

WEBVTT

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Hello again, and welcome to Global Exchange, part of The Canadian Global Affairs Institute's Podcast Network.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm your host Colin Robertson.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>On this episode, recorded on September the 12th, we talk with Richard Heydarian about the Philippines and its increasingly tense maritime neighbourhood.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Richard Heydarian is Indo-Pacific Visiting Scholar at the Asia-Pacific Foundation, and this podcast was facilitated by our fellow Vina Najibullah, who is their Vice President.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>So our thanks to Vina for helping set this up.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Scholar, columnist, and commentator, Richard Heydarian is a Senior Lecturer at the University of the Philippines Asian Center.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>His recent books include The Rise of Duterte, A Populist Revolt Against Elite Democracy, and The Indo-Pacific, Trump, China, and The New Global Struggle for Mastery.

00:00:58.380 --> 00:01:01.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I encourage you to pick up his books.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Richard, welcome.

00:01:03.180 --> 00:01:04.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>My pleasure, my pleasure.

00:01:04.060 --> 00:01:07.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Just a clarification, I'm transitioning towards another stint at Oxford.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So as of this moment, I'm not with the University of the Philippines, but I've been affiliated with them for the past few years.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So thank you for that kind invitation.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>It's lovely to join you folks.

00:01:15.940 --> 00:01:16.660

<v SPEAKER\_1>Oh, well, thank you.

00:01:16.720 --> 00:01:18.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>And congratulations on your move then.

00:01:18.760 --> 00:01:23.300

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, for listeners, close to a million Canadians claim Filipino ancestry.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And last year, we celebrated 75 years of diplomatic relations with this middle power, democracy and partner in ASEAN and APEC.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Consisting of over 7,000 islands, the Philippines cover almost 300,000 square kilometers of land, and it has a population of approximately 109 million people.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>The country is predominantly Christian Catholic, with a minority Muslim population and a growing evangelical presence.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>The Philippines is one of the fastest growing economies in Southeast Asia, with the Asia Development Bank forecasting a 6% GDP growth this year.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>When I look at Filipino politics, I think of the dynastic political system, where powerful families think Marcos, Dutartes, Aquinos, and their supporters make up around 80% of the Congress, one of the highest shares in the world.

00:02:18.240 --> 00:02:26.160

<v SPEAKER\_1>In foreign policy, the Philippines has had a close but fraught, often fraught, relationship with the United States.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Now China is enforcing its claims in the waters surrounding the islands that comprise the Philippines.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Its archipelago lies at the heart of what naval

strategists call the first island chain, running from the Cura Islands north of Japan to the Malay Peninsula.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Sitting so close to Taiwan and overlooking a key channel into the Western Pacific, the Philippines is vital to America's efforts to contain China.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And we'll get into that in our discussion.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>But let's begin.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Richard, let's start with the domestic situation within the Philippines.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>I'd be interested in your assessment of current politics and where things are in terms of the economy.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, thank you very much again for that framing.

00:03:11.980 --> 00:03:25.540

<v SPEAKER\_2>And in fact, in the latest issue of the Journal of Democracy, the title of my journal article on the latest episode of the telenovela in Philippine politics is that I described as Philippines dynastic democracy, right?

00:03:25.540 --> 00:03:27.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>So it's a different kind of oxymoron.

00:03:27.300 --> 00:03:29.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>We usually have elite democracy.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I call it dynastic democracy because as you correctly pointed out, one of the things that makes Philippines exceptional, not only compared to its Asian counterparts or Western allies, also compared to former Spanish colonies, is this tremendous amount of concentration of power among few families.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So even at the height of reformism or democratic reform in the Philippines during the Aquino administration in 2013, more than 80 percent of the elected offices were dominated by political dynasties.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>People who come from the same family, sometimes the mistresses of the same guy or people with at least second degree of consanguinity in terms of relationships.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Think of the Philippines with so much concentration of power, inevitably there's going to be tensions.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So if you look at the Philippine politics, sometimes someone described a very controversial administration back in the day.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>They said a certain administration looks like a zoo without a fence.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So what we have, I don't want to name names, right?

00:04:27.880 --> 00:04:32.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>But the Philippine politics, as far as the dynastic politics is concerned, it's kind of like that.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>It's like you have a bunch of predators, political predators next to each other.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And especially after the 2022 elections, where the House of Marcos teamed up with the House of Duterte, each of them gaining their strength from certain geographic and ethnic linguistic background, the so-called solid north for Marcos' and the so-called solid south for Duterte's.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Because they were able to basically crowd out everyone else.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So the liberal progressive opposition was somehow in a hibernation over the past two or three years.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And as soon as that happened, they started looking at each other.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So it was almost inevitable for the Duterte's and Marcos' to go at it.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>The Marcos' are of course OG.

00:05:11.720 --> 00:05:14.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>They have been in this game for a long time.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>They are the original Machiavellians of Philippine politics.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But the Duterte's are the hungry Parvenus, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>They are the nouveau riche of Philippine politics.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And they are very ambitious.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So I think it was inevitable to see the kind of fallout we're seeing between the administration of President Marcos and basically the camp of Vice President Sara Duterte.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Especially after, and it was supposed to be actually at The Hague next week, especially after the Marcos presidency, the Marcos administration agreed to hand over former president Rodrigo Duterte to the International Criminal Court to face serious charges of crimes against humanity over his drug war that reported a claim tens of thousands of lives in the Philippines.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So I think that was the final straw that really served as an opening act of an all-out mini civil war between the Marcoses and Dutertes.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And the former president is still being incarcerated.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Is he not in The Hague right now?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Yes, he is in a detention center at The Hague.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And there was supposed to be a trial in September 23, but it is being rescheduled because, at least according to Dutertes' very

able, very experienced legal team, he seems not to have the cognitive, I would say, sharpness to stand competently for trial, which is an interesting claim, because this is the son of Duterte that a few months ago was making fun of the ICC and saying that he's going to kick their rear if they try to arrest him.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So we went from a master of Kutzba and Bragadocio to suddenly someone who's claiming that he's not even competent to stand for trial apparently.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, he's not the first to try that ploy, as we've seen with Bolsonaro and others around the world.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>It's quite extraordinary.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Now, when I look at the Filipina politics, I think of the medieval Italy and the Borgias, or medieval England and the Tudors and the War of the Roses.

