

PERSPECTIVE ON NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY FRAMING

Public Safety as Component Policy of National Security

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Introduction

In the midst of global uncertainties, free nations strive for security as an existential goal. Security is a guarantee that their hard-fought independence, time-honored values, and acquired gains are safeguarded, cultivated, and defended. This is a primordial interest, a political imperative, and a policy objective that must be realized by understanding what this really means to a nation, and more so, what this is made up of as a decisive course of action for execution.

While national security has critical reference to the international system that is naturally competitive and anarchic, the abilities of sovereign states to secure their interests have crucial relations to their internal dynamics that are variably cohesive and/or chaotic. How well governments perform their functions of public administration and forge societal order greatly affect their security stature, policies, and relations with the rest of the world.¹ In the case of failing or failed states, their inability to ensure good governance, law and order, and public welfare in their domestic realms does not only threaten their own security, but also compromises regional stability and international order.

In Strategic Studies, national defense along with its military posture is a central policy area that defines and determines security along with other instruments of national power.² Since this field of study lies in the academic discipline of International Relations, national defense in

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¹ My perspective can be related to Hobson's interpretation of Katzenstein's sociological theory that the internal dynamics and traditional practices of a state affect its national security policies. The domestic agential power of the state, defined as the level of influence and control of the state over the society, determines the ability of the state to pursue its national interests and project power in the international community. [See John M. Hobson, The State and International Relations (Cambridge CB2 IRP: Virtual Publishing by Cambridge University Press for and on behalf of the Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 2000), pp. 166-167. [Look in <http://www.cambridge.org>]

² In a classic scholarly discourse on the subject of security, "the idea of *strategic studies* remaining a military focused specialism within the new security studies" is noteworthy. [See Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, and Jaap de Wilde, Security: A New Framework of Analysis (London, United Kingdom: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1998), p. 4.]

See also Roger Tooze and Craig Murphy, Strategic Studies and World Order (Cambridge, Great Britain: Cambridge University Press and the British International Studies Association, 1994), p.1.

the strategic setting is the classic concern.³ But when lawlessness, insurgency, terrorism, disasters, and even political instabilities are considered by government as matters of national security, public safety in the domestic scene is the critical component. In my perspective on national security, public safety is a constitutive policy that lies in the domain of the interior, the national police, and other law enforcement agencies that have the legitimate use of force within national borders.

In the scholarly field of Public Administration,⁴ public safety is a critical element of good governance for public good, order, and welfare. Public safety is a public policy that is concerned about the law and order; the protection of civil rights; and the safety of individuals, their properties, and communities from all kinds of crimes, violence, threats, disasters, and emergencies. In the sense, public safety is an internal peace and security policy, the foundation on which national defense can take off to the strategic plane.

Given its crucial footing in national security, public safety needs to be introduced in the mainstream of academic learning and policy-making on national security. More than a social construction or an academic innovation, public safety—like national defense—is a formal and institutionalized area of policy and administration. It is an essential constituent of the security sector, making the whole-of-nation approach function effectively as a strategy for national security. This is particularly true in a country whose government problematizes internal affairs as threats to state survival or national interests.

When government, as the case in the Philippines, declares it a policy to securitize even the usual delivery of basic services, public safety must have been a trendy terminology in the national security policy. It must have been a fashionable academic term in pragmatic studies of a development-oriented and domestically-inclined national security administration. Apparently, despite its inscription in the mandate of the police and the interior, as well as its integral function in internal security, public safety has not been part of the lexicon and literature of policy studies on national security in the Philippines. This glaring gap in the existing knowledge base needs to be filled up with substantive research on how public safety figures in a systems framework of national security policy-making.

In view of the foregoing, I intend in this *social-institutionalist*⁵ study to place in proper perspective the essential components that constitute a national security policy, with particular

³ Ibid., p. 21.

See also Scott Burchill, et al., Theories of International Relations Third Edition. (New York, USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

⁴ Public Administration is both a professional field and a scholarly discipline that is concerned about the formulation and implementation of government policies for public good, welfare, and interests. Public Administration also deals with the socio-cultural, economic, and political factors which bear on public policy. [See definition of Public Administration from Raul P De Guzman, “Is There a Philippine Public Administration?” in Introduction to Public Administration in the Philippines: A Reader, ed. by Bautista et. al. (Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press and the College of Public Administration. 1993), p. 4.]

⁵ In one of my lectures in the Policy Studies Course in the National Defense College of the Philippines in November 2014, I presented a matrix on “Cross Paradigmatic Approaches in Policy and Security Studies” that I developed from a review of the scholarly literature on national security policy studies. One of the variants of the

focus on the construct of public safety. From a theoretical viewpoint and strategic outlook, my objective is to frame public safety as a distinguished area of internal peace and security administration, juxtaposed with national defense as a specialized field of external security affairs.

Specifically, I seek to establish in the first part of this study the policy construct of public safety, taking into account its distinct domain and development in progressive countries and democracies. Against this backdrop, I plan to trace the creation of public safety institutions in the Philippines and their original mandates of reforming the previously militarized regime of public safety in the country.

In the second part of the paper, I attempt to construct a systems framework of national security policy that includes, among others, the component of public safety. To explain the constructed model, I will discuss its interconnected variables and functional components under the following subtopics:

- the strategic and domestic environments of national security policy;
- the international and domestic policy frameworks of national security;
- the influence of culture in the strategic and domestic realms;
- the national security policy and the necessity of crafting the strategy to execute it;
- the formulation of defense policy and its military strategy;
- the administration and governance of public safety; and,
- the policy goal and outcome of national security.

In the third part of the study, I will conclude by advancing the thought for analysts, policymakers, and administrators of national security to place this disciplined field of study and realist policy agenda in proper focus. A scholarly framing of national security policymaking will accentuate the key components that constitute it, as well as the arguments that compound it in the Philippine context.

Public Safety as a Policy Construct of National Security

Public safety, unlike national defense, is not popular in the literature of National Security Studies, the latter being a subfield of International Relations in the West.⁶ The international outlook on security is particularly pronounced in Strategic Studies of War Colleges that specialize on the military component of state power.⁷ But while public safety is not a key construct in this specialized academic field, this internal dimension of ensuring the safety and

mixed paradigms is what I called “social-institutionalist studies” that is a cross between realism and constructivism, and set under the sociology of regulation. A social institutionalist study seeks to institutionalize the meaning of national security as a social construction and as a course of action for decisive execution by government.

⁶ Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley, Understanding International Relations Third Edition (New York, USA: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp. 42-43.

⁷US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol I, ed. by J Boone Bartholomees, Jr (Pennsylvania, US: Army War College, 2012).

Strategy and Policy Phase II (Syllabus for Senior Level Course of the Joint Professional Military Education, US Naval War College, New Port, Rhode Island, 2012.)

general well-being of people is considered a core security interest in a comprehensive policy and strategy on national security.

The Domain and Development of Public Safety in Progressive Countries and Democracies

In the United States (US), the responsibility for the safety of the American people in their homeland is the domain of the civilian guards, law enforcement agencies, and citizens themselves. The charge of national and international security, on the other hand, is the purview of the military and diplomatic corps. Notably, the civilian character of security actors in the homeland or the inland is well-defined and rationalized in American policy and legal framework.

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Following the terrorist attacks in New York in September 2001, Congress legislated the Homeland Security Act of 2002 that shall protect the general public against acts and threats of terrorism within the US borders. The said Act broadened the regime of public safety from law enforcement, fire and disaster control, and other emergency response to customs, immigration, and border security.

The holistic approach to secure the homeland, with public safety as its base, aims to counter terrorism and transnational crime in ways that safeguard commerce, travel, critical infrastructure, and way of life of the American people. To guarantee all these against threats from the outside, the US aims to maintain its international influence and world leadership on the crusade against terror. This security policy is based on the belief that the homeland can not be secure if threats of terror loom unabated in the external environment that extends from the Middle East to Southeast Asia.

The homeland security concept is framed from a strategic viewpoint of commissioning major allies in the fight against terror abroad, while at the same time adopting a whole-of-community-approach of bringing together citizens, civil societies, local governments, and private sector at home. The overarching framework of homeland security is strategized to stand on a fortified regime of public safety within the borders of American society, and in a rules-based international order outside of the country.

