

QUAD-PLUS Dialogue



Quad as Maritime Cooperation in New Era
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Synopsis

Maritime security or, more specifically, the security of the Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOC) that are the foundation of the economic growth of the Indo-Pacific region are now under challenge. This paper first observes the emerging maritime security challenges in the region, namely two types of threats: (1) intensified interstate tensions derived from gray zone coercions and (2) diversified non-traditional threats, including piracy, trafficking, disasters, and maritime environment. It then reviews the relevance of existing multilateral and regional cooperation mechanisms for addressing these two types of challenges. Next, it explores the role of the Quadrilateral Plus (Quad Plus) cooperation framework as a remedy for these challenges as well as a complement to existing mechanisms. Finally, the paper discusses some policy recommendations for the Quad Plus countries to create synergies between the Quad Plus cooperation and existing institutions for the sake of the maintenance of the free, open, and rules-based maritime order in the region. Specific measures include (1) collaboration in rule-making and norm-setting via various inclusive and exclusive channels; (2) capacity-building for the maritime domain awareness (MDA) capabilities of small and medium-sized states; and (3) improvement of information sharing and interoperability through joint exercises in issues of search and rescue (SAR) and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR).

Introduction

Security in the maritime domain is the foundation of prosperity in the 21st century.¹ As of 2016, the total amount of the seaborne trade reached 11,150 million tons. Container freight rate levels have increased, with profits in the container shipping industry reaching a record high, roughly \$7 billion by the end of 2017.² Although Japan's global presence in the total seaborne trade volume has declined from roughly 20 percent in 1970 to 8 percent in 2017, seaborne trade is still the lifeline for Japan's security and prosperity, dominating 99.7 percent of its total trade volume in weight and almost 100 percent of imported oils, gas, and coal.³ The Indo-Pacific maritime region, which covers at least the Indian Ocean and the Western Pacific, is connected at a number of choke points through the Sea Lanes of Communications (SLOCs) from the Hormuz Strait, Malacca Strait, and South China Sea, and Taiwan Strait and East China Sea.

Traditionally, threats to the SLOCs were piracy and maritime terrorism or the lack of operational systems for conducting search and rescue (SAR) or humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR) operations. Yet, the Indo-Pacific region currently faces not only these non-traditional security challenges, but also the emerging inter-state tensions derived from the changing balance of power and the so-called gray zone situations. The sheer power of China's People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) has increased dramatically, as shown by the 6.5 percent inflation-adjusted increase in its annual military budget to \$154.3 billion in 2017.⁴ Moreover, China strived to keep the challenges to the status quo in the South and East China Seas under the threshold of military conflict by using law enforcement agencies.⁵ It is the China Coast Guard, not PLAN, which stands on the front line and pressures on other countries' jurisdictions and freedom of navigations along the SLOCs.

Meanwhile, maritime security is significant not just for seaborne trade. Underwater natural resources, oil and natural gas for example, are a potential source of conflict.

¹See Figure 1: Global Sea Lanes of Communications (centering on Japan).

²United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, *Review of Maritime Transport 2018*, https://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/rmt2018_en.pdf (accessed October 8, 2019).

³Database, The Japanese Shipowners' Association, <https://www.jsanet.or.jp/data/data.html> (accessed October 8, 2019).

⁴U.S. Department of Defense, *Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China*, <https://media.defense.gov/2018/Aug/16/2001955282/-1/-1/1/2018-CHINA-MILITARY-POWER-REPORT.PDF> (accessed October 8, 2019).

⁵Michael Green et al., "Countering Coercion in Maritime Asia: The Theory and Practice of Gray Zone Deterrence," Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2017.

Maritime environment, for example, is one of the key security issues for many developing states in the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean as they rely heavily on protein sources from fishery resources. As the global per capita fish consumption has hit a record high, passing the 20 kg per year for the first time according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO),⁶ endangering of coral reefs in the South China Sea or the Pacific Ocean, and Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing becomes an eminent security challenge for the Indo–Pacific.

