above.
- Technologies and procedures for enhanced communications between navies. The U.S. is investigating ways to create a baseline communications network between WPNS navies and their respective ships.
- Professional information exchange in areas such as fire-fighting and damage control (FFDC), watch-keeping and navigational safety, equipment defects and maintenance, and diving safety and underwater medicine.²⁵

Chiefs of Defence (CHOD) Conference

The annual CHOD conference, organised by the U.S. Pacific Command, is another forum that promotes multilateral cooperation. Although not a

specifically naval enterprise, the CHOD agenda also promotes the American emphasis upon cooperation and coalition-building in the Pacific, focusing talks on improving cooperation in areas such as HA/DR, SAR and peacekeeping, as well as touching on anti-piracy issues. The third CHOD meeting took place in November 2000 and included the military leaders of 17 states.

Naval Exercises

In addition to the exercises carried out between alliance and coalition partners regional navies also conduct numerous exercises, mostly on a bilateral basis. Singapore is especially active, holding regular exercises with Indonesia (EAGLE), Malaysia (MALAPURA), and Thailand (SINGSIAM), as well as an annual ASW exercise with the Indian Navy (IN). Specific exercises have been carried out with Indonesia to clear certain Indonesian coastal areas of World War II mines, and the two states have a military training agreement that has led to joint development of an Indonesian naval gunfire range in the South China Sea for use by the RSN. Singapore conducts low profile annual naval exercises (SEALIGHT) with the Republic of China (Taiwanese) Navy and also hosts a visit by the ROC Navy's Training Squadron each year.²⁶ Singapore also hosts active exchanges with other navies, such as those of France and Sweden, each of whom are now suppliers of major platforms to the RSN (frigates and submarines, respectively).

Bilateral exercises also occur between the other core members of ASEAN, involving, in particular, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand, but also Brunei and the Philippines to a lesser extent. Examples include Malaysia-Indonesia (MALINDO JAYA); Malaysia-Thailand (Sea Ex. THAMAL); and Malaysia-Brunei (HORNBILL). The 1997-98 Asian economic crisis and continuing economic weakness hinders both the current levels and potential expansion of such activities for most ASEAN states. However, the situation is fluid and practical efforts to combat specific problems are ongoing. A recent agreement between the Philippines and Brunei to improve military cooperation, involving both training and exercises, is another example of Manila's attempts to fight law and order and insurgency problems in the southern part of the archipelago, and follows on from similar agreements that the Philippines maintains with Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand.

The U.S. CARAT exercises with Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia also fall into this category of *non-coalition naval cooperation*. Beyond the FPDA and its growing partnership with Singapore, Australia also maintains a programme of bilateral exercises in Southeast Asia with Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand. The Royal Canadian Navy has signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Philippines to enable exercises between the two navies to occur whenever RCN ships are in the area. It is the RCN's first navy-to-navy agreement with a Southeast Asian state, and the Canadians have expressed hopes that similar agreements with other regional states may follow: a draft MoU already exists with Thailand.

India has increased its engagement with Southeast Asia and is building greater links with Singapore, in particular. The IN also held exercises with the Indonesian Navy (TNI-AL) in October 2000 following a visit by an IN task group to Indonesia and, for the first time, also conducted a naval exercise in the South China Sea in 2000 with the Vietnamese Navy.

Multilateral exercises outside the parameters of alliances and coalitions have been limited. However, the impetus towards multilateral exercises is growing. Apart from the two WPNS exercises noted earlier, Singapore also hosted a submarine rescue exercise in October 2000 (PACIFIC REACH) involving the RSN and the navies of Japan, South Korea and the U.S., with observers from several other countries.

The KAKADU "fleet concentration period" hosted by Australia, which is not scenario-based, is a highly successful multilateral naval exercise. In the past KAKADU has involved the RAN and participants from Indonesia, New Zealand, the Philippines, PNG, Singapore and Thailand. India also hosted an international fleet review in Bombay in February 2001 involving ships from 20 navies, followed by multilateral PASSEX manoeuvres.

Mine Countermeasures (MCM)

In addition to MCM initiatives carried out under the auspices of the WPNS (and bilateral cooperation and exercises), another multilateral forum is the Australian-American MCM conference process. The Second Australian-American International Conference on Mine Countermeasures took place in Sydney in March 2001 and involved

participants from 27 countries, including representatives from Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam.

Pacific Area Senior Officers Logistics Seminar (PASOLS)

An initiative of U.S. Pacific Command, PASOLS is a multi-service consultative forum to discuss logistics, exchange logistics-related information, and build cooperation in logistics management. Involving 24 member and six observer states, PASOLS has produced the Pacific Area Cooperative Acquisition and Logistics System (PACALS), which endeavours to enhance cooperation in order to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of logistics, and reduce logistics costs.

Multinational Planning Augmentation Team (MPAT)

Another U.S. Pacific Command initiative, which seeks to build upon lessons learned in East Timor, MPAT consists of workshops to develop multilateral cooperation and improve, *inter alia*, interoperability, C³ and SOPs, for peacekeeping/peacemaking, HA/DR, SAR, and non-combatant evacuation operations. The stated vision of MPAT is to produce “[a] cadre of military planners from Asia-Pacific nations capable of rapidly and flexibly augmenting a multinational force headquarters established to plan and execute coalition operations in response to small scale contingencies.” Up to 23 states participate in MPAT activities, as well as the UN and certain non-governmental organisations (NGOs), whilst several workshops and exercises have been held since July 2000. An overarching MPAT SOP document has also been produced.

The RAN has also been active in this area, holding a regional workshop in August 2000 to “discuss common tactics, techniques and procedures (TTPs) used in non-combat operations.” In addition to various Australian agencies, representatives from 10 regional navies were invited to participate.

Also worthy of mention is the SAGIP HA/DR seminar game held in the Philippines. Initially only involving the Philippines and the U.S., participation has expanded into a genuinely multilateral event which may evolve into a command post exercise (CPX).

INCSEA Agreements

Despite continued calls for a multilateral INCSEA agreement, none has been forthcoming. Bilateral agreements may have some relevance to the

region, however, particularly the limited agreement between China and the U.S.,²⁷ whilst the WPNS CUES document may provide a sound basis upon which to construct a more substantial arrangement.

The bilateral safety at sea arrangement between the navies of Indonesia and Malaysia provides operational guidelines to enhance mutual safety whenever warships or military aircraft of the two states meet at (or over the) sea.²⁸ There is potential to extend this agreement to other states, especially the Philippines and Thailand, although it may only be replicating measures that already exist in the CUES document, albeit with a more specific geographical and CBM environment in mind.

Education and Training Exchanges

Education and training exchanges are a common form of cooperation throughout the region. In one leading example, the RAN's education and training programs form part of its international engagement strategy (itself forming part of Canberra's Defence Cooperation program), and has in recent times included providing courses for the Vietnamese Navy in Hanoi, and funding courses in maritime and strategic studies for the Indonesian Navy's SESKOAL program in Jakarta, formulated and performed by the RAN's civilian partners in professional maritime education, the Centre for Maritime Policy at the University of Wollongong. Australia also maintains a Defence Fellowship scheme to bring officers from the region to Australia to undertake relevant professional education and training, whilst the U.S. is also promoting its IMET scheme in Southeast Asia. The U.S. Pacific Command's Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) in Honolulu also runs a 12 week course for regional military officers and civilian officials: over 650 students from around the region, including China, have completed the course.

Other Naval Forums and Exchanges

There is a wide range of more general or low level naval exchanges and linkages throughout the region, including: ship visits; meetings and visits of senior naval personnel; and naval conferences and exhibitions, such as the RAN's Sea Power Conference at the biennial Pacific maritime/naval exhibition in Sydney, the biennial International Seapower Symposium hosted by the Republic of Korea Navy and the International Maritime Defence Exhibition Asia (IMDEX ASIA) in

Singapore. One interesting example of naval exchange is the Royal Canadian Navy's program of regional port visits, which often include seminar presentations on naval/maritime topics by members of the RCN's Maritime Forces Pacific Command.