The reinvigorated focus on homeland security vis-à-vis international security is underscored as a strategic line of action in the 2015 National Security Strategy (NSS) of the US. Strengthening the safety of the American public and the security of the homeland is prioritized

⁸ The Posse Comitatus Act (PCA) of 1878 in the United States (US) prohibits the employment and/or deployment of the US military forces on American soil. Promulgated during the era of Reconstruction in the US, the PCA makes it unlawful for the military to enforce civil laws—a function left to civilian government agencies. Specifically, the PCA states: “From and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful to employ any part of the Army of the United States, as a posse comitatus, or otherwise, for the purpose of executing laws, except in such cases and under circumstances as such employment of said force may be expressly authorized by the Constitution or by act of Congress.” [See Posse Comitatus Act, US Code, Title 18, sec 1385, 1878.]

alongside the goal of maintaining a highly equipped and best-trained national defense in the world.⁹

In Spain,¹⁰ specifically in its 2013 NSS, the policy domain of public safety is referred to as *public security* and/or *citizen security*¹¹ under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior and Local Government. This Ministry is responsible in particular for the following: preparation and implementation of government policy on public security; promotion of constitutional rights, such as freedom, civil liberties, and personal safety; and, heading and coordination of the non-military forces of the state.

The Spanish forces in charge of public order and security are composed of the national police with civilian status, and the civil guards with reserved military status. These forces are responsible for law enforcement, policing, intelligence, disaster control, public welfare, and general administration of their units. Counterterrorism, even if this has an international relations division in the Ministry, falls under the functional domain of the Interior. Aside from the area of counter terrorism, the police forces in Spain also cooperate with fellow European Union member states in the policy regimes of organized crimes, human trafficking, smuggling, disaster response, and crisis management.

In the US and Spain, it can be seen that there is delineation of the jurisdictions and functions of the military and the police, although both the armed forces and the civilian forces are involved in public security in times of war or national emergencies. As a policy of these countries, the public safety domain is better left to the national police and the interior, in collaboration with citizens and civic organizations, in public administration, rather than to the war fighting forces of the military for national defense and international relations. This organizing principle is the characteristic of the national security systems of developed countries and mature democracies.

Notably, the civilian character of state forces that are responsible for peace and order in the communities is the fundamental doctrine espoused for security sector reform of states that continue to use their militaries in community building and other civil functions. This ideal condition, however, may not be suited in an insurgency-affected country where its military acts as perpetual constabulary. But if the presence of the military in civilian communities has become permanent since a country's independence, I posit that the policy of military immersion is not the solution to systematic problems of underdevelopment in poorly-governed regions.

⁹ See the US National Security Strategy, February 2015 at https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf

¹⁰The case of Spain was noteworthy as a subject of analysis in national security policy-making. The Ministry of Interior or *Ministerio del Interior*, and the Ministry of Defense or *Ministerio de Defensa* in Madrid, Spain were visited by faculty and students of the National Defense College of the Philippines (NDCP) as part of their Regional Security and Development Studies in Europe in May 2015. One of the lessons learned by the NDCP delegation to Spain, which included the author, was the rationalization of the role of the police in public security—a jurisdiction that is outside of the military domain.

¹¹ See Spain “National Security Strategy, 2013: Sharing a Common Project” at <http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?id=177647>

The Creation of Public Safety Institutions in the Philippines

In the Philippines after the defunct authoritarian regime in 1986, the ratification of the Freedom Constitution in the following year rectified a formerly dictatorial administration and reconstructed it into a democratic governance. In this new period of Philippine administration, landmark policies were subsequently legislated to facilitate democratization, decentralization, rationalization of government functions, and other institutional reforms in the military and civilian bureaucracies.¹²

Part of the reform efforts was the transformation of the role of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) that had once ruled under a protracted martial law. Seen as an anomaly in a democracy, the involvement and empowerment of the military in governmental affairs were redressed by transferring its functions of public safety to the interior and national police. This policy is in accord with the democratic ideal of limiting the use of force, which refers to the deployment of the military, inside the country only under a state of emergency or war to protect the people and defend the national territory.¹³

In line with democratizing the security sector in the formerly authoritarian state, the military character of the Philippine Constabulary (PC)—as the oldest armed force responsible for internal security in the country—was civilianized by a landmark legislation in 1990. Republic Act (RA) 6975, otherwise known as the Department of Interior and Local Government Act of 1990, stipulated the establishment of the Philippine National Police (PNP) that was to be constituted by the mergence of the PC and the Integrated National Police (INP).¹⁴

As a result of RA 6975, the PC was then disbanded, removed from the Department of National Defense (DND), and integrated with the INP under the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG). The PC that was renamed to PNP was made to function as a civilian national police force with the mandate of ensuring internal peace and order through law enforcement and wide scale operations against organized crimes, among others.

¹²In my retrospective study of the Philippine Public Administration, I entitled the fifth and current period of administration from 1986 to contemporary times as “Democratic Governance and the Drive Towards Sustainable Development in a Globalized Economy.” This era of governance, which came as a result of the peaceful People Power Revolution in 1986, followed the defunct period of authoritarian administration under Ferdinand E Marcos from 1971 to 1985. [Ananda Devi Domingo-Almase, “Saga of Administrative Thought: An Analysis of the State of the Nation Addresses and Speeches of Philippine Presidents, 1935-2006” (Dissertation, National College of Public Administration and Governance, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, 2007).]

¹³For further reading on the primary function of external defense by the military, as the case in modern democratic states, see Jennifer Santiago Oreta, “Democratizing the Philippine Military: Challenges and Paradoxes” in *Transformation: A Security Sector Reform Reader* (Pasig City, Philippines: INCITEGov, 2012), p. 241.

¹⁴Under Chapter Three on the Philippine National Police Organization in RA 6975, Section 23 states that: “Subject to the limitations provided for in this Act, the Philippine National Police, hereinafter referred to as the PNP, is hereby established, initially consisting of the members of the police forces who were integrated into the Integrated National Police (INP) pursuant to Presidential Decree No. 765, and the officers and enlisted personnel of the Philippine Constabulary (PC).”

Aside from the PNP, the two other uniformed services under the DILG are the Bureau of Fire Protection and the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology.

The placement of the PNP under the DILG is consistent with the functions of the latter to promote peace and order, ensure public safety, strengthen local government capability, and facilitate effective delivery of basic services. Section 2 of RA 6975 declared that the performance of these functions shall be carried “through the establishment of a highly efficient and competent police force that is national in scope and civilian in character.” To realize this end, this Section further stated that: “the State shall bolster a system of coordination and cooperation among the citizenry, local executives and the integrated law enforcement and public safety agencies created under this Act.” It is clear from this policy statement that the regime of public safety lies in the domain of the interior whose tasks are primarily civilian in nature. This non-military character is paramount in the whole-of-community or whole-of-society approach in public safety which involves the active participation of citizens and civic organizations in their localities.

Within a period of two years after the enactment of RA 6975 in 1990, the primary responsibility for the conduct of counterinsurgency operations in local communities was to be transferred to the PNP. With the integration of the PC with the police force, the capabilities of a gendarmerie were purportedly carried by the former military force to the PNP. With this outlook, the AFP was envisioned to focus on its constitutional mandate of territorial defense—a charge that required legislating an act to modernize its defense capabilities. Section 12 of RA 6975 stated that the DILG “shall automatically take over from the AFP the primary role of preserving internal security, leaving to the AFP its primary role of preserving external security.”

In preparation for the eventual transfer of internal security operations to civilian forces, educational and training institutions in the tertiary and higher levels were established to professionalize a new breed of public safety officers in the Philippines. The Act that established the PNP under a reorganized DILG in 1990 also created the Philippine Public Safety College (PPSC) to stand as the premier educational institution for the training, human resource development, and continuing education of all personnel of the PNP, Fire, and Jail Bureaus.¹⁵ Section 67 of RA 6975 provided that the PPSC shall be composed of the Philippine National Police Academy (PNPA), the National Police College, the Fire Service Training Center, the Philippine National Training Center, as well as other special training centers on public safety which may be created by the DILG.

In particular, the PNPA was established in 1991 with a mission to conduct a four-year Bachelor of Science degree course, major in Public Safety, to cadets. Graduates of the PNPA shall be commissioned as Inspectors in the tri-services of the DILG that include the PNP, the Bureau of Fire Protection, and the Bureau of Jail Management and Penology. The PNPA was envisioned to be the equivalent of the cadetship program of the Philippine Military Academy in the AFP in terms of producing highly trained and competent candidate officers that will lead in the professional administration of public safety in the country.