00:07:11.880 --> 00:07:19.380

<v SPEAKER\_1>It's really quite extraordinary because as I pointed out, Philippines is what, 109 million people.

00:07:19.640 --> 00:07:24.180

<v SPEAKER\_1>It's amazing that the whole of these families have been able to exercise.

00:07:24.180 --> 00:07:25.540

<v SPEAKER\_1>Why do you think that is?

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<v SPEAKER\_1>It really is extraordinary that they've been able to sustain that for generations now.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Oh, absolutely.

00:07:31.820 --> 00:07:35.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>That's one of the many things that makes the Philippines exceptional.

00:07:35.220 --> 00:07:39.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>In this case, in a very negative sense of the word, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, the great political scientist Benedict Anderson had this notion of Cacica democracy.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>In fact, he had an essay on the Philippines about the continuity of concentration of power in the hands of essentially political dynasties throughout ages.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So he could trace it all the way back to the Seven Years War, when for a few years actually Manila was under the control of Britain.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>During this time, there was a huge change in the Philippine political leadership, whereby the Chinese Filipino mestizo class would come to prominence, and the more Chinese-originated merchant class who sided with Britain would be sidelined.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So basically, if you look at a lot of elite families' dynasties in the Philippines, they can trace their power back to almost the Seven Years War, or at the very least to the 19th century.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So the Simpson family, which is very dominant in my home province of Ilocosur, or just south of Ilocosur North, where the Marxists come from, you can trace them to 1870s or 1880s, as far as a consolidated family, dynastic family is concerned.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So what happened here is that, as you know, again, one of the things that makes the Philippines exceptional is that we have had multiple colonial powers.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So we have a situation whereby our founding fathers wrote in Espanol, but now we all speak in American, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Or in English, American, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So it's like an experience of, I don't know, imagine if the founding fathers in the US spoke in French or wrote in French, and then suddenly the Americans have to learn that.

00:09:00.720 --> 00:09:03.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>Of course, you Canadians wouldn't have much of a trouble, but that's the thing.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We were 300 years under the Espanol, and then we were at least 40, 50 years officially under the American colonial tutelage.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But having said that, one continuity is that the so-called principales or this kind of family dynasties, they were so adept in navigating not only domestic politics, but geopolitics that they smoothly transitioned from the Spanish era to the American era.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>They're basically shape-shifters, their ability to navigate these different colonial masters, I think really prepared them for domination of electoral politics.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>As you know, the electoral politics in the Philippines when it was introduced, there were already property restrictions.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>By nature, because elections take money, it favored those who were already the colonial corroborators or co-operators.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>In that sense, we can trace it all the way back to that.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>In fact, one of the things that makes the Philippines also quite questionable as a democracy is that, you have a very high incidence of vote buying until today.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Some scholars like John Seidel would argue that that has to do with the sequencing by which democracy was introduced.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Democracy was introduced under American tutelage, a very libertarian American, a late 19th century style American politics, I would say, a gangs of New York style of politics.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Then you also have this element of these people dominating the economic resources that allowed them to translate that into political power.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Having said that, there's still some dynamism.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We have the Manipakial types, this new global celebrities joining the fray, especially after the return of democracy, following the collapse of democracy dictatorship.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Except, this is where it gets interesting.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Those celebrities who are the outsiders begin to also create their own dynasties.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Next thing you know, the brother, the son, they're also running.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So this has become kind of an ingrained political DNA in the Philippines, unfortunately.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So as much as I don't want to be deterministic, unfortunately, this has become a very fossilized part of our political DNA.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, you point out that ethnicity plays into this.

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<v SPEAKER\_1>If you've passed through Spanish, American, is the next relationship going to be with China?

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<v SPEAKER\_1>And how is that relationship going, given what China's aspirations are in the neighborhood?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, the Philippines went also to Japan, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So for a while, it was also colonized by Japan during the Second World War, and that introduced a lot of disruptions to some of the things that Filipino leaders were trying to build in the 1930s, including a kind of a new developmental state under President Quezon.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So that was a very disruptive period, very violent period.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>My grandmother could still sing the Japanese imperial

music because of the traumatic experiences they had during the Japanese occupation.

00:11:44.280 --> 00:11:45.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>So that's a long story.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But having said that, I think Japan is the most successful case of national rebranding.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So we kind of went from this kind of imperialistic militaristic Japan to this kind of a soft Hello Kitty kind of, you know, manga, Japanese soft power.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But more importantly, the Japanese decided to put their Asian development bank headquarters in the Philippines because people tend to forget this.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>The Philippines was also the fastest growing economy in the early 1960s, just like today.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So this is the second time the Philippines is in this kind of a pole position, but I'm really hoping we don't lose this chance.

00:12:17.320 --> 00:12:30.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now, speaking of this chance, Japan continues to be a top source of overseas development assistance, and practically all big infrastructure projects you see today in the Philippines, including an upcoming subway, is being built by Japan.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So what about China?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>China tried to win over the Philippines, but their blessing was also their curse, because the president that opened up the space for China to gain influence in the Philippines happened to be someone who was a very skilled Machiavellian political figure in a very 14th century Italian sense of the word, but he was not a very sophisticated geopolitician, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So he didn't have the right team to cut the right deals.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So what happened under Duterte during his presidency from 2016 to 2022 was there was pledge strap, a lot of empty pledges by China, but nothing happened.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And part of the blame is actually with Duterte folks, because he didn't have the competent guy to negotiate deals and get them across the line.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And I rather believe sometimes the Chinese and the Duterte people, right?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Given their, let's just say, a certain shady and checkered history.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So China lost an opportunity to actually institutionalize that moment of opening, geopolitical opening they had with Duterte, and that provided some space for readjustment and recalibration.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So when Marcus Jr.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>became the president, he initially was singing to the Duterte tunes.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He actually, just like Duterte, became, I think the second Philippine president, at least in recent memory, to choose Beijing as his first major foreign destination.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>It's usually either Tokyo or Washington, DC.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But that visit didn't produce much.