As maritime powers in the Indo–Pacific, Australia, India, Japan, and the United States of America, the so-called the Quadrilateral (Quad) members, share great interests and responsibility in maintaining maritime security through addressing these complicated challenges. The idea of the Indo–Pacific or Free and Open Indo–Pacific (FOIP) certainly includes maritime security cooperation as one pillar of cooperation.⁷ However, it is still unclear whether the four shares threat perception on maritime security challenges, and it remains to be seen how the Quad cooperation should advance their cooperation in relation to existing international and regional cooperation mechanisms. While marine domain awareness (MDA) is an obviously important area of shared interest among the Quad, it is neither productive nor relevant to limit the Quad to a mere anti-China alignment; as maritime security issues are more diverse than gray zone coercions, the expected role for the Quad is also broader.

This paper starts by observing security threats, both traditional and non-traditional. It reviews the existing maritime cooperation mechanisms and explores the potentials and limitations of the Quadrilateral Plus (Quad Plus) cooperation in maritime security. Though evaluating the relevance of existing diplomatic mechanisms, it argues that the military-to-military cooperation emerges as the realm for the Quad members to further promote their cooperation. Finally, it makes policy recommendations in three areas: (1) collaboration in rule-making and norm-setting through various inclusive and exclusive channels; (2) capacity-building for the maritime domain awareness (MDA) capabilities of small and medium-sized states; and (3) improvement of information sharing and

⁶The report said that “the commercial fish stocks, the share of fish stocks within biologically sustainable levels decreased from 90% in 1974 to 68.6% in 2013. Thus, 31.4% of fish stocks were estimated as fished at a biologically unsustainable level and therefore overfished.” Mark Kinver, “UN: Global Fish Consumption Per Capita Hits Record High,” BBC, July 7, 2016, <https://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-36716579> (accessed October 8, 2019).

⁷Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, “Australia-India-Japan-U.S. Consultations on the Indo-Pacific,” November 12, 2017, https://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_001789.html (accessed October 8, 2019).

interoperability through joint exercises in issues of search and rescue (SAR) and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HA/DR).

Changing Threats in Maritime Security

Maritime security is now challenged by the changing type of coercions adopted by some authoritarian regimes and by dramatic technological developments. The freedom and openness of the sea is no longer, though it had never been, for free. Given the importance of being on the same page before starting the discussion about the Quad, this section clarifies the danger of the so-called gray zone situations and the diverse maritime security challenges which strategists tend to underestimate.

Gray Zone Coercion. Gray zone tactics are neither the concept of the 21st century nor the invention of authoritarian states. The gray zone tactics are defined as “the use of tactics that challenge the status quo without resorting to war.”⁸ This is apparent in the South and East China Seas, in particular, as China consider these zones as the core interests for the People’s Republic of China.

In the case of the East China Sea (ECS), for example, Japan and China have never collided with military powers, Japan’s Maritime Self-Defense Force (JMSDF) and China’s PLAN. China’s maritime surveillance ships first intruded into Japan’s territorial waters around the Senkaku Islands⁹ in December 2008. China’s incremental approach to changing the status quo of the ECS could be dated back to 1992, however, when China set the territorial water legislation which covers the Senkaku Islands. This legal approach also reflected on the setting of the Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) announced in 2013. As of 2018, China’s coast guard ships’ intrusion to Japan’s territorial waters and contiguous zones are on a regular basis, and many observers now call the ECS a “disputed area.” From the Japanese perspective, calling the ECS a disputed area is not acceptable.¹⁰ Nevertheless, international media reports frequently refer to the area as a “disputed zone.” Although the status of the island has not changed, the Japan Coast Guard located on Ishigaki Island of Okinawa are under more and more significant pressure from regular intrusions of Chinese ships.

⁸Van Jackson, “Tactics of Strategic Competition: Gray Zones, Redlines, and Conflicts before War,” *Naval War College Review*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (2017).

⁹China claims the islets as Diaoyu Dao.

¹⁰It is because Japanese government positions are based on following points: Japan recognized the area as *terra nullius* and incorporated it in 1892 when the Qin Dynasty made no objection, China never made legitimate claims over the island before 1970s and China had failed to object to American bombing exercises over the islands in the 1950s.