Maritime Cooperation

Maritime cooperation is an extremely broad category, although this paper will focus only on those aspects that have direct relevance for naval cooperation. Many instances of relevant *maritime cooperation* do not necessarily involve navies, but other agencies, in particular national coast guards, for maritime surveillance, enforcement and other law and order at sea activities. Most navies in the region maintain some national maritime zone enforcement responsibilities, although the establishment of coast guards is a growing trend. In some cases coast guards are supplanting navies in certain roles, enabling navies to focus more on traditional strategic roles.²⁹

Multiple agencies often are responsible for policing national maritime zones, meaning that *maritime cooperation* may involve navies cooperating with coast guards and other maritime enforcement agencies as well as other navies. Because the organisational and constitutional status of regional coast guards differ between states (some coast guards belong to marine police forces [Singapore], some are part of other civilian maritime/transport/enforcement agencies [Japan], and yet others are part of their respective navy or defence force [India and Vietnam]), coast guard-to-coast guard interaction is, therefore, increasingly relevant for naval cooperation. The U.S. Coast Guard, which has global activities and responsibilities, is part of the U.S. Department of Transportation, as well as a being branch of the U.S. armed forces; as part of their defence force role, for example, U.S. Coast Guardsmen participated with their regional counterparts in maritime enforcement exercises and seminars as part of the CARAT 2000 series of bilateral exercises.

Cooperative Anti-piracy and Maritime Border Patrols

There are several extant cooperative maritime border patrols aimed at combating piracy/sea robbery and other unlawful activities at sea within Southeast Asia, involving Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

- The pre-eminent example is the Indonesia-Singapore Coordinated Patrols (ISCP), a highly successful venture established in July 1992 to combat sea robberies in the Singapore Straits. The primary enforcement agencies are Singapore's Police Coast Guard (PCG) and Indonesia's Maritime Police Agency (POLRI), with assistance from vessels of the Indonesian Navy, the RSN's Coastal Command (COCOMM), and surveillance support from Singapore's Maritime and Port Authority (MPA) using its Vessel Traffic Information System (VTIS). The ISCP is supported by frequent meetings and exercises between the respective law enforcement authorities and navies, and sound communications arrangements between both national operations centres and each other's ships. The ISCP is the only regional anti-piracy arrangement to allow hot pursuit by the enforcement agencies of one state into the territorial waters of the other, once permission has been granted to do so. The enforcement agencies of the second state are also expected to render assistance to apprehend the offending vessel.
- Indonesia and Malaysia also maintain coordinated patrols of the Malacca Strait, carried out by their respective navies and marine police agencies. Although these patrols initially were successful in reducing the frequency of sea robbery in the Strait, more recently the number of piratical attacks in the Strait has increased.
- The Royal Malaysian Navy and the Royal Thai Navy conduct joint patrols along their common maritime boundaries.
- Malaysia and the Philippines cooperate in the waters off eastern Sabah in the Sulu Sea, although cooperation has been complicated by political and operational factors. The primary focus of the patrols is to combat smuggling and illegal migration: it is particularly difficult to counter illegal activity at sea in an area consisting of many small islands. The two navies agreed in August 2001 to boost cooperation, however, and will establish a joint monitoring system to enable faster reaction times in the fight against piracy, robbery and kidnappings.
- Indonesia and the Philippines similarly cooperate along their common maritime border.

- A Joint Patrol Scheme has been set up by the navies of Thailand and Vietnam in the Gulf of Thailand.

In another development, the Indian and Japanese coast guards conducted a combined anti-piracy exercise in the Bay of Bengal in November 2000, potentially presaging further cooperation between the two agencies. Japan has also provided training assistance to Malaysian authorities.

Maritime Information Exchange

The establishment of a regional maritime information database has been a consistent goal of those promoting greater regional cooperation and enhanced regional maritime security. Such a database might include information on shipping, ports, marine environmental issues, regional hydrographic and oceanographic data, piracy and other illegal activity at sea that may pose threats to commercial and other civilian maritime traffic. Many authorities already collect much of this information on a national basis, yet there are many potential benefits to establishing a free-access, open-source regional database, as both an information source and a means for enhancing information exchange and confidence building.³⁰

Limited examples of maritime information sharing include the MIED of the WPNS, and the international Piracy Reporting Centre of the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), based in Kuala Lumpur. The U.S. Coast Guard, 14th Coast Guard District, based in Hawaii, is also developing a document that incorporates information similar to that used in both the MIED and CUES documents: the Combined Operations Manual for Regional Non-Defense Maritime Security.

A more comprehensive initiative, sponsored by the RAN and developed by Australia's Defence Science and Technology Organisation (DSTO), is the Strategic Maritime Information System (SMIS). SMIS is a software application that can store information which is easily accessible in user-friendly formats, including maps and charts. SMIS was designed to provide information on the following areas: territories and maritime boundaries of regional states; ports and maritime transport facilities; trade routes; shipping movements; environmental and meteorological data; and reports both of illegal activities at sea and marine pollution. The data used in SMIS would not be of a sensitive or classified nature. Although SMIS is now a dormant program, it still has potential to

function as the basis for enhanced maritime information exchange and cooperation to the benefit of all users of Southeast Asia's seas, including navies.

Although not a specifically maritime tool, the U.S. Pacific Command's Asia-Pacific Area Network (APAN) internet site provides unclassified information on regional security issues, in addition to its primary task of facilitating communications for the planning and coordination of coalition operations.

Hydrographic Cooperation

There is some regional cooperation in hydrographic research, although mostly by non-naval agencies. The Norwegian Development Agency assists both the Vietnamese Department of Transport and Indonesia, for example. Its Marine Mapping Project with Indonesia covers areas such as archipelagic sea lanes, EEZ/maritime boundary delimitation and fisheries development.

There is also cooperation between Japan, Singapore and Malaysia, focusing upon navigation and maritime safety issues in the Malacca and Singapore Straits. The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, under the auspices of its Marine Transportation Working Group and the Group of Experts on Maritime Safety, has commissioned a feasibility study on hydrographic services and their operation in the region due to increased concerns with the economic importance of shipping to the region, as well as related concerns with navigation, maritime safety and maritime infrastructure. The report potentially may lead to enhanced hydrographic cooperation in the region.

ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)

Initially, ARF meetings were limited to the participation of politicians and diplomats. However, the ARF now provides another forum for exchanges between navies through specialist meetings with a maritime focus. For example, the ARF held an anti-piracy workshop in Bombay in October 2000 organised by the Indian Coast Guard, which was attended by a range of interested parties, including naval and coast guard personnel in some cases. Naval officers also attended a subsequent ARF Experts' Group Meeting in Seoul. Although not a primary forum for navy-to-navy exchange, the ARF nevertheless provides a mutually supporting layer of cooperation and interaction that also brings naval

officers into contact with personnel from coast guards, marine police and civilian parties.

Conferences and Track II Forums

Naval officers also may take other opportunities to interact outside of purely naval or official forums. Examples include participation in the biennial Asia-Pacific SLOC conferences, most recently held in Canberra in April 2001, South-East Asian Programme in Ocean Law, Policy and Management (SEAPOL) conferences, the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) Maritime Cooperation Working Group meetings, and the Workshops on Preventing Potential Conflicts in the South China Sea. The U.S. Pacific Command also hosts various forums for professional exchange between armed forces personnel, officials and civilian academics from around the region: examples include the APCSS, the Center of Excellence in Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance and the annual Military Operations and Law Conference, which includes discussion of law of the sea and other maritime legal issues relevant to the Asia-Pacific region.