¹⁵ See Section 66, Chapter VI on the Creation of the Philippine Public Safety College in RA 6975.

The creation of the PPSC and the PNPA in the early 1990s sought to institutionalize public safety not just as a disciplined course and continuing education for the police and other civilian uniformed personnel, but also as a distinct field of policy and administration. Significantly, these degree-granting institutions on public safety launched a re-founded construct in security—that is, the protection of the people, their communities, and the rule of law through civilian control and citizen participation. Consistent with the principle of security sector reform, the new policy direction in public safety was taken as a major step towards resolving the problems of instabilities and insurgencies which were seen to have been aggravated by the martial law in the 1970s.

However, the prospect of transferring the primary responsibility for internal security of the military to the PNP has not been realized twenty five years after the promulgation of RA 6975 in 1990. It must be taken into account that while this Act provided for the eventual transfer of internal security functions to the PNP, it also stipulated that the President may call upon the AFP to assume the primary role for counter-insurgency operations in areas necessitating the deployment of large-scale military forces.¹⁶ Apparently, this blanket authority of the President as the Commander-in-chief to deploy military forces, as deemed necessary for internal security, blurs the line between public safety and national defense in traditional practice.

To ensure that insurgencies were defeated as a matter of national security, the deployment of the military in conflict areas, even in normal times, was enacted in the 1998 amendment to RA 6975.¹⁷ The new Act, known as the “Philippine National Police Reform and Reorganization Act of 1998” or RA 8551, declared that the PNP shall continue to be a community- and service-oriented agency that is responsible for the maintenance of peace and order and public safety. In line with this, however, the amendment sought for the relief of counter-insurgency operations from the PNP that shall only act as support to the AFP, particularly in information gathering. In cases when the President may call on the support of the PNP, the latter shall aid in combat operations of the military.

¹⁶ Section 12 of Republic Act 6975 stated the following: “During a period of twenty-four (24) months from the effectivity of this Act, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) shall continue its present role of preserving the internal and external security of the State: Provided, That said period may be extended by the President, if he finds it justifiable, for another period not exceeding twenty-four (24) months, after which, the Department shall automatically take over from the AFP the primary role of preserving internal security, leaving to the AFP its primary role of preserving external security. However, even after the Department has assumed primary responsibility on matters affecting internal security, including the suppression of insurgency, and there are serious threats to national security and public order, such as where insurgents have gained considerable foothold in the community thereby necessitating the employment of bigger tactical forces and the utilization of higher caliber armaments and better armored vehicles, the President may, upon recommendation of the peace and order council, call upon the Armed Forces of the Philippines to assume the primary role and the Philippine National Police (PNP) to play the supportive role in the area concerned.” (Underline provided.)

¹⁷ See Republic Act No. 8551 dated 25 February 1998 with the comprehensive title “An Act Providing for the Reform and Reorganization of the Philippine National Police and for Other Purposes, Amending Certain Provisions of Republic Act Numbered Sixty-Nine Hundred and Seventy-Five Entitled, “An Act Establishing the Philippine National Police Under a Re-organized Department of the Interior and Local Government, and For Other Purposes.”

Until when this legislation stands, while the modernization programs of the PNP and the AFP stagger, is an important policy question that needs to be addressed in framing Philippine security in this century. Nevertheless, the construct of public safety that is distinct from national defense can be taken as a foundation for policy development of national security administration.

The Policy Framework of National Defense and Security With the Component Function of Public Safety

National security, as an enduring principle and objective of the state, is communicated in the language of policy¹⁸ and strategy¹⁹. The national security policy communicates to the world what the state intends to do, based on its culture and conviction, to promote and protect its interests. Moreover, the policy communication articulates how the strategic direction shall be pursued by the state using the means and resources that it can muster to get through and go there. A clear policy guideline on a national and strategic level directs the systematic, albeit complex, process of policy-making on national security.

In this part of the study, I draw a broad picture of the policy dynamics of national security with the end view of defining the fundamental areas that really matter on a high level of policy and strategy.²⁰ In constructing the framework in Figure 1, I identify the main variables, define their logic and linkages in the policy system, and set these in a dynamic security environment. At the center of the model are the policy components of national defense that connects to the strategic plane, and of public safety administration and governance that lies in the domestic domain. While the focus may appear to be on these two components, the conceptual framework obviously does not rule out social constructions which shape the politics and economics of national security policymaking.

¹⁸In the National Security Studies of the US Army War College, policy is defined in connection with strategy. The two must be tightly aligned to the objectives set by policy. [Alan G Stolberg, "Making National Security Policy in the 21st Century" in US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues, Volume II: National Security Policy and Strategy ed. by J Boone Bartholomees, Jr. (USA: Carlisle Barracks, PA, 2012), p. 41.]

For Pobre, "policies on security refer to the modes of dealing with the security environment in a way that their formulation is in essence the 'forming of intentions' . . . which include actions as well as statements of principles and inspirations." [Cesar P Pobre, "Trends in Security Thought," National Security Review: Re-Awakenings (Quezon City: National Defense College of the Philippines, 2013), p. 11.]

¹⁹The US War College defines strategy both as a concept and as an academic term in the continuum of security policy. Conceptually, strategy is defined as the relationship among ends, ways, and means. Academically, it means "the skillful formulation, coordination, and application of ends (objectives), ways (courses of action), and means (supporting resources) to promote and defend the national interests." [Robert H Dorff, "A Primer in Strategy Development" in US Army War College Guide to Strategy ed by Joseph R Cerami and James F Holcomb, Jr (Pennsylvania, US: Strategic Studies Institute, Army War College, 2001), p. 11.]

²⁰I drafted the initial framework of national security policy-making in February 2015 for reference in the formulation of the territorial defense doctrine of the Strategy and Policy Division (SPD), Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Plans (OJ5), Armed Forces of the Philippines. The direction for national defense policy came from Col Eugene Erwin Martinez, the SPC Chief in OJ5.

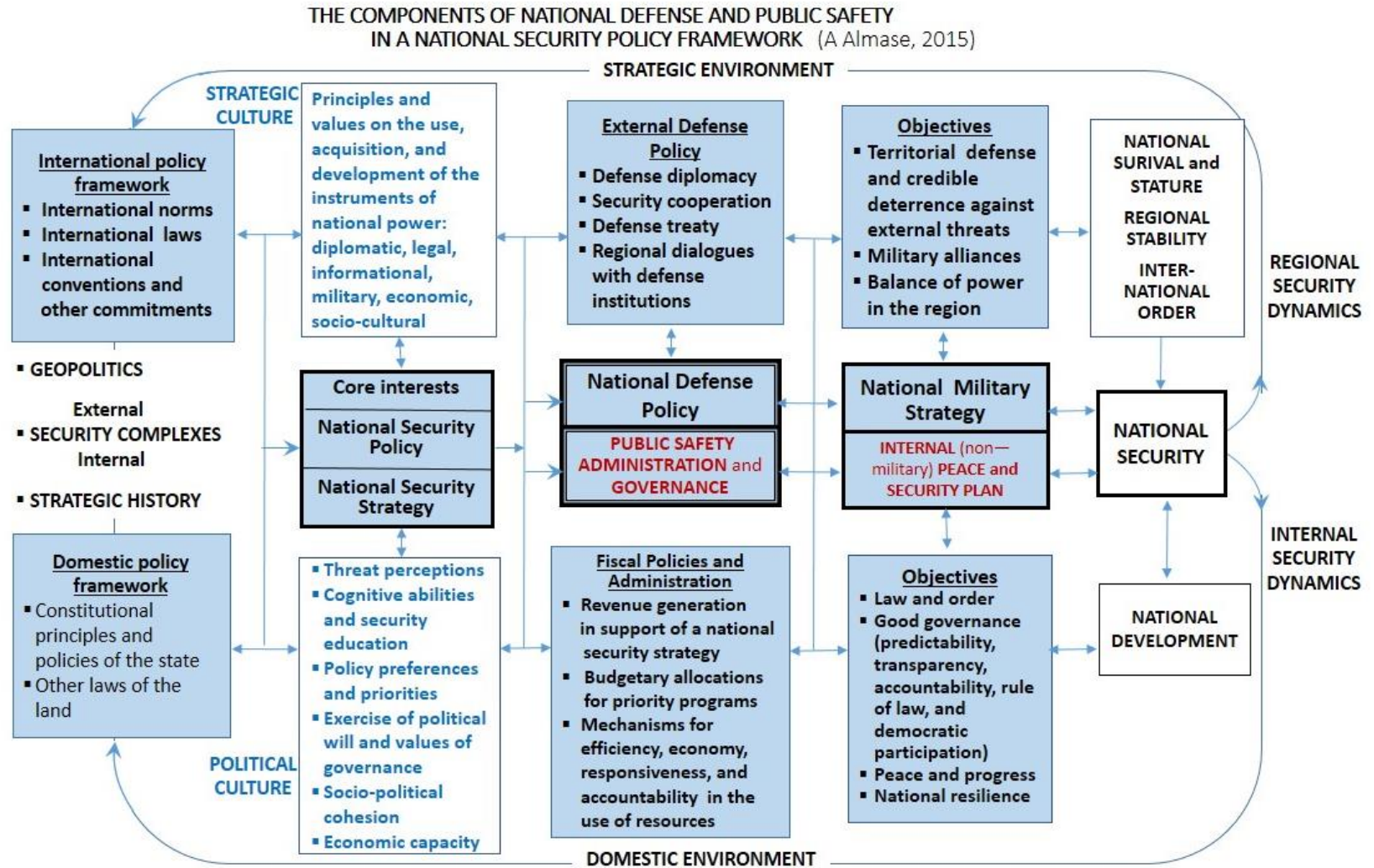


Figure 1.