In the South China Sea (SCS), China has gradually changed the situations to its favor. China's acquisition of the Paracel Islands in 1974 was the result of military conflict, not gray zone. Yet, in 1994, China occupied the Mischief Shoal without the full-case exchange of fires after the withdrawal of the U.S. forces from the Philippines. Since the late 2000s, China's activities in the SCS became more covert and assertive, as seen in the incidents such as their de facto control over the Scarborough Shoal in 2008, harassment to the USNS *Impeccable* in March 2009, and more recently Chinese warship's approaching to the USS *Decatur* sailing passed the Gaven and Johnson Reefs. While the U.S. Navy has conducted the Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOPs) within the so-called nine-dashed line in the SCS since October 2015 after meticulous assessment of risks,¹¹ the situations in the SCS worsened as the PLA successfully completed the land reclamation and installment of military equipment on the maritime features. The arbitration ruling under the UNCLOS Annex VII that rejected China's historical rights within the nine-dashed line in July 2016 has not deterred China's assertiveness to date.

These examples of gray zone coercions have significant implication for the openness, freedom, and stability of the SLOCs in the SCS and ECS. According to the China Military Power Report of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), the PLAN "will gradually shift its focus from 'offshore waters defense' to the combination of 'offshore waters defense' with 'open-seas protection,' and build a combined, multifunctional and efficient marine combat force structure," and "the PLAN will enhance its capabilities for strategic deterrence and counterattack, maritime maneuvers, joint operations at sea, comprehensive defense, and comprehensive support."¹² The capability of denying foreign military powers' uninterrupted access and projecting forces within the area (anti-access/area denial (A2/AD) capability) would harm the confidence in free and open SLOCs. While the Chinese government has not expressed its intentions to possess the A2/AD capabilities in public, the militarization of the SCS features and expansions of operational areas for China's maritime law enforcement agency are basically consistent with the analysis of the DIA's report, and contradictory to the free and open

¹¹Bonnie Glaser, "Maintaining Peace in the South China Sea," December 22, 2015, <https://www.nippon.com/en/currents/d00212/maintaining-peace-in-the-south-china-sea.html> (accessed October 8, 2019).

¹²Defense Intelligence Agency, *2019 China Military Power Report*, November 2018, http://www.dia.mil/Portals/27/Documents/News/Military%20Power%20Publications/China_Military_Power_FINAL_5MB_20190103.pdf (accessed October 8, 2019).

seas. Thus, gray zone tactics or coercions are currently one of the most urgent and visible threats to maritime security in the Indo–Pacific.

Potentially, these gray zone tactics can be better equipped with cross-domain capabilities. Due to the rapid technological development, according to James Goldrick, the gray zone tactics can be “an important element of ‘hybrid warfare.’”¹³ It was already pointed out by Roger Cliff et al., who indicated that the risk of that adversary combines kinetic naval actions with cyberattacks on the command and control of the U.S. forces.¹⁴ Moreover, the advancement of the unmanned vehicles, such as unmanned underwater vehicles/autonomous underwater vehicle (UUV/AUV), potentially lower the threshold of military conflict. In both cyber and autonomous weapon systems, the global rule and norm settings are lagging behind its needs. These cross-domain factors can easily complicate the already complicated gray zone.

Diverse Security Challenges. Maritime security cannot be confined to the interstate tensions derived from gray zone tactics. While grand strategists have to put emphasis on traditional great-power competitions, non-traditional threats, including piracy, maritime terrorism, environmental degradation, and sea-level rise caused by climate change are primary concerns not only for many small maritime states in the Pacific or Indian Oceans, but any states which rely their trade or diet on the free and open sea.

One type of challenge is related to the SLOCs, like piracy and maritime accidents. Piracy in Somalia, for example, had threatened safe shipping around the Horn of Africa. In 2009 to 2011, over 170 incidents and 40 hijackings occurred on average. Although Somali pirates are almost eradicated as of 2018, and the total number of piracy and armed robberies hit the record low in 2018 thanks to multilateral patrolling in certain areas, this is still an essential security concern as there were 180 incidents, including murders and kidnappings, in 2018.¹⁵ Another challenge is the accident. Although accidents are somewhat inevitable, there is a scarcity of maritime domain awareness (MDA) capabilities and search and rescue (SAR) operations in the broader Indo–Pacific

¹³James Goldrick, “Grey Zone Operations and the Maritime Domain,” Australian Strategic Policy Institute (October 2018).