THE CURRENT STATUS OF NAVAL COOPERATION IN THE SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

V

Most naval cooperation in the Southwest Pacific takes on a different form and function compared to such cooperation elsewhere. Geographically, the region is mostly open ocean space and most polities are small, developing island states. As a result, Southwest Pacific regional maritime security and security cooperation is largely related to management and enforcement responsibilities to conserve and protect marine resources within the national maritime zones of the island states, and tends to be dominated by support provided by the region's developed states, Australia, France, New Zealand and the United States, to those island states and dependencies. Surveillance and enforcement functions, whether carried out by "navies" or other agencies, are best dealt with under the category level of *maritime cooperation* as they are concerned entirely with coast guard-type functions

Naval cooperation at higher levels of political commitment involving more traditional military aspects of naval operations lie exclusively with the four developed states.

Alliances

The relevant alliances in the Southwest Pacific are the same as those mentioned earlier for Southeast Asia, primarily the ANZUS alliance between Australia and the U.S., and Closer Defence Relations (CDR) between Australia and New Zealand, albeit including the caveats already noted. There are no naval coalitions, formal or otherwise, active in the Southwest Pacific.

Non-coalition Naval Cooperation

The most significant *non-coalition naval cooperation* in the region takes place between Australia and France, and Australia and PNG. Australia has carried out combined maritime exercises with France (CROIX DUE SUD) and participated in the French Pacific Naval Forces fleet concentration period (STAGE RECO). In February 2001 the navies of Australia, France and New Zealand, as well as combat aircraft of the RAAF and RNZAF, held a trilateral maritime exercise in the Tasman Sea (OCEAN PROTECTOR). These exercises reflect a growing impetus

for enhanced military cooperation between Australia and France in both the Southwest Pacific and the Indian Ocean. The air forces of Australia, France and New Zealand also cooperate for aerial surveillance and SAR, and an agreement exists between the three states on disaster relief in the Southwest Pacific.

The case of Australia-PNG relations is a strange one: not coalition partners, yet with strong historical bonds that connect PNG to Australia as a quasi-dependency. Beyond the Pacific Patrol Boat project, the RAN maintains close links and conducts an annual exercise with the PNGDF (PARADISE) for maritime surveillance and patrol boat operations. The PNGDF has also taken part in the RAN's fleet concentration period (KAKADU) and is a member of the WPNS (as is also Tonga).

In August 2001 Exercise PARADISE was for the first time expanded into a multilateral exercise, with Palau and the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) joining Australia and PNG for patrol boat training. An RAN patrol boat sea training group assisted the three island states in the exercise which, led by the PNGDF Maritime Element, involved both sea and harbour-side phases to improve skills and understanding for marine resource protection, including both legal and operational enforcement aspects.

Maritime Cooperation

Pacific Patrol Boat (PPB) Project

The Pacific Patrol Boat project was developed, sponsored and financed as part of Australia's Defence Cooperation program in order to assist the Pacific island states to protect their respective 200 nm exclusive economic zones (EEZs). Primarily, the need was for fisheries surveillance and enforcement capabilities. The PPB project has resulted in 22 vessels being supplied to twelve recipient states over ten years between May 1987 and May 1997. In addition to providing the vessels, the program includes training of crew members, follow-on support (including a half life refit), in-country advisers and, in some cases, construction of housing, workshops, headquarters and a PPB wharf. Supply of the vessels is covered by a Memorandum of Understanding between the government of Australia and the government of the recipient country, and training for the PPB crews is provided by the Australian Maritime College (AMC) in Launceston.³¹

Assistance and Cooperation Programs of Australia, New Zealand, France and the United States in the South Pacific

In addition to the provision of the 22 vessels and related training and facilities noted above, Australia's PPB contribution also includes naval advisers: Technical Advisers (TAs), who are senior sailors with specialisations in marine or electrical engineering, and experienced patrol boat officers acting as Maritime Surveillance Advisers (MSAs). The MSAs play an important role in assisting recipient nations to develop their maritime surveillance and enforcement capabilities. The RAN also maintains a regular exercise program with South Pacific island nations using its Fremantle-class patrol boats, often timed to coincide with the periods of greatest fishing activity in the region.

Australia's Defence Cooperation program also provides funding for the satellite-based Maritime Surveillance Communications Network (MSCN) and Vessel Monitoring System (VMS), based at the Regional Fisheries Surveillance Centre of the South Pacific Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA) in Honiara.³² These systems allow real-time data exchange for surveillance and protection of FFA member states' fisheries.

The South Pacific is New Zealand's main point of strategic focus and Wellington makes several contributions to the region through its Defence Mutual Assistance Program (MAP), which includes two technical advisors and training support for the PPB project. New Zealand regularly carries out exercises with several Pacific island states, as well as maintaining constitutional responsibility for the defence of the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau.

As mentioned earlier, Australia, France and New Zealand cooperate to provide coordinated aerial surveillance for Pacific island states, as well as each maintaining responsibility for vast, connecting SAR zones in the region. The planned flying hours during 1999/2000 were approximately 500 for the RAAF, 90 for the French Air Force and 400 for the RNZAF.

These surveillance flights report their information to the FFA, which then can disseminate the data to the relevant countries, whilst the RAAF also maintains communication with the MSAs to ensure that its aerial patrols are coordinated with the movements of the PPBs. The RAAF also conducts training of personnel, mainly from PNG and Vanuatu.

Table 1. Pacific Patrol Boat Project – Hand-over Details

<i>Boat No</i>	<i>Boat</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Hand-over Date</i>	<i>Operating Authority</i>	
1	Tarangua	PNG	May 1987	PNGDF	
2	Tukoro	Vanuatu	June 1987	Police	
3	Dreger	PNG	October 1987	PNGDF	
4	Nafanua	Samoa	March 1988	Police	
5	Lata	Solomon Is	July 1988	Police	
6	Seeadler	PNG	October 1988	PNGDF	
7	Te Kukupa	Cook Is	March 1989	Police	
8	Basilisk	PNG	July 1989	PNGDF	
9	Neiafu	Tonga	October 1989	Tongan Services	Defence
10	Palikir	FSM	March 1990	Police	
11	Pangai	Tonga	June 1990	Tongan Services	Defence
12	Micronesia	FSM	November 1990	Police	
13	Savea	Tonga	March 1991	Tongan Services	Defence
14	Lomor	Marshall Is	June 1991	Sea Patrol	
15	Auki	Solomon Is	November 1991	Police	
16	Teanoai	Kiribati	January 1994	Police	
17	Kula	Fiji	May 1994	Navy	
18	Te Mataili	Tuvalu	October 1994	Police	
19	Kikau	Fiji	May 1995	Navy	
20	Kiro	Fiji	October 1995	Navy	
21	Pres. Remelik	Palau	May 1996	Police	
22	Independence	FSM	May 1997	Police	

Source: Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong, "Review of Pacific Patrol Boat Program," May 1998, Vol. I – Report, p. 19.

Other contributions by France mainly focus on Fiji, Tonga and Vanuatu. France provides Fiji and Vanuatu each with 30 hours annually of maritime surveillance from its Guardian aircraft and its warships make regular port visits. France also conducts bilateral military training with Tonga and has supplied a small tanker operated by the Tongan Defence Services (TDS).³³

American assistance is primarily in the form of training assistance on boarding and law enforcement operations provided by the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), sometimes during port visits by USCG ships. Combined operations between the USCG and Pacific island states do occur, but tend to be both limited to areas adjacent to U.S. EEZs and infrequent.³⁴ The USCG has, however, expressed an interest in expanding its surveillance cooperation with FFA members and coordinating its aerial patrols with both the FFA and the RAAF.