The constructed framework serves as an analytical map in a policy study that I characterize as *social-institutionalist*. This genre of study is one of the variants of mixing the two fundamental paradigms of *realism* and *constructivism* in Security Studies. The realist worldview is centered on armed threats, national defense, economic capability, balance of power, military alliance, etc.; while the constructivist viewpoint is concerned about norms, threat perceptions, political culture, socialization, cooperation, etc.²¹

To note, the social-institutionalist policy model in this study is framed in an assumption of a societal condition that, to a certain extent, can be regulated. In Organization Studies, this condition is what is termed as the *sociology of regulation*.²² The societal context of regulation, as the objective of policy in security, assumes that the social world is structured according to rational and functional elements that are capable of sustaining order. In this kind of a system, institutional arrangements are formalized and reinforced through collective rationality, legal frameworks, and coercive measures.

The Strategic and Domestic Environments of National Security Policy

It can be seen in the policy framework in Figure 1 that the dynamics of national security policy operate in a complex and volatile environment that encompasses the internal and external, or what I label as the domestic and strategic. In this policy system, I describe the environment as not just a natural or geographical setting where external and internal security problems—both traditional and non-traditional—threaten the region, the country, societies, institutions, and individuals. Rather, the security environment must also be understood as a regime²³ of values and interests, policy actors and administrators, decision-making processes and institutional arrangements, geopolitics, and historical dynamics. The policy environment also hosts other forces, factors, and fetters that influence the complex system.

Let me begin with a description of the domestic level, which is relatively predictable and controllable. This is where policy and strategy are formulated and decided by the state to promote its security interests. The strategic level, on the other hand, is highly volatile and

²¹ I presented the interpretive comparison of the realist standpoint and the constructivist viewpoint in my lecture on “The Philippine National Security and the Problematique of Forging a Real Strategy” to the Senior Executive Course on National Security in the National Defense College of the Philippines in July 2015. Realism and constructivism are the two fundamental perspectives in the academic literature of Security Studies. Realist security studies, which are centered on securing the state and defending its interests, examine security realities in a natural environment to which states adapt. Constructivist security studies, which are concerned about fostering regional cooperation and fostering comprehensive security, seek to understand security dynamics in a social world that is constructed by people. [For further reading on realism and constructivism, see Jennifer Sterling-Folker, “Realism and the Constructivist Challenge: Rejecting, Reconstructing, or Rereading,” (USA: International Studies Association, 2002).]

²²Gibson Burrell and Gareth Morgan, *Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis* (Burlington, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1979) p. 17.

²³See discussions on regime perspectives in Peter J. May and Ashley E. Jochim, “Policy Regime Perspectives: Policies, Politics, and Governing,” *Policy Studies Journal* Volume 41, Issue 3 (2013), pp. 426-452.

uncertain, especially in a region of geographically clustered states. This is where the policies and strategies are executed by multiple state actors that either compete or cooperate to protect their national interests. Under this condition, a security problem cannot be simply solved by a policy within the powers and jurisdiction of a state. Rather, a security dilemma is intricately resolved by strategies wielded by competing powers and interests of several states in a region of conflict or in a regime of common security concerns.²⁴

In an uncertain world where no sovereign state has unilateral control, security is pursued as a policy goal and planned out as a strategic objective by different countries. That the security of a nation-state is set in this complex environment needs to be emphasized as a precursor in policy and strategy formulation. This will frame national security as a policy problem that calls for thorough analysis and well-calculated solutions, even if only from the standpoint of policy actors in the domestic domain. But knowledge of the internal political dynamics is critical in understanding how national security decision-making is determined realistically by the dominant interests of policy actors, rather than ideally by the rational processes of policy analysis or strategic study.²⁵

In the 2011-2016 National Security Policy (NSP) in the Philippines, the external security environment is described as being faced with geopolitical issues involving the United States (US), Japan, China, and the Southeast Asian countries. Specifically, the NSP sees as a security issue the overlapping territorial and maritime claims in the South China Sea that the Philippine President, in his 2012 Administrative Order, renamed as the West Philippine Sea. The NSP also views tension in the Korean Peninsula, military build-up, and weapons of mass destruction in the region as part of the external security environment.²⁶

On the whole, the NSP describes the security environment as uncertain but nevertheless unlikely to be confronted by external aggression, only by a protracted communist insurgency and secessionist rebellion in the country. Aside from these, the NSP states that internal security is threatened by terrorism and weak institutions. The latter, as outlined in the NSP, refer to partisan armed groups, criminality, graft and corruption, and poverty.²⁷

To note, the character of the Philippines as a maritime country, which could have defined its security landscape and geopolitical dynamics, is not mentioned in the security environment or what is called as “strategic context” in the NSP. Rather, the latter dubs the Philippines as “a

²⁴ For discussions on Regional Security Complex Theory, see Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, Regions and Powers (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

²⁵Richard Norton, “Understanding the Policy-Making Process,” Case Studies in Policy-Making 12th Edition ed. by Alvi and Gvosdev (Newport, Rhode Island: U.S. Naval War College, 2010), p. 5.

²⁶See “2011-2016 National Security Policy: Securing the Gains of Democracy,” pp. 11-14. [Look in <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2011/08aug/NATIONAL-SECURITY-POLICY-2011-2016.pdf>]

²⁷Apart from those listed under the internal and external environment in the 2011-2016 National Security Policy (NSP), the “strategic issues”—as these are called in the NSP—pertain to the following: (1) overseas Filipino migrants and workers; (2) transnational crimes, which include international terrorism, illegal drugs, piracy at sea, trafficking of small arms, and cybercrimes; (3) climate change and global warming; (4) environmental degradation; (5) disasters and crisis; (6) health concerns; and, (7) resource issues, which include food, human resources, and energy. [See the 2011-2016 National Security Policy, pp. 19-23.]

developing country” and as “an ASEAN Nation” “facing the challenges of governance.”²⁸ Such preferred titles and identities only communicate the kind of interests the country has in its perceived security environment. When viewed from an academic perspective of security experts, the identity of the Philippines as a maritime and archipelagic state, as well as its focal interest on maritime security, is made clear at the outset of a policy discourse on national security.²⁹

The International and Domestic Policy Frameworks of National Security

The policy baselines of national security in Figure 1 are founded on both domestic and international laws that govern the decisions, actions, and behavior of the state. The harmonization of the two levels of policy regimes is enshrined in the 1987 Freedom Constitution in the Philippines, particularly in Article II on Declaration of Principles and Policies of the State. Section 1 of this Article declares that the country is a democratic republic where sovereignty resides in and emanates from the people. Section 2 states that: “The Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy, adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as part of the law of the land and adheres to the policy of peace, equality, justice, freedom, cooperation, and amity with all nations.”

The proceeding Sections in Article II of the Philippine Constitution, which relate to the first and second Sections cited above, provide primary guidelines on national security policymaking. Section 3 declares that the role of the Armed Forces of the Philippines or AFP is to protect the people and the state, as well as secure the integrity of the national territory—the latter of which is defined in Article I of the Constitution.