00:13:53.940 --> 00:13:54.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's still a debate.

00:13:54.940 --> 00:13:55.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>Why is that the case?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Is it because China really cannot offer much in terms of actual investment?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Is it because they thought they could have the Philippines on the chip?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Which is also my suspicion.

00:14:03.960 --> 00:14:07.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>But Marcos, as I said, the Marcoses are OGs.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>They were not going to have it the way Duterte had it.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Because Duterte couldn't care less about Chinese investment.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>He was getting a lot of dodgy investment from Chinese online casinos, which created their own political economy, to put it mildly.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But Marcos was interested in actually getting high-quality investments.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And as soon as it became clear, he's not getting much out of China.

00:14:25.420 --> 00:14:35.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>And more importantly, as soon as it became clear that China was not making any concessions or any sign of recalibration on the South China Sea disputes, Marcos being Marcos, made an adjustment.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So just like his father, Marcos Senior, back in the day, he went for a much more multi-aligned foreign policy, trying to build a relationship with different centers of power.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Obviously, rebuilding ties with the US during the Biden administration was one part of it, but also reaching out to Japan.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Therefore, you have the trilateral of Japan, Philippines, US.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>But now, of course, Canada, Australia.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I was also in Poland the other month.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I was in Europe and New Zealand over the past year.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Also going to all sorts of different middle power nations who are very excited about middle power diplomacy with the Philippines.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think as all of us look towards more uncertainty in American foreign policy and at the same time look with anxiety vis-a-vis China, Russia and the ASEAN powers, it makes perfect sense for us to come together.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>So in short, China is not the only game in town.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>If anything, it's not even the major game in town in major issues like infrastructure or defense.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We have no major defense agreement with China.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>We have no major infrastructure investment from China.

00:15:31.160 --> 00:15:34.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>So now there's a golden opportunity for our traditional allies to make an impact.

00:15:34.860 --> 00:15:36.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>Will it happen with the Trump administration?

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<v SPEAKER\_2>I don't know.

00:15:37.060 --> 00:15:39.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>But can it happen with Japan and other middle powers?

00:15:39.500 --> 00:15:40.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>Definitely yes.

00:15:42.460 --> 00:15:45.880

<v SPEAKER\_3>Hi, I'm Dave Perry, the president and CEO of The Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

00:15:45.880 --> 00:15:50.480

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<v SPEAKER\_1>Interesting.

00:16:08.280 --> 00:16:25.160

<v SPEAKER\_1>What you're saying is the relationship with the United States, even under Donald Trump, there's been some continuity between Joe Biden and Trump in terms of the warming of the relationship which, as you point out under Duterte, had seemed to shift at least temporarily towards China.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>Absolutely.

00:16:26.020 --> 00:16:38.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>Actually, Trump 1.0 was able to put the relationship on an even keel, especially after Trump visited the Philippines for the ASEAN Summit in 2017 and their expectation he might visit the Philippines again next year for the ASEAN meetings.

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<v SPEAKER\_2>That's also where the Quad meetings happen with the Indian leader, with Modi, with Abe, and back then, the Malcolm Turnbull of the Australian Prime Minister back then.

00:16:50.480 --> 00:16:53.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>The thing is, and this is where things get tricky.

00:16:53.200 --> 00:16:56.300

<v SPEAKER\_2>I know here in Canada, there's a certain dynamic with the United States.

00:16:56.300 --> 00:17:04.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>In the Philippines though, there's a lot of, I would say, sympathy for the Trump presidency.

00:17:04.800 --> 00:17:07.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>Trump is a very popular man in the Philippines.

00:17:07.060 --> 00:17:15.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>During the Trump administration, I think there were more Filipinos who were approving of Trump in the Philippines than Filipino Americans in the US.

00:17:15.680 --> 00:17:21.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>Generally, the US has enjoyed more approval in the Philippines than at home in terms of its foreign policy.

00:17:21.180 --> 00:17:25.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, I was thinking just before the call, what's your tariff rate?

00:17:25.060 --> 00:17:28.160

<v SPEAKER\_1>The rest of the world seems to be average around 15 percent.

00:17:28.160 --> 00:17:29.620

<v SPEAKER\_1>What is it for the Philippines?

00:17:29.620 --> 00:17:30.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>It was not good.

00:17:30.500 --> 00:17:33.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>What happened is, and this is where it gets complicated.

00:17:33.700 --> 00:17:43.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>There's a lot of, I would say, goodwill towards the Trump administration, or I would say strategic understanding, and it could go both ways.

00:17:43.040 --> 00:17:51.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>I think Marco Rubio, Hex Seth, all of them have excellent relationship with Philippines and top officials in the Philippines, and keep on talking about building up on the relationship.

00:17:51.420 --> 00:17:58.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>But the reality is that, to be honest about it, especially under the second Trump administration, we are also facing our own uncertainty.

00:17:58.640 --> 00:18:09.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>President Marcos went all the way to Washington DC the other month, and all he got is from, well, initially it was 17 percent, then it became 20 percent, then Trump in his magnanimity made it 19 percent.

00:18:11.080 --> 00:18:16.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>So the joke was maybe he should just have Zoom called Trump, if it's just one percentage point, right?

00:18:16.760 --> 00:18:18.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>So honestly, it didn't look good.

00:18:18.400 --> 00:18:23.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now, to be fair, we are not a merchandise exporting power like Vietnam.