¹⁴Roger Cliff, Mark Burles, Michael S. Chase, Derek Eaton, and Kevin L. Pollpeter, *Entering the Dragon’s Lair: Chinese Anti-access Strategies and Their Implications for the United States* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2007).

¹⁵See International Chamber of Commerce, “Maritime Piracy and Armed Robbery Reaches a 33-Year Low, Says IMB Report,” October 1, 2018,

<https://iccwbo.org/media-wall/news-speeches/maritime-piracy-armed-robbery-reaches-22-year-low-says-imb-report/> (accessed October 8, 2019).

region. The Malaysian Airlines MH370 missing incident in March 2014 revealed the lack of, or the difficulty of, SAR in the Indo–Pacific region. Despite joint efforts using surveillance aircrafts, P-3C or P8, and vessels, as well as radar systems of leading maritime states in the region, they could not specify the location of the fall.

Other types of non-traditional threats more directly related to living; sea-level rise and maritime environment. According to the Annual Review of Environment and Resources in 2018, under moderate emission level, central estimates of global average sea-level range from 1.4 feet to 2.8 more feet by 2100, 2.8 feet to 5.4 more feet by 2150, and 6 feet to 14 feet by 2300.¹⁶ Many in the Indo–Pacific region in which the U.S., Japan, Australia and India promote free, open, and rules-based order include many island and archipelago states potentially endangered by sea-level rise. Maritime environment issues, especially the degradation of coral reefs, affects fishery resources that people around the water rely for their protein. Although this is common in the IUU fishing problem,¹⁷ the lens of maritime environment clarifies the other side of the problem of the large-scale land reclamation of the SCS—the one of the richest fishery resources.¹⁸

All in all, these non-traditional types of challenges should not be underestimated, especially in the context of the Free and Open Indo–Pacific vision or strategy. As discussed in the next section, this is the area where states in the region already engaged in constructive and inclusive cooperation.

Relevance of existing mechanisms and role of the Quad-plus

As the stakeholders of safe and stable, free and open seas, states have accumulated international cooperation at international and regional levels. The Quad Plus, the relative newcomer to the arena, cannot be counterproductive to the efforts of our ancestors. This section, though limitedly, discusses the relevance of these cooperative

¹⁶Benjamin P. Horton et al., “Mapping Sea-Level Change in Time, Space, and Probability,” *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, Vol. 43 (October 2018), <https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/10.1146/annurev-environ-102017-025826> (accessed October 8, 2019).

¹⁷Gregory Poling and Conor Cronin, “Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated Fishing as a National Security Threat,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, November 3, 2017, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/illegal-unreported-and-unregulated-fishing-national-security-threat> (accessed October 8, 2019).

¹⁸The SCS accounts for 12 percent of global fish caught in 2015. See Gregory B. Poling, “Illuminating the South China Sea’s Dark Fishing Fleets,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, January 9, 2019, <https://ocean.csis.org/spotlights/illuminating-the-south-china-seas-dark-fishing-fleets/> (accessed October 8, 2019).

mechanisms based on the typology of threats I made in the previous section. It further aims at exploring the role of the Quad-Plus.

International and Regional Maritime Cooperation Mechanisms. As for maritime issues, the world we live has the basic constitution, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), which not only defines and delineates maritime rights of coastal states, but dispute-settlement mechanisms, including Annex VII arbitration. Various diplomatic consultation mechanisms, for example, the International Maritime Organization (IMO), promote international cooperation as well as rule-setting in maritime safety, safety and efficiency of navigation, technological and legal issues.¹⁹ For example, the IMO took the lead in revising the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea and made the Automatic Identification System (AIS) prevalent.

It should never be under-evaluated that not a few international disputes, involving both small and great powers, over the overlapping territorial waters or the exclusive economic zone have been resolved under the UNCLOS. While power still matters in international politics, the principle of rule of law under the UNCLOS judged based on objective evidences and dignity of judges at the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS). The U.S.–Nicaragua case was the typical example that material power of claimants did not affect the result of resolutions.