Section 4 of Article II reiterates the prime duty of government to protect and serve the people. But while government exists in the service of the people, Section 4 also calls for the patriotic duty of citizens who may be called upon by the state for national defense in times of war or emergency. Towards this end, the Constitution stipulates that “all citizens may be required, under conditions provided by law, to render personal, military or civil service.” Juxtaposed with national defense, Section 5 gives utmost importance to the maintenance of peace and order; the protection of life, liberty, and property; as well as the promotion of the general welfare of the people in order for them to enjoy the gains and blessings of democracy.

The principles and policies declared in the first Sections of Article II in the Philippine Constitution are in accord with international norms, laws, and agreements that guide the security policies of peace-loving states in their domestic and strategic realms. One of the international

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 7-10.

²⁹ Dr Renato C. De Castro, in his concept paper on “National Defense and Regional Security,” described in the beginning the geographical make-up of the Philippines which consists of 7,107 islands and of a maritime stretch of 1,850 kilometers, among others. With this, the country is introduced and identified as a maritime and archipelagic state, an identity that has critical implications on national security and strategy. [Renato C. De Castro, “National Defense and Regional Security,” (Concept paper for the roundtable discussion on National Defense and Regional Security of the ADR Institute for Strategic and International Studies at the Tower Club, 33/F Philamlife Tower, Makati City on 27 August 2015).]

norms is adherence to a rules-based international order such as respect for national sovereignties and territories; freedom of navigation; diplomacy and amity; and freedom from aggression, threats, and acts of terror. Other enduring and evolving principles include democracy, good governance, self-determination, human rights, poverty alleviation, gender and development, economic liberalization, sustainable environment, as well as security sector reform.

In the pursuit of the aforementioned international principles, countries enter into treaties, conventions, and agreements and translate these into domestic laws and policies for implementation. The complex nature of an interconnected world warrants global and regional partnerships with countries that are bound together by common values and interests. The principle of cooperation and collective action works on the premise that no single country or super power can address global risks and threats on national and international security.³⁰

The borderless security environment of interdependent policy actors—both state and non-state, as well as local and international—is what makes the policy field complex and even complicated.³¹ The ability and capacity to be secure in this milieu requires comprehensive approaches and synergies of institutions, societies, governments, states, and the international community. The relations between and among these component entities, in the pursuit of seamless internal and external security, are guided by international and domestic policies that in turn direct the employment of national strategies and integrated operations.

The Influence of Culture in the Strategic and Domestic Realms

What determines a security policy in a country, however, is not just guided by existing principles, agreements, and laws in the international community and domestic society; nor is it merely driven by emerging threats and events in the external and internal environments. Significantly, a security policy is also shaped by prevailing values, interests, worldview, identity, customs, traditions, and threat perceptions of a nation-state or of its political leaders that make the policy.³²

The historical experience and sentiments, as evoked by policy actors, also influence the socio-political dynamics of policy-making on national security. Thus, a policy on national security—especially the meaning on which it is founded, is subject to different interpretations and social constructions. Subjective notions on security are based on values and cultural inclinations, threat perceptions and insecurities, political positions and economic conditions, as well as education and conceptual abilities.

³⁰ The course topic on “Foundations of Security Cooperation” was designed and lectured by Dr Justin Nankivell—the Course Director for the Advanced Security Cooperation (ASC) Course 2012-1 that I attended in the Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) in Honolulu, Hawaii, USA in 2012.

³¹ The course topic on “Introduction to Complex Problems” was presented by Prof Kerylynn Nankivell along with Dr Campbell, Prof Finley, and Ms Markovinovic for the ASC Course in APCSS in 2012.

³² For discussions on how culture and identity affect the politics of national security, see Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

Duffield, in his academic journal on “Political Culture and State Behavior” (1999), provides a comprehensive description of how culture affects the national security policy. As he wrote: “The overall effect of national security culture is to predispose societies in general and political elites in particular towards certain actions and policies over others. Some options will simply not be imagined...Some are more likely be rejected as inappropriate or ineffective than others.”³³

For Sheperd, in his article on “Navigating the Linkage Between Culture and Strategy” (2012), the value of using the analytical cultural framework is to understand “how actors see themselves, define their purpose or reason for existence, mobilize political power, organize politically and socially, conceive of security, ask security-related questions, use force, and adapt to or resist changes in their relationship to the strategic environment.”³⁴ Sheperd’s analysis, as well as other similar studies, shows how the culture of political and strategic actors weaves through their thought processes and impacts on the development of policy and strategy, down to operations and tactics of the military.³⁵

It can be noted in the conceptual framework in Figure 1 that I connect the international and domestic policy frameworks of national security policy to *strategic culture* and *political culture* that inform and reinforce each other. In general, the cultures of politics and of strategic thinking refer to value formations, threat perceptions, and even cognitive limitations of policy and strategic actors that act on matters of national security. But with reference to my conceptual model, I would like to distinguish strategic culture and political culture in terms of their practice and application in their own policy regimes. In this regard, I illustrate that the political culture is practiced in the domestic setting of policymaking below, while strategic culture is applied to the uncertain and volatile environment above or outside of the state.

Political culture is a mindset that enables political leaders and policymakers to see issues of public interest, focus on problems of utmost importance, set these on the policy table, choose from among alternative solutions, and make decisions for the public good.³⁶ It is a disposition that shows where political leaders stand on policy issues and how they conform to socially accepted values and expectations, shape public opinion, and rally the people towards a national direction.

³³ John S. Duffield, “Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism,” International Organization 53, No. 4 (1999), p. 771.

³⁴Thomas Sheperd, “Navigating the Linkage Between Culture and Strategy: A Guide to Understanding the Analytical Cultural Framework for Strategy and Policy,” US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues: National Security Policy and Strategy Volume II ed. by J Boone Bartholomees, Jr. (USA: Carlisle Barracks, PA, 2012), pp. 275-276.

³⁵Ibid., p. 277.

³⁶Lantis, in “Strategic Culture and National Security Policy” defines political culture by quoting Elkins and Simeon who wrote in 1979 that: “Political culture consists of assumptions about the political world...that focus attention on certain features of events, institutions, and behaviour, define the realm of the possible, identify the problems deemed pertinent, and set the range of alternatives among which the members of the population make decisions.” [See Jeffrey S. Lantis, “Strategic Culture and National Security,” International Studies Association (Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), p. 91.

As I presented in the conceptual framework in Figure 1, policies that are products of political culture are then translated into fiscal policies. It must be noted that fiscal policies essentially form part of a national strategy, as these are the means by which the ends of policy can be realized. Specifically, these policies include the following components: revenue generation in support of a security policy; budgetary allocations for priority programs; as well as mechanisms for efficiency, economy, responsiveness, and public accountability in the use of resources to meet the policy ends.³⁷

Political culture, which guides decision-making, is above policy. Ideally, what makes a policy morally compelling is a function of culture. This idea, however, works on the premise that the principles embedded in policy are aligned with the norms, traditions, and practices of a socially cohesive political community of a unitary state.³⁸ But if the culture in an internally differentiated or disintegrated society is problematic, traditional practice prevails over policy, acting as fetters to public consensus, peace and order, and strategic national direction.

Strategic culture, on the other hand, rests on the cultural base of domestic politics where decisions and policies are made. De Castro, in his journal article on “Philippine Strategic Culture: Continuity in the Face of Changing Regional Dynamics” (2014), describes this culture as a belief system that “sets the parameters of politically legitimate preferences in security policies, affects how the society conceives its strategic interests, and determines strategic priorities.”³⁹

Related to strategic culture is *strategic history*, which refers to the ability and sensitivity of a state to learn from the outcomes and impacts of security policies in the past. A substantial examination of historical experience requires a strategic thought of using it as a resource to chart the future by continuing or changing the trajectories of the past.⁴⁰

Strategic culture, thus, is a worldview that makes it possible for a state to look beyond its shores or boundaries for threats and opportunities; relate with other states in the region; and, more importantly, use its elements of power—diplomatic, economic, informational, military,

³⁷ The critical role of Congress for budgetary support to a national security strategy (NSS) is articulated in principle and practice by President Barack Obama in his message in the 2015 NSS of the United States (US). As the President writes: “The challenges we face require strategic patience and persistence. They require us to take our responsibilities seriously and make the smart investments in the foundations of our national power. . . I will continue to insist on budgets that safeguard our strength and work with Congress to end sequestration, which undercuts our national security.” [See the Message of the President in the US 2015 National Security Strategy.]