00:18:23.020 --> 00:18:26.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>So it's not like we export 100 billion dollars to US.

00:18:26.480 --> 00:18:34.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>But the Vietnamese managed to more than have the initial like 40-50 percent, they brought it down to 20 percent, so 20-21 percent.

00:18:34.100 --> 00:18:35.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>So in the Philippines, we're quite disappointed.

00:18:35.640 --> 00:18:49.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>But actually, if you look at the development details, we're able to, from my understanding, at least insulate some of our key sectors like call centers, BPO industry, which is a big source of our bilateral economic relationship with the United States.

00:18:49.780 --> 00:18:50.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>But you're absolutely right.

00:18:50.940 --> 00:18:53.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>There are many uncertainties also in our relationship with the US.

00:18:53.820 --> 00:19:09.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Even if we feel that we have more strategic sympathy there, we're not being threatened to be their 51st state, we're not in Greenland situation, and because we're a frontline ally on the Taiwan question, vis-a-vis China, etc., we're getting a lot of, at least, good rhetoric from the US, unlike you guys.

00:19:09.480 --> 00:19:20.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>But F-16 deal, the Americans were selling us their F-16s, but it looks like the Trump administration is not putting enough subsidy into that or grant into that, so that's also up in the air.

00:19:20.960 --> 00:19:32.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>So, and then there are also questions as to whether Trump will continue some of the economic policies of Biden, including the

proposed \$100 billion Luzon Economic Corridor together with Japan that was proposed last year at the White House.

00:19:33.460 --> 00:19:49.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>So yes, I have no illusions about uncertainties in our relationship with the US., even though we may not have as a hostile as or a kind of tense relationship as the US tends to have in its transatlantic relations or even vis-a-vis you guys.

00:19:49.160 --> 00:19:50.880

<v SPEAKER\_1>Richard, tell me a little bit about Taiwan.

00:19:50.880 --> 00:19:57.700

<v SPEAKER\_1>You mentioned Taiwan and Trump in the United States, because of course, you're a very close neighbor.

00:19:57.700 --> 00:19:59.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>Oh yeah, it gets as close as it can get.

00:19:59.360 --> 00:20:07.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>So just to put things into perspective, during one of the flights, thanks to the good weather conditions, I was able to make it from Taipei to Manila in just over an hour.

00:20:07.780 --> 00:20:09.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>It was a crazy fast.

00:20:09.800 --> 00:20:13.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>But it just tells you how close Manila and Taiwan are.

00:20:13.320 --> 00:20:17.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>In fact, Manila is closer to Taiwan than any other major ASEAN capital.

00:20:17.200 --> 00:20:22.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>It takes us three, four hours to go to Singapore or Putrajaya and more than two hours to go to Hanoi.

00:20:22.400 --> 00:20:25.460

<v SPEAKER\_2>So Taiwan is just damn close.

00:20:25.460 --> 00:20:37.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>More than that, what makes Taiwan very important to us is, you know, some of our provinces and islands, including the province where the markets has come from, Ilocos Norte, you know, they're like a 40-minute flight to Kaohsiung.

00:20:37.160 --> 00:20:46.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>Some of our military facilities like Mavulis, they're just, you know, tens of miles, just 100 miles at most, from Taiwan's

southern shores.

00:20:46.360 --> 00:20:50.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>And of course, the Taiwan linkage, that's how we put it.

00:20:50.140 --> 00:20:54.360

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I think it's the more politically correct way than to call it Taiwan question.

00:20:54.460 --> 00:21:10.540

<v SPEAKER\_2>The Taiwan linkage has become more poignant, especially since the Marcos administration decided to grant the Americans additional access to prized bases in the northern parts of the Philippines.

00:21:10.540 --> 00:21:16.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>So up to five bases, new bases were open, and the majority of them were in northern Philippine provinces, Cagayan, Isabela.

00:21:16.980 --> 00:21:26.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>And last year, based on the satellite imagery, the Americans also deployed the Typhoon missile, MRC, to Los Norte, northern Philippines.

00:21:26.500 --> 00:21:33.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>And during the Balikatan exercises, massive annual military exercise with America, we had some exercises close to Taiwan.

00:21:33.640 --> 00:21:44.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>So the Taiwan question or the Taiwan linkage is now very much central to the whole Philippine, US-China triangular relationship, more than ever.

00:21:44.260 --> 00:21:45.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>Interesting.

00:21:45.060 --> 00:21:54.260

<v SPEAKER\_1>Now you've talked about Japan and the relationship with Japan, and you pointed out, but tell us about some of the other neighbors, India, Indonesia, Korea, for example, and you've also touched on Australia.

00:21:54.260 --> 00:21:55.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>You might want to come back to that.

00:21:55.960 --> 00:21:56.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>Oh, absolutely.

00:21:56.640 --> 00:22:02.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>So if you look at, so a while ago I was just saying the F-16 deal with the US is up in the air, et cetera, et cetera.

00:22:02.220 --> 00:22:08.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>So actually, our biggest defense item acquisitions are from South Korea and India.

00:22:08.600 --> 00:22:13.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>So from South Korea, basically all of our modern fighters, F-850s are coming from.

00:22:13.580 --> 00:22:17.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>If the F-16 doesn't push through, we might get even more Korean fighters.

00:22:17.600 --> 00:22:19.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>The Koreans are also helping us with our warships.

00:22:19.600 --> 00:22:23.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>I visited one of our warships recently, BRP Rizal, etc.

00:22:23.720 --> 00:22:26.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>They're all basically Hyundai, if I'm not mistaken.

00:22:26.040 --> 00:22:27.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>So Korean too.

00:22:27.440 --> 00:22:32.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>Then with the Indians, we have that really important deal, the Brahmos missile systems.

00:22:32.420 --> 00:22:37.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>They're supersonic, but we're purchasing multiple batteries of that.

00:22:37.480 --> 00:22:40.140

<v SPEAKER\_2>The first deal was \$300 million, pretty big deal.