Niue Treaty on Cooperation in Fisheries Surveillance and Law Enforcement in the South Pacific Region

The primary objective of the Niue Treaty is to “promote cooperation in the enforcement of the fisheries laws and regulations of Parties and in developing regionally agreed procedures for the conduct of fisheries surveillance and law enforcement.”³⁵ The foremost function of the Treaty is to facilitate the policing of fisheries zones on behalf of other members, whereby one state allows other parties to the Treaty to extend their surveillance and enforcement activities into its territorial seas and archipelagic waters. Enforcement methods must be carried out in accordance with the national laws of the state in which the surveillance or enforcement activity takes place. Cooperation between parties to the Treaty is further encouraged by ensuring that foreign vessels are not licensed to fish unless they have good standing on the Regional Register for Foreign Fishing Vessels maintained by the FFA (harmonised minimum terms and conditions of fisheries access).

As part of the Treaty’s objective of improving cooperation between South Pacific nations, parties are encouraged to exchange and report all relevant information, including the location and movement of foreign fishing vessels, foreign fishing vessel licensing and fishing vessel surveillance activities. Subsidiary agreements may also address issues such as the procedures to be used in conducting surveillance and enforcement activities, the provision of vessels, aircraft or personnel,

cooperative prosecution matters such as extradition of offenders, and cooperative enforcement of penalties

Agreement between the Government of Tonga and the Government of Tuvalu on Cooperation in Fisheries Surveillance and Law Enforcement

Signed on 7 May 1993, this Subsidiary Agreement to the Niue Treaty promotes cooperation between Tonga and Tuvalu in fisheries surveillance and law enforcement. The Agreement requires that the government of Tonga conduct fisheries surveillance and law enforcement activities periodically in the fishery limits of Tuvalu on behalf of the government of Tuvalu during periods of foreign fishing vessel activity in the maritime zones of Tuvalu. The Treaty stipulates that patrol boats must be identifiable as such by flying the regional fisheries surveillance flag in addition to the flag and ensign of Tonga.

Although patrol boats that enter the fishery limits of Tuvalu are identified as vessels of the government of Tonga, they must ensure that all surveillance and enforcement activities are conducted in accordance with the laws of Tuvalu, and the commanding officer and crew of the patrol boats are appointed by the government of Tuvalu. Under the Treaty, any foreign vessels apprehended in the fishery limits of Tuvalu by a patrol boat must be handed over to Tuvalu authorities. As with some other features of the Niue Treaty, however, this agreement has not been operationalised on a regular basis.

UN Convention for the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean

The Western and Central Pacific Tuna Convention, opened for signature on 5 September 2000, commits all members of the Commission for the Conservation and Management of Highly Migratory Fish Stocks in the Western and Central Pacific Ocean (those states who have signed and ratified the Convention) to cooperate in enforcing the provisions of the Convention. The provisions include a requirement for any member to investigate, report and, where appropriate, prosecute alleged violations of the Convention by fishing vessels flying its flag at the request of other members. If a fishing vessel on the high seas is believed to have committed an offence within an area under the national jurisdiction of a member of the Commission, the flag state of the vessel, when requested,

shall investigate and “cooperate with the member concerned in taking appropriate enforcement action in such cases and may authorize the relevant authorities of such member to board and inspect the vessel on the high seas.” It is not clear at this stage, however, whether this provision will result in actual enforcement cooperation on the water.

Hydrographic Cooperation

The South West Pacific Regional Commission on Hydrographic Cooperation involves Australia (through the RAN Hydrographic Service), New Zealand, PNG and Fiji in discussions on hydrographic matters. The Commission, operating under the auspices of the International Hydrographic Office (IHO), does not undertake any tangible cooperative hydrographic surveying.

Australia does, however, undertake hydrographic research in PNG waters under a formal, bilateral MoU with PNG. Japan has also established a cooperative hydrographic services program, funding surveying through the South Pacific Applied Geosciences Commission (SOPAC) for several island states, including Fiji. This work includes surveying for non-living marine resources and maritime delimitation. France is also involved in the program.

TRENDS AND PROSPECTS FOR REGIONAL NAVAL COOPERATION AND COALITION BUILDING

VI

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Although there has been a proliferation of naval and maritime cooperation in recent years, there are factors present in the region that may both mitigate current efforts, and limit further growth beyond existing bilateral relationships. These factors include the continuing preference amongst most Southeast Asian states for bilateral as opposed to multilateral security cooperation, especially at the sharper, operational end of the cooperative spectrum, and an understandable resistance amongst most regional states to become ensconced in the growing major power rivalries in the region centred, in particular, on China.

Alliances

Barring a major strategic discontinuity, no new alliance structures are likely to appear in the region in the next 10-15 years, although it is possible that some existing coalition arrangements may be strengthened: the treaty arrangement between the U.S. and the Philippines would be a potential candidate, for example, if China continues to expand its strategic presence in the Spratly Islands. In general, however, alliance-level naval cooperation will remain restricted to existing alliance arrangements.

Coalitions

Despite political-cultural constraints, the strategic preference of many regional states to counter China's growing maritime strategic power has, nevertheless, resulted in several uncoordinated attempts to build informal balancing maritime coalitions. The most prominent examples are being promoted by the U.S. and Japan.

U.S. Coalition-building Efforts

The United States has been active in promoting and developing new multilateral options for dealing with the region's security challenges. At a conceptual level, U.S. CINCPAC Admiral Dennis Blair has revisited an old idea, that of building "security communities," to promote security

cooperation by focusing on the most pressing non-military aspects of regional security.³⁶ By focusing on operations that fall within the benign and constabulary end of the *span of operations*, the U.S. hopes to encourage habits of cooperation amongst the region's armed forces. The short-term objectives of U.S. coalition-building attempts in the region are, in fact, politically quite benign, although these may presage efforts to balance Chinese influence in Southeast Asia should that be deemed necessary further into the future.

Sceptics have alleged that this is part of an attempt to reduce American responsibilities in the region. However, whilst the East Timor experience has had an influence on U.S. thinking, whereby other states (i.e., Australia) could take the role of coalition leader for similar operations in Southeast Asia, it also underlined shortfalls in the ability of regional states to cooperate effectively in combined operations and has served to increase the level of attention being paid to peacekeeping/peacemaking, HA/DR, SAR and anti-transnational crime operations. The evidence suggests, rather, an increased level of U.S. activity to enhance its bilateral relationships, and to expand the U.S.-centred web of bilateral security cooperation into inter-linked or even new multilateral initiatives.

Examples of U.S. initiatives which promote coalition-building include efforts to evolve its bilateral CARAT exercise program into a more coordinated program, perhaps with a multilateral phase, the attempt similarly to coordinate its combined forces military exercises with Australia, the Philippines and Thailand more closely under the auspices of TEAM CHALLENGE, including the addition of Singapore, and the development of both MPAT and IMET. The U.S. has also used the WPNS to promote this type of cooperation, with a particular emphasis upon the development of common doctrine and communications systems to enable better coordination of multinational operations.

Specific proposals have included further development of the EXTAC 1000 series of common doctrine, and the evolution of a range of initiatives for enhancing the ability of navies to communicate in coalition or other combined operational contingencies by adopting new digital technologies to augment traditional voice communications, including: APAN; an open access version of the USN's High Frequency Digital Data exchange system, Battle Force E-Mail 66; and an

unclassified version of the Coalition Wide Area Network (CWAN) web-based communication system for both planning and operations.³⁷

Australian initiated proposals for an enhanced security dialogue between American allies in the Western Pacific (involving Australia, Japan, the U.S. and, possibly, South Korea) potentially might develop into something more tangible on the water, although Chinese opposition is assured.