³⁸In a journal article in *Public Administration*, I wrote that politics, to have normative value to the administration of policies and public institutions, must be developed as a powerful tool to strengthen institutions, instill reforms, give direction to the bureaucracy, and stir the citizenry into a common aspiration for national prosperity with equity. [See Ananda Devi Domingo-Almase, “Public Administration and Political Determination: A Review of Theoretical and Rhetorical Notions in ‘Healing the Nation’” *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* Vol XLVIII, No. 3 (July 2004), p. 278.]

³⁹ See Renato C De Castro, “Philippine Strategic Culture: Continuity in the Face of Changing Regional Dynamics” in *Contemporary Security Policy* (2014). [Look in <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/fcsp20>]

⁴⁰Colin S Gray, *Defense Planning for National Security: Navigation Aids for the Mystery Tour* (Carlisle, PA: US Army War College Press, 2014), pp.3-4. [Look in <http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>]

etc.—to advance and safeguard national interests.⁴¹ Being strategic also looks at the bigger picture on a system wide level where the interests to be protected transcend the parochial and competing agenda of various interest groups; outlive the political terms of self-interested policy-makers; and, symbolize what it means as a nation in a community of other sovereign states.

The National Security Policy and the Necessity of Crafting the Strategy to Execute It

The determination of national interests, based on the political dynamics and strategic culture of a state, is crucial in making a policy to realize national security objectives in the internal and external security complexes.⁴² How a nation sees what its core security interests are, from among the rest of public demands, requires correct theoretical perspective and policy framework on what a security problem is all about and what could be done to address this.⁴³

The President—with his constitutional functions as Chief of State, Chief Architect of Foreign Policy, and Commander-in-Chief, among others—is primarily responsible for defining issues of national security, and setting these as the agenda on the policy table.⁴⁴ Given the high politics involved in issues of vital, common, and competing interests of geographically clustered countries, the formulation of security policy and strategy is the domain of the highest political leader in the country. This, the President does in consultations with the National Security Council or cluster at the cabinet level. As I wrote earlier, a policy on national security is guided by constitutional policies, national laws, as well as international norms and agreements.

In view of the essence of a national security policy, I would like to pose some issues and frame these into questions, although rhetorical, to start up the conversations on what to do about security. Firstly, how do national leaders and policy-makers see national security and translate this into policy? How does the nation learn from the past, and how do the lessons from history get into the strategic appraisal of policymakers, if ever these were taken into consideration in the first place? How do policymakers change or continue, with decisive policy action and indeterminate inaction, the state of the nation today? How do they use as reference the international and domestic policy frameworks to define what the core national interests are; and what do they do to promote and protect these using the elements of national power?

The promulgation of the 2011-2016 National Security Policy or NSP by President Benigno S Aquino III should have provided an unambiguous definition of a national security goal that shall guide the formulation of strategy. However, the policy guideline issued by the

⁴¹ See Dennis M Drew and Donald M Snow, Making Strategy: An Introduction to National Security Processes and Problems (Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 1988).

⁴² For discussions on security complexes in national and regional levels, see Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, pp. 15-19.

⁴³That the identification of national interests is a crucial starting point for the development of policy and strategy is emphasized by scholars and security practitioners, particularly in countries where this field is highly regarded and professionalized. [Stolberg, 2012, p. 13.]

⁴⁴Ananda Devi Domingo-Almase, “What the Subject of Security Really Means: A Look Into the Content and Context of the 2011-2016 National Security Policy in the Philippines,” National Security Review (Quezon City: National Defense College of the Philippines, 2013), p. 92.

President on national security policymaking is far from the true nature of the latter in the strategic environment where it should primarily be directed.

Notably, the crafting of the NSP was made according to the four key elements provided for in the Message of the President in the said policy document. These elements are: 1) good governance; 2) delivery of basic services; 3) economic reconstruction; and 4) security sector reform. Aside from these, another set of elements that are said to comprise national security are as follows: 1) socio-political stability; 2) territorial integrity; 3) economic solidarity; 4) ecological balance; 5) cultural cohesiveness; 6) moral-spiritual consensus; and 7) peace and harmony.

Along with the aforementioned “elements,” it is also emphasized at the outset of the NSP that its anchor is the President’s Social Contract with sixteen objectives which are as follows: 1) transformational leadership; 2) job generation; 3) education; 4) reproductive health care; 5) impartial justice system; 6) execution of the rule of law; 7) food security; 8) capacity-building for the poor; 9) economic competition; 10) protection for overseas Filipino workers; 11) merit and fitness in government service; 12) professional bureaucracy; 13) gender equality; 14) peace and development in Mindanao; 15) urban development and welfare development; and 16) sustainable use of resources.⁴⁵

Given the compounded elements and objectives of a people-centered and development-oriented NSP, the policy question that I want to articulate at this stage is—in what strategic direction in a complex world does the Philippines, which surely is not a closed state, aim to make a headway in terms of protecting its vital security interests? Specifically, how does a people-centered security policy augur for the modernization of the defense capabilities of the military, as well as the transformation of the national police that is supposed to take over the interior functions of peace and security? As it appears, the NSP falls short of defining the role and rationale of the armed forces as well as the national police and other civilian uniformed agencies in national security. It must be noted that the legitimate use of force to protect national interests is, in theory and praxis, the crux of a national security policy and strategy.

The NSP, if this were truly regarded as a milestone in Philippine administrative history, would essentially need a national security strategy that will connect the ends of policy with the required ways and means.⁴⁶ A strategy on national security is a country’s master plan of promoting and protecting its sovereignty, territorial integrity, economic lifeblood, democratic values, and national integrity.

A national security strategy is a logical requirement of the NSP which may not need to be promulgated nor published separately from the former. A national security strategy, which is a

⁴⁵ See “2011-2016 National Security Policy,” pp. 5-6.

⁴⁶The United States Department of Defense defined strategy as the “art and science of developing and using the political, economic, and psychological powers of a nation, together with its armed forces during peace and war, to secure national objectives.” [See David Jablonsky, “Why Is Strategy Difficult?” in US Army War College Guide to National Security Issues Vol I, ed. by J Boone Bartholomees, Jr (Pennsylvania, US: Army War College, 2012), p. 9.]

more important document, is what will execute the policy declaration in real terms. It shall provide the ways and means to attain the ends of policy in an environment that is volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous. It is in this context that a strategy is wielded by a state in order for it to survive, prosper, and prevail.

A national security strategy employs, as well as develops, all instruments of national power—diplomatic, economic, military, informational, and moral, among others—to protect core national interests against threats. Through the praxis of statecraft, these instruments of power are brought to play strategically to advance security interests in a region characterized by complex patterns of amity and enmity.⁴⁷ A national security strategy, in the sense, is a foreign policy that positions a state in regional security dynamics and connects it to the international political system. Strategy sets out adaptive ways, through various crossroads and decision points, on the effective and acceptable uses of the instruments of national power to influence and/or gain advantage over other security players.

But again, to be able to craft a strategy that shall skilfully play on the advantages and resources of the state, there must be a clear policy objective or security goal that demands the highest priority and attention by the state. Unfortunately, despite the publication of the NSP in 2011, its long list of priorities—from delivery of basic services to performance of other regular government functions—has kept the country away from a strategic focus on security.

The Formulation of Defense Policy and Its Military Strategy

National defense is a core and enduring interest of free nations, which does not need to be “securitized” in different periods and moods of administration.⁴⁸ Regardless of what government is in power, according to Stolberg (2012), such interest is a fixed component of the policy-making process.⁴⁹ This is because the essence and relevance of national defense is constitutional and institutionalized in all independent countries. In fact, the maintenance of a capable armed forces by a sovereign state symbolizes and safeguards that independence, an ideal that makes the military a symbol and source of national pride.

For Morgenthau (1967), a core security interest, such as national defense, is “unaffected by the circumstances of time and place,” being a permanent feature of an anarchic international political system.⁵⁰ Related to this strategic view is Drew and Snow’s (1988) perspective of security interest as something that “normally do(es) not exist within domestic society, but only within the relations (international politics) between sovereign nation-states.” Drew and Snow

⁴⁷ Buzan, Waever, de Wilde, 1998, p. 14.

See also H. Richard Yarger, “Towards A Theory of Strategy: Art Lykke and the Army War College Strategy Model.” [Look in <http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/army-usawc/stratpap.htm>.]

⁴⁸ Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁹ Stolberg, 2012, p. 15.