00:22:40.140 --> 00:22:42.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>I think the biggest deal that India has had in South Asia.

00:22:42.920 --> 00:22:45.680

<v SPEAKER\_2>We're looking towards acquisition of more of that.

00:22:46.180 --> 00:22:59.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>So India and South Korea may not make as much noise about their solidarity with us in the South China Sea as some of our Western partners, but they're extremely important to the modernization of the armistice of the Philippines.

00:22:59.820 --> 00:23:09.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>Then Australia, obviously, along with the US, were the two countries that had visiting forces agreements with us, but that's obviously going to change with you guys and the Japanese and all coming in.

00:23:09.260 --> 00:23:13.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>But those Australians keep on improving and upgrading their relationship.

00:23:13.180 --> 00:23:19.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>They were extremely important to our counterterrorism efforts, especially during the Marawi siege in 2017.

00:23:20.120 --> 00:23:28.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>When ISIS, Daesh-affiliated fighters tried to basically take over the biggest Muslim majority city in the country.

00:23:28.640 --> 00:23:32.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>Australians, of course, are also interested in expanding their economic footprint in the Philippines.

00:23:32.760 --> 00:23:35.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>They're big in the mining sector, as you can expect.

00:23:35.240 --> 00:23:38.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>But we want to move towards finances and other important sectors.

00:23:38.580 --> 00:23:43.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now, the Philippines is actually positioning itself as a kind of a China-free supply chain partner.

00:23:44.040 --> 00:23:46.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>Let's talk about EVs, one of the important.

00:23:46.820 --> 00:23:50.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>If you look at the lithium production, Indonesia is number one, Philippines is number two.

00:23:50.740 --> 00:23:51.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>Big difference.

00:23:51.780 --> 00:23:58.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>But practically, all major producers of cobalt, lithium, etc., they're completely dominated by the Chinese supply chain.

00:23:58.160 --> 00:23:59.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>I mean, it's over, basically.

00:23:59.820 --> 00:24:02.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>The game is over, but not in the Philippines.

00:24:02.180 --> 00:24:06.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>We're actively reaching out to Korea, Japan, Australia, maybe you guys, etc.

00:24:06.920 --> 00:24:10.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>to invest in some of our critical minerals sector.

00:24:10.560 --> 00:24:21.640

<v SPEAKER\_2>Then, of course, with Japan, and probably with South Korea and others, and Europeans, we're also looking at the Philippines, growing involvement and integration into the Taiwanese semiconductor business.

00:24:21.640 --> 00:24:23.960

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because we're very close to Taiwan.

00:24:23.960 --> 00:24:29.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>I come from Baguio City in the Northern Philippines too, where we have had Texas instruments forever.

00:24:29.200 --> 00:24:36.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>We have a history of doing relatively sophisticated manufacturing, and we hope to really move up in the value chain when it comes to semiconductor.

00:24:36.640 --> 00:24:40.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>We're having all of these mini-lateral interactions among us.

00:24:40.020 --> 00:24:48.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>Not only middle-power diplomacy, but also mini-lateral interactions, just as the Philippines develops a more multi-aligned approach beyond its relationship with just US and China.

00:24:48.740 --> 00:24:52.800

<v SPEAKER\_1>But as you underline, multilateralism is really a big deal for you.

00:24:52.800 --> 00:25:02.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, I would say more mini-lateralism than multilateralism, but you're right, multilateralism too, because if you want rules-based international order, you have to be creative.

00:25:02.000 --> 00:25:16.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>Whether it's the ICC on the question of human rights, whether it's the international courts under the UNCLOS, United Nations

Convention on the Law of the Sea, which is where we had an arbitration victory under the UNCLOS ages in 2016.

00:25:16.340 --> 00:25:17.520  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah, it's important.

00:25:17.520 --> 00:25:22.380  
<v SPEAKER\_2>But the reality is also multilateralism has its limits, especially in the age of Trump and uncertainty.

00:25:22.380 --> 00:25:28.480  
<v SPEAKER\_2>So we're also embracing mini-lateralism to compensate for deficiencies of multilateralism.

00:25:28.480 --> 00:25:31.180  
<v SPEAKER\_2>But to be honest, I don't see any zero-sum relationship.

00:25:31.180 --> 00:25:32.300  
<v SPEAKER\_2>I think you can do all of the above.

00:25:32.700 --> 00:25:38.480  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Really, a la carte diplomacy is really, for me, the only practical way to make things work nowadays.

00:25:38.480 --> 00:25:39.820  
<v SPEAKER\_1>That makes sense.

00:25:40.940 --> 00:25:42.720  
<v SPEAKER\_1>We're looking at submarines.

00:25:42.720 --> 00:25:43.920  
<v SPEAKER\_1>I think you've got submarines.

00:25:43.920 --> 00:25:45.700  
<v SPEAKER\_1>Who made your submarines?

00:25:45.700 --> 00:25:46.160  
<v SPEAKER\_2>No.

00:25:46.160 --> 00:25:49.020  
<v SPEAKER\_2>We have been trying to get submarines for quite some time.

00:25:49.480 --> 00:25:50.380  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Since 2011.

00:25:50.380 --> 00:25:51.200  
<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah.

00:25:51.200 --> 00:25:57.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>The problem with the submarine ones is, of course, aside from the cost issues, the time horizon and also long-term dependency.

00:25:57.700 --> 00:26:00.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because if you're starting from scratch, you have to be trained by a country.

00:26:01.300 --> 00:26:04.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>We didn't want to find ourselves in a situation like Vietnam.

00:26:04.860 --> 00:26:11.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>They're basically structurally locked into the Russian supply chain, Indians to a lesser degree, but still significantly.

00:26:13.440 --> 00:26:15.900

<v SPEAKER\_2>We flirted with different options.

00:26:15.900 --> 00:26:19.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>During the third, actually, we flirted with the Russian option.