Japanese Anti-piracy Initiatives and Proposals for Maritime Coalitions

The continuing frequency of piratical acts within Southeast Asian waters has led to a concerted effort by several states (especially in Japan, whose security is highly vulnerable to disruption of shipping through Southeast Asia's straits and the South China Sea), to promote a cooperative solution to the problem. One Japanese idea raised by then Prime Minister Obuchi in November 1999 proposed that ships of the Japan Coast Guard conduct joint patrols with China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and South Korea in the Malacca Strait and other Indonesian sea lanes.³⁸

Following a positive response from Southeast Asian states, an international conference on piracy and armed robbery at sea was organised by Japanese interests in March 2000, attended by government authorities from 14 Asian states plus Hong Kong, and representatives from the International Maritime Organisation (IMO), the ICC, and several other organisations and commercial shipping interests. The conference issued the so-called "Tokyo Appeal," which reiterated the "firm resolve" of the participants "to cooperate, devise and implement all possible measures to combat piracy and armed robbery against ships," as well as resolving to create an action plan to, *inter alia*, develop a system to enable "effective and dynamic countermeasures to be taken by all the relevant authorities working in concert."³⁹

The "Tokyo Appeal" was followed by another conference in April 2000 attended by heads of regional coast guard agencies, the IMO and other organisations, which produced a "Model Action Plan" for combating piracy and armed robbery at sea.⁴⁰ However, inter-state cooperative measures were limited to information exchange, falling far short of the hopes and expectations of some of the political forces behind the initiative.

The fundamental difficulty facing cooperative schemes to counter piracy and other illegal activities on the high seas are their political and strategic implications. It is fair to suggest that the “threat” posed by piracy and sea robbery primarily is commercial rather than military-strategic, and the risks involved therein are incurred mostly by shipping companies and their insurers, and ship crews. Potentially, the environment is also at risk should a ship sink or run aground as a result of a piratical attack, although in this worst case scenario the national security concerns of coastal states would be less strategic than environmental and financial. The idea, therefore, of having Japanese ships patrolling Southeast Asian waters would have both political and strategic consequences out of proportion, perhaps, to the gravity of the problem. The Obuchi proposal has not garnered sufficient regional support: reactions in Southeast Asia have been mixed, with those states still bearing bitter memories of Japan’s actions in the Pacific War wary of endorsing an extended Japanese strategic presence. China has also firmly rejected the idea, and does not distinguish between Japan’s civilian coast guard and its navy.

Despite the rejection of the Obuchi plan, unofficial, or quasi-official, proposals continue to be developed in Japan. Several versions of potential new maritime coalitions have been proposed:

- A coalition based on “a network of bilateral security arrangements between the United States and its regional security partners,” with the U.S. at its core and American “functional deficiencies” provided by its coalition partners. Such a coalition would be able to control SLOCs running from the Persian Gulf to Northeast Asia, protect shipping, and provide subregional surveillance and SAR capabilities.⁴¹
- A concept developed at the Japan Defense Agency’s National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS) called Ocean Peacekeeping (OPK); comprised of “regional maritime forces,” a multilateral OPK force, including Japan in a prominent role, would conduct coordinated activities “in order to maintain order in the utilization of the oceans, to prevent the occurrence of armed conflicts and to assure the stable and sustainable development of the oceans.” OPK activities, termed “ocean stabilization,” would include “joint monitoring” to protect marine resources and the marine

environment, as well as other benign and constabulary operations, not only on the high seas, but also across the national maritime zones of regional states, including exclusive economic zones (EEZs) and archipelagic waters. Two guiding rationales behind the OPK idea are to counter attempts by coastal states to expand their national jurisdiction over the sea beyond the limits of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (LOSC) and to ensure that the USN remains engaged in the seas of the Asia-Pacific.⁴²

- A third version proposes a maritime coalition to safeguard regional “maritime freedom,” encompassing both freedom of navigation and the ability to use the sea and exploit its resources peacefully within the legal parameters set out in the LOSC. Such a coalition would maintain the U.S. and its bilateral alliances, particularly the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty, as its core, with the Japan Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF) perhaps taking on additional responsibilities from the USN. An initial step envisages Japan taking the initiative to improve dialogue and cooperation in areas such as maritime responses to HA/DR, SAR, non-combatant evacuation, and operations to combat piracy, drugs and people smuggling, using existing forums such as the WPNS and the ARF. This type of cooperation may then facilitate operational cooperation during “emergencies.”⁴³

To a large extent, the last Japanese proposal replicates American coalition-building schemes, but with greater Japanese participation, or even leadership. As with the Obuchi plan, it is likely that stronger overt roles for Japanese maritime forces in Southeast Asian waters will continue to be rejected. Less obvious Japanese assistance, however, may be possible; for example, the Japan Coast Guard’s intention to extend its aerial surveillance patrols into the South China Sea has generally been welcomed in Southeast Asia. Tokyo also has reportedly offered training assistance to personnel from regional coast guards at its Japan Coast Guard Academy and Training School.⁴⁴

Bilateral cooperation to fight piracy and other maritime security cooperation between Japan and India, and between each of those states and selected ASEAN states may also be possible over the coming decade; those ASEAN states that feel most threatened by China, in

particular, are prime candidates for enhanced cooperation with Tokyo and/or New Delhi. Furthermore, the issue of piracy has been firmly cemented into the regional security agenda, with a series of conferences and meetings continuing to build upon the initial momentum created by the Tokyo Appeal: for example, in November 2000 a meeting took place at the IMB Piracy Reporting Centre in Kuala Lumpur involving representatives of maritime law enforcement agencies and shipping interests from 13 states (and again in June 2001) following a sharp rise in piracy around Indonesia and the Malacca Strait in 2000; an IMO-initiated meeting was held in Singapore in March 2001; and a further conference was held in Bangkok in March 2001, organised by the Okazaki Institute (a Tokyo-based think tank) and SEAPOL, with support from ASEAN.⁴⁵

Japanese initiatives for coalition-building, to a greater extent even than U.S. efforts, are aimed at maintaining freedom of strategic movement for the traditional maritime powers in response to a perceived threat from China. India's efforts to engage Southeast Asian states reflect similar fears. The underlying context, if not necessarily always the immediate rationale, for these attempts at regional maritime coalition-building, therefore, is that those parties promoting the construction of coalitions or deeper levels of security cooperation each possess both immediate and long-term interests in constraining the extent of China's strategic presence and influence throughout the seas of Asia. A lack of common threat perceptions, strained relations between some Southeast Asian states and wider political sensitivities will, however, make such developments unlikely in the short term. Unless a common external threat emerges, such negating factors, in addition to the two constraints mentioned earlier (the preference for bilateralism and the unwillingness to take sides in great power disputes), will continue to hamper most regional coalition-building efforts.

Non-coalition Naval Cooperation

The impetus for *non-coalition naval cooperation* that has gathered pace in recent times presents the greatest opportunity for further expanding regional naval cooperation in the future, although the same constraints applicable to coalition-building also are relevant at this level. In other words, expanding the depth, as opposed to the quantity or breadth, of multilateral naval cooperative activities will be difficult, and predictably

will be limited mostly to existing alliance and coalition relationships. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, greater efforts to promote the types of cooperation termed in this report *enabling and/or facilitative cooperation* will enhance the ability of participating regional navies to cooperate operationally in *constabulary operations* and *benign application of maritime power operations* when required.

The WPNS will remain the primary vehicle for multilateral *non-coalition naval cooperation*. Recent Australian initiatives such as CUES and the MCM Seminar have rejuvenated the WPNS, and Australia and Singapore will continue to take leading roles to promote WPNS cooperation. The participation of states such as China and Vietnam, albeit as observers, in the First Western Pacific MCM Exercise is a positive step in expanding the breadth of cooperation, although it is too early to assess the potential significance of China's attendance, in particular. The continued adoption of common doctrine and improvements to the MIED should further enhance cooperation between WPNS members. Perhaps the greatest task facing the WPNS if it is to remain a truly inclusive forum, however, is to consolidate the gains it has made in enhancing naval cooperation to date by ensuring that the more conservative members, as well as those members that are fiscally constrained, are not left behind in the push for deeper cooperation and the promulgation of new initiatives.

Whilst the development of a multilateral INCSEA agreement will remain elusive, there is a need to develop bilateral agreements between rival states operating in the region, particularly between the U.S. and China. Ensuring that the CUES document is adopted and used by all WPNS navies would nevertheless be a positive step towards the development of more adequate arrangements.