In the Asia–Pacific or the Indo–Pacific regions, regional mechanisms have also made progress in The Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP), the first regional government-to-government agreement to promote and enhance cooperation against piracy and armed robbery against ships in Asia.²⁰ The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)-led cooperation frameworks, such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asia Summit (EAS), and ASEAN Defense Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM+), also address maritime issues in their comprehensive agenda. The Expanded ASEAN Maritime Forum (EAMF), which was initiated under the Japanese leadership in 2011, also intends to accumulate maritime security cooperation and confidence-building in Asia.

¹⁹The IMO was established as the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) in 1958 in London. See International Maritime Organization, <http://www.imo.org/EN/Pages/Default.aspx> (accessed October 8, 2018).

²⁰Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia (ReCAAP), <http://www.recaap.org/> (accessed October 8, 2019).

Some of these regional mechanisms made tangible progress of cooperation. The ReCAAP, in particular, established the ReCAAP Information Sharing Centre (ISC) in Singapore on November 29, 2006. Also, at the 12th Governing Council Meeting in 2018, the Council announced that ReCAAP ISC has met the criteria to be a Centre of Excellence for information sharing in combating piracy and armed robbery against ships at sea.²¹ The Japanese government has labelled cooperation through ReCAAP as a part of their Free and Open Indo–Pacific (FOIP) Initiative.²²

Challenges for Existing Diplomatic Mechanisms. Despite the relevance of UNCLOS and abundant mechanisms and channels of cooperation, these mechanisms are facing the changing characteristics of threats. First, two great powers, the United States and China, have hesitated ratifying the UNCLOS and undermined it, respectively. Although the U.S. recognizes the UNCLOS as international customary law, and therefore, as the important international norm, Washington has failed ratifying it due to the opposition of Congress. China, on the other hand, as a signatory of UNCLOS has an obligation to abide by UNCLOS as far as it enjoys rights guaranteed under the convention. However, as discussed earlier, China denounced the arbitration award in July 2016, which rejects the legitimacy of the nine-dashed line and articulates the status of all the features in the SCS as rocks defined in Article 121 (3). As the great power rivalry becomes severe, and the SCS remains as one of the key flashpoints, the principle of rule of law at sea could be undermined more.

Second, while regional cooperation frameworks have been effective and continuously important, the ineffectiveness of cooperation surfaced as well. ASEAN-led mechanisms, including the ARF and EAS, are less and less relevant for functional and practical cooperation or confidence-building between China and other states. In 1996, the ARF was originally established for accumulating cooperation incrementally from confidence-building to preventive diplomacy, and finally dispute settlement. However, as of 2018, the ARF has not graduated from the confidence-building process, but rather muddled through the deterioration of confidence among parties. Meanwhile, ASEAN–China negotiations for the Code of Conduct in the SCS signals only symbolic implications due to the lack of enforcement mechanisms in the leaked documents.²³

²¹Ibid.

²²Twitter @JapanMissionUN (February 6, 2018).

²³Lee YingHui, “A South China Sea Code of Conduct: Is Real Progress Possible?” *The Diplomat*, November 18, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/11/a-south-china-sea-code-of-conduct-is-real-progress-possible/> (accessed

The weakening regional mechanisms only induces incentives in each regional state to rely on other measures to secure sovereignty.

Role for the Quad-Plus

One hundred fifty years ago, Mahan argued the relationship between maritime trade and sea powers has been regarded as a crucial factor to secure the economic development.²⁴ Generally, naval power was born from the need to preserve freedom of the seas, enabling SLOCs and economic growth to prosper and expand.²⁵ Even in the 21st century, the importance of the military remains as the key for deterrence vis-à-vis aggression and increasing military-to-military communications promotes confidence-building. This section focuses on the three mechanisms as the potential areas where the Quad-Plus countries can contribute: (1) regional military dialogue for norm-setting; (2) military exercises for improving the interoperability; and (3) coordination for MDA capacity-building.