⁵⁰ See Hans J Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations Fourth Edition (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1967), p. 8, as quoted in Stolberg, 2012, p. 15.

define this vital interest as “one which the nation is unwilling to compromise” and “one over which a nation would go to war.”⁵¹

But whether in times of war or peace, national defense is the top security interest enshrined in the national security strategies of progressive countries with developed democracies.⁵² A highly-equipped and trained armed forces is the cornerstone of a credible and capable national defense. The quality and capability of a country’s defense posture is a reflection of national strength or the lack of it. That a strong national defense is the bedrock of national security,⁵³ as a principle in developed countries, is incontestable for a people with a strong sense of nationhood, political development, and strategic culture. I pose that more than the economic base, the patriotic duty and political unity of a national society is what makes national defense, especially the armed forces, a priority in a national security strategy. How people and political leaders value national defense and the armed forces reveals a strategic outlook or myopic view of national security.

As I earlier discussed and problematized, a national security strategy is wanting in the Philippines in spite of the promulgation of the 2011-2016 National Security Policy or NSP. In the praxis of national security, the clearest application of strategy—a term derived from the military—is precisely on the rational or just use of force.⁵⁴ While this classic notion can be debunked by the general use of strategy in peacetime, it cannot be discounted that the military posture plays a great deal in power politics and statecraft of strategic actors. The military thus remains the conventional element of national power and leverage for political diplomacy of states in a threat-based adversarial environment.⁵⁵ It must be noted that even in the widening of the security agenda, the narrow traditionalist position stays in its core. This is especially true in

⁵¹ Drew and Snow, 1988.

⁵² In the National Security Strategy of the United States (US) in 2015, as well as in 2010, the security of the US, its citizens, allies, and partners comes first among the four national interests. Security as the top priority is followed by the interests on economic growth in an open international economic system; democratic values; and rules-based international order advanced by U.S. leadership. [See the US National Security Strategy February 2015 at https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf]

The 2013 National Security Strategy of Japan, on the other hand, writes that: “Japan’s national interests are, first and foremost, to maintain its sovereignty and independence; to defend its territorial integrity; to ensure the safety of life, person, and properties of its nationals, and to ensure its survival,” among others. To safeguard its core national interests, Japan seeks to achieve the following national security objectives: strengthen the deterrence necessary for maintaining peace and security of Japan by defeating the threat before it could reach the country; improve the security environment of the Asia Pacific Region by strengthening the Japan-US alliance; and, improve the global security environment by strengthening international order and playing a pro-active role in the settlement of disputes. [See National Security Strategy of Japan in 2013, pp.4-5.]

⁵³ The principle of “a strong military is the bedrock of national security” is emphasized in the policy statement to strengthen national defense in the United States (US). [See the US National Security Policy, February 2015, p. 7.]

⁵⁴ See Drew and Snow, 1988.

For discussions on the moral use of force, read theory of just war in Michael Walzer, *Arguing About War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. ix-xv.

⁵⁵ The nature of the security environment that is adversarial is described as a premise in the Strategy and Policy Course of the College of Naval Warfare and Naval Command College. As the syllabus of the said Course states, “(s)trategy is about interaction, as adversaries seek to frustrate the best-laid out plans in war and overturn the peace imposed upon them. A good strategic leader must anticipate the dynamics of interaction in a contest against determined foes.” [See Strategy and Policy, 2012, p. 4.]

the substance of Strategic Studies with “a military focused specialism within the new security studies.”⁵⁶

Defense policy, logically, is drawn from a national security strategy. With this, no amount of quantitative and qualitative analyses on the right mix of ways and means for defense preparation and force planning can suffice for the lack of policy and strategic direction.⁵⁷ As Gray (2014) writes in defense planning for national security, in order for defense policy to prosper or proceed, “the country first must decide whether, what, when, where, and how, it may like to exercise an option for military action,”—an issue which a national security policy and strategy must address with clarity.

For instance, foremost in the national security objectives of Japan is a policy statement on the use of force. The Japanese National Security Strategy (NSS), which was released in 2013, states that the country aims to:

Strengthen the deterrence necessary for maintaining Japan’s peace and security and for ensuring survival, thereby deterring threats from directly reaching Japan. Ensure that if any threat were to reach Japan, it would be defeated and damage would be minimized.⁵⁸

Banking on its alliance with the US, which is said to be the cornerstone of the security of Japan, the latter intends to be proactive in its defense engagements in the strategic environment. Specifically, this security policy entails the strategy of reorienting its civilian self-defense forces to participate in security operations with its allies in a bid to contribute to peace and order in the international community.⁵⁹

Another example of a clear policy guideline on the use of force is that of the US as a self-proclaimed world leader.⁶⁰ What makes America lead the world, according to President Obama, is the country’s growing economic strength, advanced technological capabilities, universal democratic values, unity in diversity, superior educational system, unrivalled military power, as well as alliances and partnerships. Like Japan, the US also gives the highest priority to security, particularly to strengthening national defense, in its NSS in 2015. As the US writes:

A strong military is the bedrock of our national security. . . . Our military is postured globally to protect our citizens and interests, preserve regional stability, render humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, and build the capacity of our partners to join with us in meeting security challenges.

⁵⁶ Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Gray, 2014, p.11.

⁵⁸ See National Security Strategy of Japan in 2013, p.5.

⁵⁹ See Cabinet Decision on Development of Seamless Security Legislation to Ensure Japan’s Survival and Protect Its People, July 1, 2014.

⁶⁰ President Barack Obama, in his Message in the US National Security Strategy in February 2015 states: “Any successful strategy to ensure the safety of the American people and advance our national security interests must begin with an undeniable truth—America must lead. Strong and sustained American leadership is essential to a rules-based international order that promotes global security and prosperity as well as the dignity and human rights of all peoples. The question is never whether America should lead, but how we lead.”

US forces will continue to defend the homeland, conduct global counterterrorism operations, assure allies, and deter aggression through forward presence and engagement. If deterrence fails, U.S. forces will be ready to project power globally to defeat and deny aggression in multiple theaters.⁶¹

In general, the use of force in a national military strategy aims to realize the defense policy objectives of strengthening territorial defense and credible deterrence against external threats through capability-building as well as military alliances in a bid to balance power in the region. Aside from the military component, a defense policy of a country is also directed towards defense diplomacy, security cooperation, as well as informal dialogues with defense institutions in the region—all of which are guided by a national security strategy to protect core national interests.

In policy, as well as in theory, security is seen from a realist perspective of having the capacity and capability to defend the state from existential threats to its survival and core interests. As Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998) clarify, it is this nature of security that justifies the employment of extraordinary measures by the state. According to these scholars, “(t)he invocation of security has been the key to legitimizing the use of force, but more generally it has opened the way for the state to mobilize, or take special powers, to handle existential threats.”⁶² But while the securitization of grave threat to the state warrants the use of force, the military alone is not taken as the only strategic advantage of a state that also wields other instruments of national power.⁶³

In the Philippines, the NSP is not clear on how the country intends to use force to achieve desirable strategic ends. It merely expresses the intention to develop a defense capability to protect national sovereignty, territory, and maritime interests. Further, it states that: “With the passage of the Baselines Law, the country will strengthen its maritime security posture as part of its larger external defense plan.”⁶⁴ Included under the policy goal of capacitating the Philippines to exercise full sovereignty over its territory is the objective of enhancing security cooperation with allies and neighbours in the region.⁶⁵ Significantly, the preceding statements only show the external nature of national defense as a foreign policy, as can be seen in my conceptual framework in Figure 1.

⁶¹ See US National Security Strategy, 2015, pp. 7-8.

⁶² Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p. 21.

⁶³ As the current US National Security Strategy articulates at the outset: “Our military will remain ready to defend our enduring national interests while providing essential leverage for our diplomacy. The use of force is not, however, the only tool at our disposal, and it is not the principal means of U.S. engagement abroad, nor always the most effective for the challenges we face. Rather, our first line of action is principled and clear-eyed diplomacy, combined with the central role of development in the forward defense and promotion of America’s interests.” [See US National Security Strategy, 2015, p. 4.]

⁶⁴It must be taken into account, however, that the Republic Act (RA) 9522, which redefines unilaterally the archipelagic baseline of the Philippines, includes the contested regime of islands in the South China Sea where China and seven other littoral states have effective occupation.

⁶⁵ See “2011-2016 National Security Policy,” pp. 29-30.