Other opportunities for multilateral naval cooperation will expand, but continued disaffection between major powers realistically will limit the actual extent of inclusiveness. This will be a particular problem for the further integration of China into regional security networks, especially as many new initiatives, such as MPAT, are organised by the United States. Steeped in a paranoid strategic-cultural tradition, Beijing views many American (and allied) initiatives as attempts to constrain its own regional interests, which may result in a China even less willing to participate in naval cooperation. Nevertheless, selective and informal

coalitions of the willing (perhaps more accurately described as combined bilateral networks) for the execution of *benign application of maritime power* and *constabulary operations* in *normal* and *low intensity conflict conditions* may well be the only viable option to improve tangible, operational cooperation in response to lower order crises in the region (such as East Timor). Such efforts to improve regional maritime security in the lower intensity end of the conflict and operational spectrums, therefore, are preferable to no such arrangements at all.

The burgeoning of bilateral naval cooperation is likely to continue in the region, with three caveats: firstly, serious breakdowns in bilateral political relations between states remains possible as long as serious inter-state disputes remain unresolved; secondly, a repeat of the 1997-98 financial crisis would impair the ability of Southeast Asian states to engage in cooperative activities, whilst participation by the most economically troubled of ASEAN members continues to be dependent upon external financial and technical support; and, finally, depending on the extent to which navies give up their coast guard functions and concentrate on war-fighting capabilities, one consequence of the continuing development of coast guards in the region, potentially, might be to reduce the impetus for strictly naval cooperation.

Those states with the most active bilateral naval cooperation programs, Australia, Singapore and the U.S., each can be expected to further develop their activities within Southeast Asian waters. It is likely that India also will attempt to expand its bilateral naval ties in the region over the coming years, especially with Indonesia, Singapore and Vietnam, and, potentially, also with Australia. Following the general breakdown of military ties between Indonesia and extra-regional countries following the East Timor crisis, several states are attempting to restore some sense of normality, and naval cooperation represents a least-controversial starting point: other than India, the U.S. and Australia are slowly restoring ties to varying extents, and other parties with high stakes interests in Indonesia's sea lanes such as South Korea (and possibly also Japan) are likely to build new ties.

Other than Singapore, the ASEAN state most actively expanding its cooperative naval activities seems to be the Philippines, both due to its chronic law and order and insurgency problems in the southern part of the archipelago, and to its inability to defend its claims to South China

Sea territorial features against the more assertive policies of China, in particular, but also Malaysia and Vietnam, as well as more general concerns about China's intentions. This has led to an ongoing strengthening of bilateral cooperation with neighbouring ASEAN states to combat the law and order problem, and for broader strategic purposes, a reinvigoration of its defence ties with the U.S., and an expansion of its security cooperation with other "friendly" states, such as Canada and, prospectively, also Japan.⁴⁶ Manila, then, also is the most likely candidate of the ASEAN states to join any future formal U.S.-led regional coalition.

More broadly, for naval cooperation to prosper in the region, however, further emphasis will need to be placed upon not only the development of common doctrine and SOPs and the improvement of basic capabilities necessary for operational cooperation, such as communications systems and procedures, but also on training and education programs to ensure that these types of measures can successfully be implemented by the region's smaller and technologically less sophisticated navies.

Maritime Cooperation

There is significant potential for an expansion of cooperative activities at the level of *maritime cooperation*. Operational cooperation on the water can be expected to grow to combat piracy and other unlawful activities at sea, although extant political constraints will not dissipate easily. Existing bilateral relationships in the form of cooperative surveillance and/or patrols may strengthen slowly over time and new ones may emerge. Potential candidates include cooperation in the Gulf of Thailand between Cambodia and Thailand, where a joint development zone has recently been agreed, between Cambodia and Vietnam, and between China and Vietnam in the Tonkin Gulf, where the two states have successfully delimited their common maritime border. However, cooperation between China and Vietnam in the Tonkin Gulf may be hampered by their continuing territorial disputes in the South China Sea. The same problem may also affect cooperation between other claimants to features in the Spratly Islands, irrespective of whether a South China Sea Code of Conduct can be agreed upon.

As noted above, both India and Japan will most likely attempt to expand cooperation with other coast guards in Southeast Asia. Whereas coalition-building may fail, bilateral cooperation may grow. Japan, in

particular, may be called upon to provide bilateral technical and financial support to regional coast guards. One specifically multilateral proposal has been made by the Philippines' President Arroyo, who suggested that a multinational maritime force be created to patrol the Sulu Sea to combat kidnappings carried out by Mindanao-based Muslim groups. Such a force could include vessels from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and "other neighbouring countries." The chances of establishing operational security cooperation on a multilateral basis between ASEAN members, however, remain slim.

A new dialogue has been promoted by Indonesia to take account of East Timor's new status and support Indonesia's territorial integrity. The proposed Western Pacific Forum would build closer economic and security ties between Australia, Brunei, East Timor, Indonesia, New Zealand, PNG and the Philippines and, if established, quite possibly might include the promotion of maritime CBMs and cooperation. Cooperative maritime patrols in the Sulu Sea and eastern Indonesian archipelago would be positive developments, but the same political constraints, including opposition to multilateralism, that hamper coalition-building are likely also to apply in this case.

Regional maritime security forces may become more enthusiastic about establishing shared maritime information databases and surveillance cooperation as the volume of maritime traffic continues to increase. This trend will concomitantly increase the level of criminal activity and make resource protection and enforcement of environmental and safety standards ever more difficult to achieve on a purely national basis.

SOUTHWEST PACIFIC

At the levels of *alliances* and *coalitions*, there will be little change over the next decade, although it remains uncertain whether New Zealand's defence cutbacks will affect operations and cooperation in the Southwest Pacific. At the level of *non-coalition naval cooperation* the relationship between Australia and France can be expected to grow, with a greater depth and frequency of cooperative activities likely to emerge. One negative trend that Australia needs to be wary of is the economic and political infiltration of Southwest Pacific island states by major (Asian) powers, and the degree to which those powers establish a strategic presence in the region or gain control of regional marine resources.

Maritime Cooperation

Not only is the Southwest Pacific becoming less stable, but it is increasingly likely to be used as a route for drugs and small arms smuggling. This trend will require greater cooperation and coordination between surveillance and law enforcement authorities. There is a continuing requirement, therefore, for more surveillance aircraft, ships and shore support for both surveillance and enforcement of natural resources and illegal activities at sea.

One future maritime surveillance and enforcement development may be greater use of Lacey-type laws (reciprocal bilateral agreements that allow a state to enforce within their own national jurisdiction offences committed in the jurisdiction of another state, once a relevant agreement has been made and domestic legislation passed—such as the Niue Treaty). Another prospect for the region may be the extension of regional management arrangements and minimum terms and conditions of access to areas of the high seas included within the Western and Central Pacific Tuna Convention, although the extent to which the Convention will lead to actual enforcement cooperation on the water remains unclear at this time. There remains some opposition to more effective enforcement procedures from the distant water fishing nations (DWFNs), especially China and Japan

One further possible development in the region might include the expansion of the PPB project to include East Timor. Although part of Southeast Asia, the East Timorese leadership has demonstrated a preference for joining the South Pacific Forum and arrangements will need to be made to both protect East Timor's maritime security interests and ensure that Timorese waters do not become a haven for criminal activity.⁴⁷

IMPLICATIONS FOR AUSTRALIA

In Southeast Asia, Australia will continue to take a leading role in the promotion of naval cooperation and to make important contributions to coalition-building activities. Australia can be expected to come under increasing diplomatic pressure from China not to promote new coalitions or cooperative measures that might lead to coalition formation. The need

to improve cooperation on the water for practical purposes, however, should override such concerns, as there are very real maritime security problems in that “nearer region” that need to be addressed. Moreover, inasmuch as it is in Australia’s interests to oppose major power encroachment into the “inner arc” of Indonesia, East Timor and PNG, as well as the islands of the Southwest Pacific, Canberra will want to attempt to maximise its influence in these countries, including the use of naval diplomacy and cooperation.