Regional Symposium for Norm-Setting. First, The Indo–Pacific region has two key naval symposiums, the Western Pacific Naval Symposium (WPNS) and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS). In the 2014 meeting held in Qingdao, China, the WPNS agreed on the Code for Unexpected Encounters at Sea (CUES), the protocol for avoiding the misunderstanding between two militaries in the case of encounter at the high seas.²⁶ This is not applied to law enforcement agencies as the code can by no means regulate each country’s jurisdiction in territorial waters or contiguous zones. However, the success of agreeing on the CUES including China reflects the importance of the military-led cooperation for norm-setting.

Here, the Quad will be able to play the leading role. As Table 1 shows, the Quad members are mutually participating in the WPNS and IONS.²⁷ As the concept of the Indo–Pacific aims at converging the two oceans, Australia and France, who have full memberships in both venues, also have a relative advantage in seeking the convergence or at least more interactions between the WPNS and IONS. As the U.S. Pacific

[October 8, 2019\).](#)

²⁴Michael McDevitt, “The Evolving Maritime Security Environment in East Asia: Implications for the US-Japan Alliance,” PacNet, no. 33 (May 31, 2012).

²⁵Takei Tomohisa (RADM of JMSDF), “Japan Maritime Self Defense Force in the New Maritime Era,” November 2008, http://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/navcol/SSG/topics-column/images/c-030/c-030_eng.pdf (accessed October 8, 2019).

²⁶The website of the IONS also uploads the CUES document.

²⁷The U.S. has no participating status in the IONS.

Command (USPACOM) is renamed to the Indo-PACOM, it may be good timing for the U.S. to join the IONS even as an observer. As the current Quadrilateral consultation mechanisms only involve diplomats, not military officials, it would be a great benefit for the four military officials to meet alongside these symposiums. With technical and sophisticated experiences in military operations, the discussion among the four plus militaries would complement diplomatic initiatives. This is not aiming for rejecting others for the sake of four countries' interests, but discussing how to balance between inclusiveness and effectiveness from the military perspective.

Military Exercises for Improving the Interoperability. Second, military exercises and trainings become more important because of the gray zone coercions of authoritarian states. While there are multilateral exercises, such as the Rim of the Pacific exercise (RIMPAC), joint military exercises are carried out among allies or partners that share interests. Among the Quad-Plus members, the United States, the ally for Japan and Australia, is the hub of military cooperation.²⁸ For Japan or Australia, the improvement of interoperability with U.S. forces, the world's largest and most advanced navy, would be indispensable for their own capacity-building. India does not have an alliance with the U.S. due to their long-standing non-alignment policy, there is emerging cooperation through the Malabar Exercises and security cooperation frameworks, such as information and technological sharing. Furthermore, there are emerging bilateral exercises between Japan and Australia, Japan and India, and Australia and India.

The first thing is the expansion of the Malabar to the Quad-Plus like the 2007 Malabar exercise that targeted HA/DR operations after the tsunami in Indonesia. India, however, is still skeptical about Australia's determination to be a full member of the Malabar, and careful of not provoking China by leading the de facto Quad exercise.

One concern is the exclusion of Chinese PLA from the RIMPAC 2018. Though it was China's fault to cultivate the skepticism among RIMPAC participants, especially the U.S., by sending a surveillance ship to the exercise venue in 2017, the RIMPAC purports to demonstrate the capability of the U.S. and its allies. The exclusion, though it may be necessary, would diminish this implication from the RIMPAC. It may be critical for the U.S. and other partners to determine under what conditions they should invite PLAN to RIMPAC, not for making compromises to China's assertive actions, but to enhance deterrence through demonstration.

²⁸Table 2 showcases, though selectively, naval exercises and participating parties.

Coordination for MDA Capacity-Building. Finally, capacity-building for regional countries, especially the MDA capabilities, has never been more important. Sufficient capabilities would not only help countries address non-traditional security threats by monitoring IUU fishing, piracy, and SAR and HA/DR operations, it also mitigates the risk of encounter or skirmish with other militaries or coast guards on the sea. MDA capabilities basically constitute maritime intelligence—information gathering and analysis—and situational awareness—monitoring the situations with necessary capabilities. This requires not just naval resources, but even equivalent aerial capabilities, such as surveillance aircrafts, American P-8 Poseidon, Japanese P-1, and of course P-3C; the key for monitoring on the surface as well as underwater submarine activities.