00:26:19.040 --> 00:26:25.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>We wanted to get submarines from Russia, but it looks like the deal didn't pan out because Russia didn't provide a nice credit line.

00:26:25.880 --> 00:26:35.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>But we finalized a \$300 million helicopter deal, which obviously got canceled automatically once the Ukraine invasion, aggression against Ukraine happened gladly.

00:26:35.240 --> 00:26:43.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>Which tells you Philippines is a principled country when it comes to its foreign policy, not only for rules-based order, unlike some other countries that increased their purchases from Russia.

00:26:43.780 --> 00:26:44.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>Very opportunistically.

00:26:44.980 --> 00:26:47.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>I don't want to go down that road.

00:26:47.060 --> 00:26:49.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>But yeah, going back to this.

00:26:49.160 --> 00:26:53.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>So recently, we have three different countries who are positioning to apply us.

00:26:53.080 --> 00:26:54.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>I mean, at least three top contenders.

00:26:54.620 --> 00:26:58.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>Again, South Korea is there, obviously because of everything I mentioned.

00:26:58.020 --> 00:27:00.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>The French because the August thing didn't pan out.

00:27:00.480 --> 00:27:02.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>So I think they're looking for an alternative.

00:27:02.060 --> 00:27:04.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>And our former colonizer, the Espanol.

00:27:04.780 --> 00:27:10.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>The Spanish who have rediscovered their Asian colony, but on a more symmetrical basis.

00:27:10.040 --> 00:27:15.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>I think one of the warmest and most, I would say productive discussions I've had in recent years was in Madrid.

00:27:16.520 --> 00:27:21.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>This idea like, oh, we have rediscovered each other once these pesky gringos are out of the picture.

00:27:21.920 --> 00:27:23.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm kidding aside.

00:27:23.700 --> 00:27:28.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>I mean, as all of us question the American alliance, suddenly we're giving each other a second gaze.

00:27:28.480 --> 00:27:29.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>The same thing with Canada.

00:27:29.480 --> 00:27:32.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>You guys are always in the shot of US, we're in the shot of Canada.

00:27:32.440 --> 00:27:37.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>I remember there was this Mexican president who joked something like, poor Mexico too close to US, too far from God or something like that.

00:27:37.880 --> 00:27:41.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>So all of us who are close to a superpower, we tend to be overshadowed.

00:27:41.580 --> 00:27:43.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>But now we're giving each other a second gaze.

00:27:43.720 --> 00:27:47.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>And this is the context in which I'm also hearing Canada right now.

00:27:47.120 --> 00:27:47.520

<v SPEAKER\_1>Interesting.

00:27:47.580 --> 00:27:50.880

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, let's move to Canada in our last few minutes.

00:27:50.880 --> 00:27:56.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>Canada would like closer relationships with ASEAN, obviously with the Philippines, Indonesia and others.

00:27:58.020 --> 00:28:07.880

<v SPEAKER\_1>But it's not been as easy to do so despite best efforts over now really 30, 40 years.

00:28:07.880 --> 00:28:17.580

<v SPEAKER\_1>So now that you're here, what advice would you have for Canada about improving their relationships with your neighborhood and with the Philippines directly?

00:28:17.580 --> 00:28:20.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>Well, so there's tremendous amount of momentum in our bilateral relations.

00:28:20.980 --> 00:28:29.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>If you look at it, various surveys, it's in the Philippines that Canada enjoys, it's I would say the highest influence among the strategic elite, right?

00:28:29.860 --> 00:28:36.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>So usually Canada is not in the top five or top six of top partners of ASEAN countries, except in the Philippines.

00:28:36.040 --> 00:28:53.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>And it's also in the Philippines that some of the big strategic investments are happening, including a special agricultural mission, the Dark Vessel Domain Awareness Initiative, and now increasingly also these maritime patrols, joint patrols, and soon hopefully the Visiting Forces Agreement or Reciprocal Access Agreement.

00:28:53.440 --> 00:28:54.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>So a lot is happening.

00:28:54.280 --> 00:28:56.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>But for me, that's just the beginning of the story.

00:28:56.600 --> 00:29:04.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>On one hand, in an era where everything is related, you cannot make distinction between food security, energy security, national economic security, and maritime security.

00:29:04.740 --> 00:29:05.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>All of them are related, right?

00:29:05.700 --> 00:29:07.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>So they're intersectional in that sense, right?

00:29:08.160 --> 00:29:11.000

<v SPEAKER\_2>Vulnerabilities in one area feeds into another.

00:29:11.000 --> 00:29:14.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>Like Philippines, 90% of rice comes from Vietnam alone.

00:29:14.060 --> 00:29:19.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>That's not a very good situation for any country to have such level of dependency.

00:29:19.280 --> 00:29:23.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>Even though now we have great relationship with Vietnam, but nevertheless.

00:29:23.420 --> 00:29:38.080

<v SPEAKER\_2>So Canada as an agricultural superpower could really help us to plug in some of the gaps we have, especially because based on at least you're in the Pacific paper of Canada, Philippines is the least food secure nation in the major economies in South East Asia.

00:29:38.080 --> 00:29:41.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>So huge room for improvement, energy is also obvious.

00:29:41.740 --> 00:29:47.420

<v SPEAKER\_2>But what I want to add here is that I don't want this relationship where you export to us food and then you get our nurses.

00:29:49.040 --> 00:29:50.860

<v SPEAKER\_2>I like a mutual capacitation thing.

00:29:50.860 --> 00:29:54.240

<v SPEAKER\_2>I don't like Canadian companies or research and development institutes.

00:29:54.300 --> 00:29:55.940

<v SPEAKER\_2>I was at Winnipeg just the other day.

00:29:55.940 --> 00:30:02.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>We're talking about mutual capacitation, whether it's fertilizers, whether it's agricultural research and development, even in healthcare.

00:30:03.900 --> 00:30:05.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>I hope it's not just us sending nurses over here.