The RAN’s strategy for international engagement (RANSIE) remains vital for Australia’s regional engagement and Defence Cooperation programs, yet it faces challenges from developments in both the region and Australia. Of particular concern is the expansion of regional coast guards, especially when they are part of civilian agencies. Not only will linkages between the RAN and civilian agencies be weaker than established navy-to-navy ties, but in some cases civilian agencies may be prevented from cooperating with foreign military forces altogether. Domestically, if Australia establishes a coast guard or the Australian Customs Service (ACS) by stealth becomes a de facto coast guard,⁴⁸ resulting in a significant reduction in the RAN’s enforcement responsibilities and capabilities, Australia’s ability to pursue or influence certain types of regional cooperation, particularly activities to facilitate improved law and order at sea, will be damaged. A confluence of these two factors would detract not only from the RAN’s international engagement program but also Australia’s ability to use the RAN as a diplomatic instrument. Certainly, any civilian coast guard agency would be focused exclusively on Australia’s national maritime zones and would have no role to play as a diplomatic instrument, in Defence Cooperation programs or, more generally, as part of Australia’s regional engagement strategy. The contribution of the RAN’s patrol boats to naval diplomacy and regional cooperation, for example, ought not be underestimated.

Although Australia will continue to be a leading proponent of WPNS cooperation, the limits of multilateralism also need to be recognised. Consolidation of WPNS initiatives may be required, such as an expansion of the MIED and ensuring that all member navies adopt and use CUES. The development of common doctrine/SOPs/TTPs needs to continue, although a deeper degree of cooperation will only occur between certain navies and may have to be pursued on a bilateral basis.

Even if the formation of new maritime coalitions seems unlikely, coalition-building activities to promote greater compatibility and effectiveness for combined *benign application of maritime power* and *constabulary operations* remains an Australian interest. In addition to doctrine and SOPs, standardisation levels must also be improved, particularly communications capabilities. If Australia is required to take the lead once more in coalition maritime activities, as in East Timor, but involving more Southeast Asian forces, it will need to carefully develop ship-based C² capabilities that can coordinate not only well-equipped forces such as the RSN, but also less well-endowed navies. Cooperation with the U.S. to promote common data links amongst regional navies would be helpful.

The RAN can also facilitate cooperation and contribute to coalition-building activities by expanding its training and education programs for regional navies under the Defence Cooperation program. Priority needs to be given to the two archipelagic states, Indonesia and the Philippines, reflecting not only a need for such assistance in those two states, but also Australia's interests in improving its understanding of Indonesian and Filipino perspectives on, and promoting cooperation in, the region's archipelagic sea lanes. Existing support for the TNI-AL's SESKOAL program should continue and similar education programs could be offered to Manila. A second tier of regional states to be involved in these programs might include Thailand and Vietnam, although language problems will be difficult to overcome. A dedicated program based in Australia for naval officers from such states could be developed, encompassing professional training, wider maritime and strategic education, and language training. Another improvement might be to expand the Defence Fellowship scheme to include research as well as coursework programs; there are potential gains for both Australia and the regional states concerned if officers from regional navies could be funded to undertake research in relevant maritime topics in Australian institutions.

In the Southwest Pacific Australia would most likely have to take on the extra burden were New Zealand to reduce its operational commitments, with all the extra financial and operational difficulties that would impose on the RAN and RAAF, although France and the U.S. might be encouraged to also increase their contributions. Greater efforts by Australia to facilitate training and education for island state patrol boat

operators engaged in resource protection may improve enforcement effectiveness. Improved cooperation between island states such as that envisaged under the Niue Treaty may become increasingly important for the effective management of their respective fisheries resources, particularly when the Western and Central Pacific Tuna Convention comes fully into force. Australia, therefore, should take the lead by encouraging and facilitating these efforts in cooperation: the expansion of Exercise PARADISE 2001 to include FSM and Palau is a sound step in the right direction. In this way Australia also can make greater use of the RAN to counter the political influence and dollar diplomacy of China and the other Northeast Asian fishing nations in the Southwest Pacific.

Australia may have to take responsibility for the maritime security of East Timor, at least in the short-term, albeit in ways that do not overtly offend Indonesia. An expansion of the PPB project to include East Timor is one option Australia might pursue. Surveillance coverage of East Timorese waters would almost certainly have to be provided by Australia.

One final way by which Australia could facilitate naval and maritime cooperation might be to revive the Strategic Maritime Information System. Because the software already exists, the costs of establishing a regional database based on SMIS would not be excessive. Once established, compiling the raw data, especially on ships and shipping movements would be the greatest cost and obstacle, although hardly too onerous a task if there were to be a genuinely multinational commitment to the system. As another consequence of the proliferation of coast guards in the region, there is also a requirement for a more comprehensive MIED-type document that includes the participation of all relevant civilian agencies, their organisational details and points of contact. Both SMIS and an improved maritime information exchange database could be web-based, perhaps accessed via APAN.

NAVAL COOPERATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA APPENDIX I

The following table sets out a checklist of the key forums, institutions and exercise series that promote or facilitate naval cooperation in Southeast Asia. The country list is made up of all WPNS member and observer states, ARF members, plus those states geographically or operationally relevant to naval cooperation in Southeast Asian waters.

Table 1. A Checklist of Multilateral Naval Cooperation in Southeast Asia

	ARF	WPNS Member	WPNS Observer	CHOD	MPAT	PASOLS	PACIOSWG	FPDA	TEAM CHALLENGE	CARAT	CSCAP
Australia	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Bangladesh					✓	✓					
Brunei	✓	✓		✓		✓				✓	
Burma	✓										
Cambodia	✓	✓									✓
Canada	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓
Chile			✓				✓				
China	✓	✓				✓					✓
East Timor											
France	^a		✓		✓		✓				^d
India	✓		✓	✓ ^b	✓						✓ ^e
Indonesia	✓	✓			✓	✓				✓	✓
Japan	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓					✓

	ARF	WPNS Member	WPNS Observer	CHOD	MPAT	PASOLS	PACIOSWG	FPDA	TEAM CHALLENGE	CARAT	CSCAP
Malaysia	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
New Zealand	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓
North Korea	✓										✓
Papua New Guinea	✓	✓		✓		✓					✓
The Philippines	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
Russia	✓	✓		✓		✓ ^c					✓
Singapore	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
South Korea	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				✓
Sri Lanka				✓	✓	✓					
Taiwan											✓ ^f
Thailand	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
Tonga		✓		✓	✓	✓					
United Kingdom	^a				✓		✓	✓			^d
United States	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Vietnam	✓	✓				✓ ^c					✓

^a The European Union is an ARF member.

^b India did not attend the most recent CHOD meeting in November 2000.

^c Russia and Vietnam are observer nations only in PASOLS.

^d "Europe" is an Associate Member of CSCAP.

^e India is an Associate Member of CSCAP.

^f Technically, Taiwan does not have full membership status in CSCAP, but in all other respects is an active participant.

Notes

¹ See, for example, Jason Abbot and Neil Renwick, “Pirates? Maritime Piracy and Societal Security in Southeast Asia,” *Pacifica Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, February 1999, especially pp. 20-24.

² China, to some extent, is also a Southeast Asian power in its own right; with southern China, including the island province of Hainan, shaping the northern extent of the South China Sea, China is perhaps best thought of as straddling both Northeast *and* Southeast Asia, as well as possessing extensive borders within continental Asia.

³ See, for example, Sam Bateman, “Dangerous Waters Ahead,” *Jane’s Defence Weekly*, 28 March 2001, pp. 24-27.