Southeast Asian nations have advanced their MDA capacity-building, but due to the tensions in the SCS and the expanding capability gap with China's PLAN and China's Coast Guard, they need more supports from other maritime states. Japan provided coast guard cutters to Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam as part of their Overseas Development Assistance (ODA). Also, Japan, Australia, and the United States accomplished the coordinated capacity-building in the Philippines MDA capabilities. In this case, Japan leased, and later handed over, the TC-90 training aircraft to the Philippine Navy, Australia provided the amphibious vessels, and the U.S. provided the transport cargo aircraft. The further coordination in this type of arrangement is expected from the Quad as the Pacific islands and Indian Ocean rim states also need MDA capabilities for their security. Moreover, the Quad-Plus can play an important role in this context as France and New Zealand, for example, are the main actors in the South Pacific region, especially Polynesia.

Capacity-building is not limited to the transfer of material military equipment. The soft side of the capacity-building also fits demands of small and medium sized states. Table top exercises, scenario planning and lecturing on international maritime law, etc., have enhanced this soft capacity-building to Southeast Asia. Since the introduction of the "Vientiane Vision" in 2016, ASEAN–Japan Ship Rider Cooperation and ASEAN–Japan Joint Exercise for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (Observation Programme) have developed, for instance. Japanese Defense Minister Iwaya said, "I expressed that Japan would promote the practical cooperation with ASEAN so as to support improvement of interoperability among defense authorities in the region" and

introduced a Professional Airmanship Program as an example of practical cooperation.”²⁹ This should be the least developed and most potential area for the Quadrilateral or Quad-Plus cooperation.

Conclusion: Policy Recommendations

There are the emerging challenges to the rules-based maritime order in the Indo–Pacific. Gray zone coercions of authoritarian regimes require the other regional powers to improve the MDA capability of not only military but law enforcement agencies. Diverse non-traditional security challenges also increase the importance of inter-state cooperation. It should be noted that, despite the insufficiencies of the existing cooperative mechanisms, both international and regional, the accumulated practice of cooperation that the Quad or any other new forms of cooperation should not underestimated. In particular, this paper argued that the Quad should use the mil-mil cooperation framework and put itself consistent with and complementary to them. Though the Quad should address the emerging new challenges, it should be seen as the substitute or a different type of challenge.

Specific policies are particularly important. First, collaboration in rule-making and norm-setting through various inclusive and exclusive channels are what the Quad or the Quad Plus should do more. The Quad countries should review their memberships in WPNS/IONS. India may be able to consider observing the WPNS and the U.S. can do the same to the IONS. Second, the Quad should have a consultation mechanism for coordinated capacity-building for the MDA capabilities of small and medium-sized states in Southeast Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions. Due to the difference of priority as well as available capabilities, the four should make clearer division of labor and region: India in the Indian Ocean, Australia in the Pacific, and Japan in Southeast Asia with supports from the United States. It should be for mitigating the risk of contingency, not for beefing them up for fighting against others.