00:30:06.180 --> 00:30:10.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's also about maybe Canada helping us with strengthening our healthcare sector.

00:30:10.660 --> 00:30:19.580

<v SPEAKER\_2>You don't have a perfect healthcare sector, but it's really something much better obviously than your southern neighbors, but definitely much better than ours.

00:30:19.720 --> 00:30:22.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>I believe in that more mutual capacitation one.

00:30:22.260 --> 00:30:24.860

<v SPEAKER\_1>That would be technical assistance in our partner in a real sense.

00:30:25.260 --> 00:30:25.760

<v SPEAKER\_1>On the healthcare.

00:30:25.760 --> 00:30:30.520

<v SPEAKER\_1>No, that would make sense because we are looking at our international development program again right now.

00:30:31.400 --> 00:30:32.240

<v SPEAKER\_1>Where is it going to go?

00:30:33.100 --> 00:30:36.820

<v SPEAKER\_1>I could see the argument you're making would have appeal here.

00:30:36.820 --> 00:30:37.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>Absolutely.

00:30:37.320 --> 00:30:38.220

<v SPEAKER\_2>The healthcare one.

00:30:38.220 --> 00:30:42.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>We're big fans of your so-called socialist system here, compared to what we have.

00:30:42.560 --> 00:30:51.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because our neighbors, Vietnam and Indonesia, also already have universal healthcare coverage in ways the Philippines doesn't have, even though we have similar per capita income.

00:30:51.320 --> 00:30:55.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Which tells you the Philippines has to do some capacity building there.

00:30:55.480 --> 00:31:05.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>Then obviously, when it comes to our bilateral relationship, there's also the factor of the Filipino community, which is huge here, and it's a very successful community, well-integrated community.

00:31:05.380 --> 00:31:11.560

<v SPEAKER\_2>But I always say, and I know probably it's controversial to some people, again, this kind of a curse blessing dialectics, right?

00:31:11.560 --> 00:31:19.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>For us Filipinos, it's so easy to integrate to Western societies because of shared values, history, our liberal political values.

00:31:19.880 --> 00:31:28.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>But sometimes that smooth, almost seamless transition also creates its own disadvantages.

00:31:29.500 --> 00:31:35.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>So I always say, you can be 100% Canadian, but also 100% in touch with your Filipino heritage.

00:31:35.740 --> 00:31:42.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>You don't know how many Filipino, American, Filipino, Canadian of second generation I've seen who don't speak any Filipino languages.

00:31:42.200 --> 00:31:43.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>When we say Filipino, that's just Tagalog.

00:31:43.800 --> 00:31:45.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>That's just the language of one region of the Philippines.

00:31:45.980 --> 00:31:47.020

<v SPEAKER\_2>There's so many other languages.

00:31:47.020 --> 00:31:52.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>The Visaya language, which is the biggest ethno-

linguistic group, the base of support of the territories.

00:31:52.260 --> 00:31:54.800

<v SPEAKER\_2>Ilojano, which is the language of the North, where democracy comes from.

00:31:54.800 --> 00:31:57.600

<v SPEAKER\_2>Basically, one of my mother languages.

00:31:57.600 --> 00:32:02.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>So my sense is we have the size, we have the scales.

00:32:02.980 --> 00:32:04.700

<v SPEAKER\_2>What we need is more coherence.

00:32:04.700 --> 00:32:06.380

<v SPEAKER\_2>So I always raise this in the US.

00:32:06.380 --> 00:32:12.040

<v SPEAKER\_2>I'm not as familiar with the Philippine-Canadian community, so I don't want to hazard saying something beyond my pay grade.

00:32:12.040 --> 00:32:17.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>But going to US, we have a four or five million strong Philippine community.

00:32:17.340 --> 00:32:23.440

<v SPEAKER\_2>And yet, our lobbying power is nowhere close to, let's say, the Indian-American community, which has a slightly smaller population.

00:32:23.440 --> 00:32:27.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>So that means we have a coherence organization problem and issue.

00:32:27.760 --> 00:32:33.720

<v SPEAKER\_2>So I don't know if Canada is the same, but my suspicion is there are going to be some universal patterns there, right?

00:32:33.720 --> 00:32:42.660

<v SPEAKER\_2>So my sense is that one million strong community, my goodness, it can do a lot if it builds stronger and stronger business lobby, geopolitical lobby.

00:32:42.660 --> 00:32:48.260

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I want to see more Filipino, successful Filipinos here, reinvesting back in their country and the other way around.

00:32:48.620 --> 00:33:09.780

<v SPEAKER\_2>And speaking of the other way around, Philippines also has major conglomerates, multi-billion dollar conglomerates, who may also give your very resource-rich and very rule-of-law country a second look, right, as they try to go beyond their usual kind of oligarchic business practices.

00:33:09.780 --> 00:33:10.780

<v SPEAKER\_1>No, I think that makes sense.

00:33:10.780 --> 00:33:23.260

<v SPEAKER\_1>And certainly the people-to-people ties, which as you experienced when you were in Winnipeg, for example, where the textile industry is basically driven now, certainly my observation is that it is a more cohesive community than what I've observed in the United States.

00:33:23.260 --> 00:33:31.400

<v SPEAKER\_1>And I think you're correct in your analysis that the Indio-Indo-American population, for whatever reason, seems more cohesive and has more weight.

00:33:31.400 --> 00:33:40.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>But I think within Canada, the Filipino community has certainly has a cohesive presence, members of parliament, legislators.

00:33:40.960 --> 00:33:44.260

<v SPEAKER\_1>It's the, and those ties continue.

00:33:44.460 --> 00:33:53.600

<v SPEAKER\_1>My, and I pose this question to you, is Canada still seen as an attractive destination to go to school or to migrate to?

00:33:53.600 --> 00:33:54.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>Oh, very much.

00:33:54.980 --> 00:33:58.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>I just had new relatives who moved to Canada.