⁴ Colin S. Gray, “Strategic Sense, Strategic Nonsense,” *The National Interest*, No. 29, Fall 1992, p. 15.

⁵ In common usage, “combined” operations refer to multinational endeavours, whilst multi-service cooperation is termed “joint” operations.

⁶ Desmond Ball, *Building Blocks for Regional Security: An Australian Perspective on Confidence and Security Building Measures (CSBMs) in the Asia/Pacific Region*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 83, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1991.

⁷ See Desmond Ball, *Strategic Culture in the Asia-Pacific Region (With Some Implications for Regional Security Cooperation)*, SDSC Working Paper No. 270, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, The Australian National University, Canberra, April 1993.

⁸ Rear Admiral J.R. Hill, *Maritime Strategy for Medium Powers*, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD, 1986, Chs. 6-7. This report uses the term *spectrum of conflict* rather than *levels of conflict*, as used by Hill.

⁹ *Normal conditions* are termed “peacetime conditions” in RAN Doctrine 1, *Australian Maritime Doctrine*, Department of Defence, Canberra, 2000, p. 19.

¹⁰ Richard Hill, *Medium Power Strategy Revisited*, Royal Australian Navy Sea Power Centre Working Paper No. 3, RAN, Jervis Bay, NSW, March 2000, p. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴ For more detailed definitions, see the *Australian Maritime Doctrine*, Ch. 7, especially pp. 65-72.

¹⁵ Note, for example, that the FPDA provides security guarantees by Australia, NZ and the UK for the external defence of Singapore and Malaysia, yet between those two Southeast members it functions primarily as a CBM.

¹⁶ Similar types of “peace building” operations in the aftermath of a conflict include ordnance disposal, salvage and the re-opening of port facilities: see, *Australian Maritime Doctrine*, p. 67.

¹⁷ Neither the RCN nor the RN operate regularly in the region, although the RN does participate in the annual FPDA maritime exercise and the RCN maintains a program of port visits and cooperation.

¹⁸ All references in the text to CARAT draw from LEUT Leslie Hull-Ryde, USN, “Enhancing Regional Naval Cooperation: CARAT 2000,” *Asia-Pacific Defense Forum*, Fall 2000.

¹⁹ Quoted in U.S. Department of Defense News Briefing, 17 September 2000.

²⁰ “Cam Ranh Bay Manoeuvres,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 28 December 2000-4 January 2001, p. 21.

²¹ Desmond Ball, *Burma’s Military Secrets: Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) from 1941 to Cyber Warfare*, White Lotus Press, Bangkok, 1998, Ch. 11.

²² The member countries are: Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, South Korea, Russia, Singapore, Thailand, Tonga, the United States, and Vietnam. The observer countries are: Canada, France, India, and Chile.

²³ Navies from the following states participated: Australia, Canada, Chile, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, South Korea, and Thailand, with observers from Russia and the U.S.

²⁴ The navies of Australia, China, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, PNG, Russia, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, the U.S. and Vietnam participated in the MCM Exercise, but only Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Singapore, Thailand and the U.S. sent ships. The navies of Australia, Canada, India, Indonesia, New Zealand, Japan, Singapore and Thailand participated in the Diving Exercise.

²⁵ See RADM Lui Tuck Yew, Chief of Navy, Republic of Singapore Navy, “Professional Areas of Mutual Cooperation,” paper presented at the 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium, Auckland, November 2000, pp. 4-5.

²⁶ See Tim Huxley, *Defending the Lion City: The Armed Forces of Singapore*, Allen and Unwin, St Leonards, NSW, 2000, p. 199.

²⁷ The U.S.-China agreement is not a full INCSEA arrangement with detailed rules and procedural guidelines; it is only an agreement “to establish a stable channel for consultations between their respective maritime and air forces.” Most notably, however, it was not employed after the 1 April 2001

EP-3 surveillance plane incident in the South China Sea, nor in the preceding months during which Chinese fighter aircraft repeatedly carried out dangerous manoeuvres when intercepting other U.S. surveillance aircraft. See, “Agreement between the Department of Defense of the United States of America and the Ministry of National Defense of the People’s Republic of China on Establishing a Consultation Mechanism to Strengthen Military Maritime Safety,” 19 January 1998. It also seems unlikely that CUES was employed during any of the incidents.

²⁸ See the “Malindo Prevention of Sea Incident Cooperative Guidelines,” Jakarta, 18 January 2001.

²⁹ Bateman, “Dangerous Waters Ahead,” pp. 26-27.

³⁰ For more detail, see Sam Bateman, “Maritime Information and Data Exchange,” in Bateman and Stephen Bates, eds., *The Seas Unite: Maritime Cooperation in the Asia Pacific Region*, Canberra Papers on Strategy and Defence No. 118, Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, The Australian National University, Canberra, 1996.

³¹ Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong, “Review of Pacific Patrol Boat Program,” May 1998, Vol. I – Report, pp. 20 and 27.

³² FFA members are Australia, Cook Islands, FSM, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, NZ, Niue, Palau, PNG, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu.

³³ Centre for Maritime Policy, “Review of Pacific Patrol Boat Program,” p. 126.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

³⁵ The Niue Treaty was signed by the following nations: Australia, Cook Islands, FSM, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Nauru, NZ, Niue, PNG, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Vanuatu, and came into force in 1993.

³⁶ Dennis C. Blair and John T. Hanley, “From Wheels to Webs: Reconstructing Asia-Pacific Security Arrangements,” *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Winter 2001.

³⁷ See Admiral Thomas B. Fargo, Commander, U.S. Pacific Fleet, “Enhanced Regional Cooperation,” paper presented at the 7th Western Pacific Naval Symposium, Auckland, November 2000.

³⁸ “Foot in the Water,” *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 9 March 2000, pp. 28-29.

³⁹ International Conference of All Maritime Related Concerns, Both Governmental and Private, on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships, “Tokyo Appeal,” Tokyo, 28-30 March 2000, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁰ Regional Conference on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships, “Model Action Plan for Maritime Policy Authorities and Private Maritime Related Concerns to Combat Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships,” and “Asia Anti-Piracy Challenges 2000,” Tokyo, 27-29 April 2000. The relevant authorities from the following countries participated: Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, as well as those from Hong Kong.

⁴¹ Sumihiko Kawamura, “SLOC Security – A Japanese Perspective,” in Bateman and Bates, eds., *The Seas Unite*, pp. 167-168.

⁴² Susumu Takai and Kazumine Akimoto, “Ocean-Peace Keeping and New Roles for Maritime Force,” *NIDS Security Studies*, No. 1, March 2000, especially pp. 64-67 and 76-77.

⁴³ Hideaki Kaneda, “Japanese Perspective on Regional Security,” paper presented to the SEAPOL Inter-Regional Conference on Ocean Governance and Sustainable Development in the East and Southeast Asian Seas: Challenges in the New Millennium, Bangkok, 21-23 March 2001.

⁴⁴ Noted in Stanley B. Weeks, “Piracy and Regional Security,” in Hamzah Ahmad and Akira Ogawa, eds., *Combating Piracy and Ship Robbery: Charting the Future in Asia Pacific Waters*, The Okazaki Institute, Tokyo, 2001, p. 97.

⁴⁵ For the proceedings, see Hamzah and Ogawa, *Combating Piracy and Ship Robbery*.

⁴⁶ Tokyo and Manila agreed in August 2001 to set up a new security “consultative framework” and are reportedly considering combined exercises in the future.

⁴⁷ See Anthony Bergin, “East Timor’s Maritime Future,” in Donald R. Rothwell and Martin Tsamenyi, eds., *The Maritime Dimensions of Independent East Timor*, Wollongong Papers on Maritime Policy No. 8, Centre for Maritime Policy, University of Wollongong, Wollongong, 2000, pp. 168-169.

⁴⁸ This possibility is raised in Bateman, “Dangerous Waters Ahead,” p. 26.