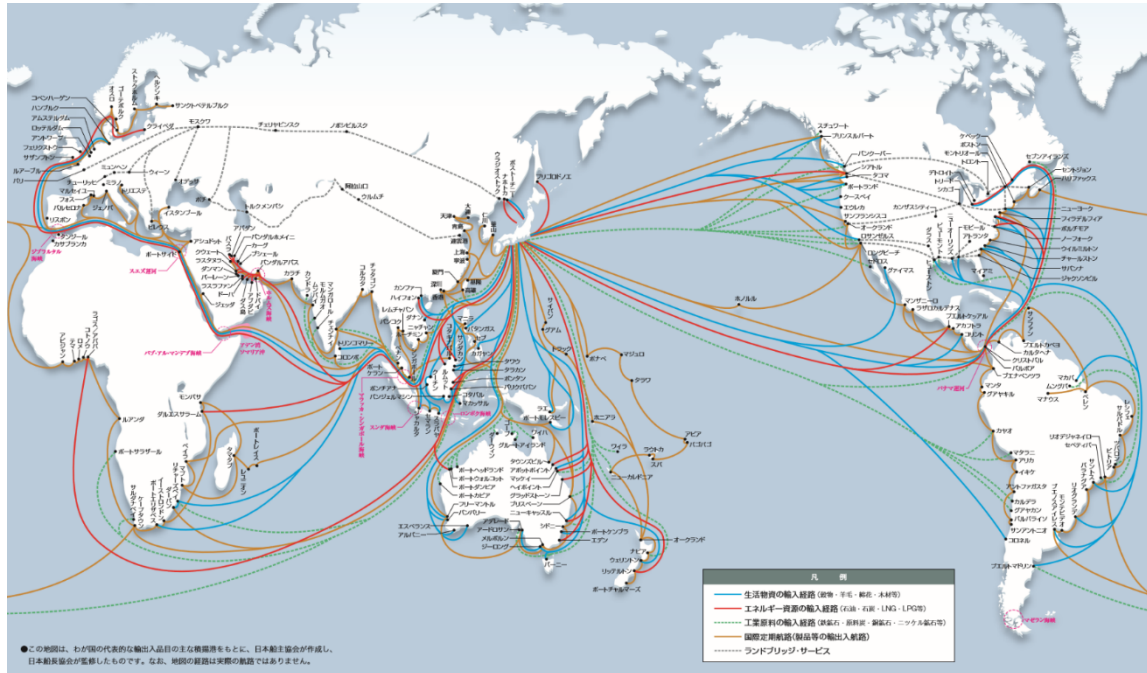
Finally, improvement of information sharing and interoperability through joint exercises can be expanded. Multilateral RIMPAC, or Kakadu, and plurilateral Malabar and

²⁹News release, “ASEAN and Japan Plan to Step Up Defence Cooperation,” October 20, 2018, Singapore Ministry of Defence,

https://www.mindef.gov.sg/web/portal/mindef/news-and-events/latest-releases/article-detail/2018/october/20oct18_nr (accessed October 8, 2019).

Talisman Sabire should be continued. However, there are two insufficiencies. One is the engagement in Southeast Asia. We have to consider how to encourage Southeast Asia to more actively join our exercises and training. One way is evaluating and cooperating with their plurilateral initiatives, such as the successful trilateral patrolling in the Sulu Sea. The improvement of the MDA capabilities through SAR and HA/DR or anti-piracy operations are all key for securing the free and open SLOCs. Furthermore, the Quad can lead the information sharing center following the model of ReCAAP, which is based on one of the cities of Southeast Asia, the fulcrum of the Indo–Pacific. Second, although it is not supported by evidence yet, there might be some gap between grand strategists and military officers regarding the importance of non-traditional threats. It is true that maritime environment or the sea-level issues are not directly security concerns for great powers. However, for making the region free, open, stable, and prosperous in the longer term, the Quad or the Indo–Pacific vision should also include a specific set of policies to address various maritime issues.

Figure 1: Global Sea Lanes of Communications (centering on Japan)



SHIPPING NOW 2018-2019

SHIPPING NOW 2018-2019

See Shipping Now 2018-19

Table 1: Membership of International/Regional Maritime Cooperation Frameworks

	IMO	WPNS	IONS	ReCAAP	CSG	ASA
Australia	✓	✓	✓	✓	—	✓
India	✓	△	✓	✓	—	✓
Japan	✓	✓	△	✓	✓	✓
U.S.	✓	✓	—	✓	△	—
U.K.	✓	△	✓	✓	✓	—
France	✓	✓	✓	—	✓	—
China	✓	✓	△	✓	—	✓
Russia	✓	✓	△	—	—	—

✓: Full member, △: Observer status, —: no membership

Table 2: Participating Parties of Naval Exercises (Selective)

	RIMPAC	Malabar	Talisman Sabre	Force 18/ ADMM Plus	Exercises with ASEAN
Australia	✓	—*	✓	✓	—
India	✓	✓	—	✓	—
Japan	✓	✓	Δ	✓	Δ
U.S.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ (2019)
China	✓ (— 18)	—	—	✓	✓ (2018)

*Australia participated in Malabar 2008-2 with Singapore.