00:33:58.520 --> 00:34:02.520

<v SPEAKER\_2>It looks like the US has lost the kind of attraction it used to have.

00:34:02.520 --> 00:34:05.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>And unlike Europe, you don't need to learn new language or culture, right?

00:34:05.800 --> 00:34:08.060

<v SPEAKER\_2>Canada comes very natural to us Filipinos.

00:34:08.060 --> 00:34:08.740

<v SPEAKER\_2>It's very easy.

00:34:08.820 --> 00:34:11.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>It feels very at home, to be honest, here.

00:34:11.160 --> 00:34:14.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>You don't need to learn German, French, or Spanish, etc.

00:34:14.620 --> 00:34:15.400

<v SPEAKER\_2>to make adjustments.

00:34:15.400 --> 00:34:17.160

<v SPEAKER\_2>Although, Filipinos are very good at adjusting.

00:34:17.160 --> 00:34:21.320

<v SPEAKER\_2>So, yeah, Canada is very, very attractive, especially the Filipino middle class professionals.

00:34:21.320 --> 00:34:28.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>But I would say that's also where my worry comes from, that you're getting too many of our doctors and nurses, including some of my relatives from the health care sector.

00:34:28.160 --> 00:34:28.820

<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah.

00:34:28.820 --> 00:34:29.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>Yes.

00:34:29.060 --> 00:34:32.260

<v SPEAKER\_1>No, that's exactly the, that is an issue.

00:34:32.260 --> 00:34:40.640

<v SPEAKER\_1>But what it has done is it does reinforce those ties which are there and on the people evil side, but then on the economic side.

00:34:40.640 --> 00:34:50.400

<v SPEAKER\_1>And as you point out, we're also taking a greater interest through Indo-Pacific strategy, though it's still in development in the strategic military sense as well.

00:34:50.440 --> 00:34:53.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, Richard, this has been excellent.

00:34:53.740 --> 00:34:54.640

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thank you.

00:34:54.640 --> 00:35:02.460

<v SPEAKER\_1>I know you're finishing a two and a half hour lecture at

Carleton, and you're generously giving us your time now.

00:35:02.460 --> 00:35:03.420

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thank you for joining us.

00:35:03.420 --> 00:35:09.420

<v SPEAKER\_1>My final question, and I ask all our guests this, what are you reading or streaming these days?

00:35:09.420 --> 00:35:09.880

<v SPEAKER\_2>Yeah.

00:35:09.880 --> 00:35:21.980

<v SPEAKER\_2>So there are a couple of things I'm going through, but I recently returned to Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched Of The Earth*, and *Black Skin, White Mask*.

00:35:21.980 --> 00:35:30.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I'm doing that in the context of all of this discussion about Global South, because I hear that a lot across ASEAN, maybe not as much in the Philippines.

00:35:30.200 --> 00:35:31.200

<v SPEAKER\_2>Now, why is this important?

00:35:31.200 --> 00:35:42.100

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because we live in an area whereby China is positioning itself as an ally of the Global South against the so-called West that is supposedly double standard and racist and all of that.

00:35:42.100 --> 00:35:43.500

<v SPEAKER\_2>This kind of discourse is very powerful.

00:35:44.440 --> 00:35:50.280

<v SPEAKER\_2>Whether you're in Jakarta, you're in Malaysia, you're in different major capitals in the non-Western world.

00:35:50.280 --> 00:35:57.120

<v SPEAKER\_2>So as a Filipino who is kind of straddling both worlds, I always try to keep in touch also with that kind of post-colonial discourse.

00:35:57.120 --> 00:36:01.620

<v SPEAKER\_2>And that's why I read this fantastic biography by Adam Schatz of Frantz Fanon.

00:36:01.620 --> 00:36:05.180

<v SPEAKER\_2>And after finishing the biography, I immediately moved back to some of the works of Frantz Fanon.

00:36:05.180 --> 00:36:08.760

<v SPEAKER\_2>So, I don't know, so that's the kind of state of mind I came in.

00:36:08.760 --> 00:36:14.340

<v SPEAKER\_2>That's why I really appreciate some of the conversations we have had here about this Global South-Global North thing.

00:36:14.340 --> 00:36:17.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>But this is what I love about our relationship with Canada.

00:36:17.840 --> 00:36:29.480

<v SPEAKER\_2>Because we're both middle-sized countries and middle powers, and because both of us are in our diversification mode, I don't think that usual North-South kind of divide has as much poignancy, at least to some of us, right?

00:36:29.480 --> 00:36:33.840

<v SPEAKER\_2>And I see much more symmetry and much more mutuality and reciprocity in our relationship.

00:36:33.840 --> 00:36:36.920

<v SPEAKER\_2>And hopefully, we'll see more of that in the coming years and so.

00:36:36.920 --> 00:36:37.640

<v SPEAKER\_1>Hopefully, indeed.

00:36:37.640 --> 00:36:42.080

<v SPEAKER\_1>Well, look, you keep at it, keep writing your books, and keep speaking.

00:36:42.080 --> 00:36:42.820

<v SPEAKER\_1>Richard, thanks.

00:36:42.820 --> 00:36:46.600

<v SPEAKER\_1>And thanks for joining us today on this episode of The Global Exchange.

00:36:46.600 --> 00:36:48.860

<v SPEAKER\_1>We were joined today by Richard Heydarian.

00:36:48.860 --> 00:36:52.960

<v SPEAKER\_1>You can find The Canadian Global Affairs Institute on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn.

00:36:52.960 --> 00:36:56.980

<v SPEAKER\_1>The Global Exchange is brought to you by our team at The Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

00:36:56.980 --> 00:37:03.680

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks go out to our producer, Charlotte Duval Antoine today, and to Drew Phillips for providing our music.

00:37:03.680 --> 00:37:05.060

<v SPEAKER\_1>I'm Colin Robertson.

00:37:05.060 --> 00:37:06.980

<v SPEAKER\_1>Thanks for joining us today on The Global Exchange.