The placement of defense policy in the last part of the NSP, nevertheless, may evoke an unstrategic communication of a peripheral concern, relative to the long list of agenda under the highest priority of “promoting internal socio-political stability.”⁶⁶ Part of the agenda on internal socio-political stability is the “strengthening of institutions and internal mechanism to safeguard public order and security”, under which the modernization programs of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and of the Philippine National Police (PNP) are mentioned. Classified as an internal mechanism for internal socio-political stability, the modernization of the military institution, along with the professionalization of the police, does not speak well of a clear defense thrust that will serve as the basis for formulating a national military strategy.

In retrospect, the AFP Modernization in RA 7898 was first legislated in 1995, providing for a 15-year period of budgetary appropriations and defense acquisitions to realize the objective of the law.⁶⁷ Specifically, the Act consisted of five components: 1) force restructuring and organizational development; 2) capability, material and technology development; 3) bases/support system development; 4) human resource development; and 5) doctrines and development.⁶⁸ It must be noted that under the fourth component, the transformation of the AFP into an external security oriented force was explicit. In line with this, the fifth component aimed to formalize the doctrine of the AFP’s transition from an internal security-oriented force to an external defense mode.

Following the self-terminating AFP Modernization Act, Republic Act (RA) 10349 was passed in 2012 for the purpose of extending to another 15 years the unrealized program of modernizing the military. In the revised law, the fourth and fifth components of the modernization program, which had directed the external defense orientation of the AFP in 1995, were conspicuously amended in 2012. To wit, Section 1 of the revised law now reads that the human resource development should aim to: “develop and transform the AFP into a multi-mission oriented force capable of effectively addressing internal and external security threats.” Moreover, the revised law totally removes the concept of external defense in doctrines development component.⁶⁹ The inclusion of the continuing constabulary function of the AFP in its 15-year modernization program in a way writes today a future strategic history of the defense orientation and readiness of the Philippine military until 2027.

What is uncharacteristic in defense policy-making in the Philippines is the fact that despite the absence of a national security strategy that will direct a defense policy, the AFP came out with the National Military Strategy (NMS) in 2014. In what can be perceived as an attempt to

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 24-30.

⁶⁷ The Republic Act 7898 declares it “the policy of the State to modernize the AFP to a level where it can effectively and fully perform its constitutional mandate to uphold the sovereignty and preserve the patrimony of the Republic of the Philippines. [See Republic Act No. 7898, “An Act Providing for the Modernization of the Armed Forces of the Philippines and for Other Purposes.”]

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹Section 1 of the 2012 Republic Act (RA) 10349, states that Section 4 (e) of the 1995 RA 7898 is amended as: “Doctrines development – The Department of National Defense and the AFP shall be responsible for the generation, evaluation, consolidation and formalization of doctrines; the conduct of periodic review and validation of doctrines through field application, testing and exercises; and the dissemination of approved doctrines at all levels of command.”

fill in the want for a national security strategy, the NMS unconventionally uses the whole of nation approach in the ends, ways, and means of the military. Based on what it says as its “strategic environment assessment,” the NMS states at the outset that:

Overall, defeating the country’s internal security threats remains the most actionable task of the AFP. Also, responding to the effects of disasters will be a core concern for the AFP as stated in the Defense Planning Guidance as climate change is forecasted to increase in intensity and adversely impact Filipino lives. On top it all, however, it will be the issues in the West Philippine Sea that will be the primary concern of the AFP.⁷⁰ (Underline provided.)

Whether it is the “most actionable task” on internal security threats, or the “primary concern” on the “issues in the West Philippine Sea” that must be given the highest priority by the military is equivocal. In theory and praxis, the policy dilemma in the WPS is not the primary responsibility of the AFP but of the Chief of State, his foreign affairs department, and the highest policymaking body on national security.⁷¹ It must be taken into account that the renaming of the South China Sea to West Philippine Sea by the Philippines in 2012 has not effectively defined the physical demarcations of the contested sea over which a defense plan would be executed if this were even made as a state policy in the country.⁷² These realities leave the AFP to focus meantime on internal security as “the most actionable task” in the NMS. The myopic focus of the military plan on peace and security in the domestic realm clouds the worldview of a defense policy in the strategic setting.

The internal security thrust of the AFP in the 2014 NMS is nonetheless consistent with the 2010-2016 Internal Peace and Security Plan (IPSP) “Bayanihan,” which had been published by the military even before the promulgation of the 2011-2016 NSP. It must be noted that the IPSP, which preceded the NSP, “assumes that no significant changes in the external security environment shall occur in the near and medium term.”⁷³ Like the NMS, the IPSP—which is supposed to be a logical offshoot of the former, also purports to use the whole-of-nation approach to realize a people-centered goal, albeit in a military plan. According to the IPSP, its

⁷⁰See Armed Forces of the Philippines National Military Strategy 2014 (Camp General Emilio Aguinaldo, Quezon City: Armed Forces of the Philippines, 2014), p. 3.

⁷¹ The Philippines in January 2013 filed an arbitration case against China in the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea (ITLOS). The Philippines sought for clarification regarding the validity of China’s “nine-dash line” claim over the South China Sea (SCS). It also asked for the cessation of the Chinese incursions into the Philippine Exclusive Economic Zone. China responded by issuing a policy statement of its non-participation in the ITLOS proceedings, and maintaining its sovereignty claim over the SCS. [See Christian O Vicedo and Ananda Domingo-Almase, “Testing the Waters: The Strategic implications of an Idealist Approach in the South China Sea Dispute,” NDCP Policy Brief No. 3 (11 March 2014), p.1.]

⁷²See Administrative Order (AO) 29, renaming the West Philippine Sea of the Republic of the Philippines, and for other purposes, signed by President Benigno S Aquino III on 5 September 2012. Specifically, Section 1 states that: “The maritime areas on the western side of the Philippine archipelago are hereby named as the West Philippine Sea. These areas include the Luzon Sea as well as the waters around, within and adjacent to the Kalayaan Island Group and Bajo De Masinloc, also known as Scarborough Shoal.” Further, Section 2 states that: “The naming of the West Philippine Sea is without prejudice to the determination of the maritime domain over territories which the Republic of the Philippines has sovereignty and jurisdiction.” [Look in [http://www.gov.ph/2012/09/05/administrative-order-no-29-s-2012/.](http://www.gov.ph/2012/09/05/administrative-order-no-29-s-2012/)]

⁷³Armed Forces of the Philippines Internal Peace and Security Plan “Bayanihan” 2010, p. 21.

strategic approach “is a shift from a predominantly militaristic solution to a people-centered security strategy that is founded on broad-based consultations with key stakeholders.”⁷⁴

The 2010 IPSP, apparently, did not only guide the formulation of the 2011 NSP, as well as of the 2014 NMS, it also presents what it calls the “National Defense Policy” of the Secretary of the Department of National Defense (DND). The military’s internal security plan, where the defense policy is articulated, states that:

The primary goal of the DND-AFP is to support the thrust of the national government. It is towards this desired end that all efforts must be directed.

In this regard, the AFP shall work “towards strategically defeating the NPAs by reducing their number to a level that becomes manageable for the national police and eventually stopping their illegal activities.” Furthermore, the AFP shall remain committed in “ensuring the territorial integrity of the Philippines as well as addressing the terrorist challenge that the secessionist extremists pose.” The AFP shall develop focused strategies for overcoming all security threats and meet global and domestic security challenges.⁷⁵ (Underline provided.)

The intention to transfer the internal security operations from the military to the national police in the indeterminate future, however, shall require the amendment of the Philippine National Police (PNP) Reform and Reorganization Act of 1998. As I previously discussed, RA 8551 states that the Department of Interior and Local Government, which supervises the PNP, shall be relieved of the primary responsibility on the suppression of insurgency and other threats to internal security.

It can be seen that the use of force by the military, which is supposed to be directed by a defense act or policy, is instead determined by a law on public safety in the Philippines. It is for this reason that I bring this national security study to the policy regime of public safety which, in praxis, is the focus and locus of the IPSP as what appears to be the mother security policy in the country.

The Administration and Governance of Public Safety

In the 2011-2016 National Security Policy or NSP, the focus on the safety of the Filipino people and their well-being is primordial. The people-centered public policy, as enshrined by President Aquino in his Message in the NSP, is said to be the fulfillment of his campaign promise to Filipinos with whom he forged his Social Contract with a 16-point agenda. As I earlier presented, the Social Contract agenda range from transformational leadership, employment generation, education, responsible parenthood, poverty alleviation, gender development, to merit and fitness in government, peace process, and urban planning and development, among others. With a shopping list of socio-economic programs and

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 24.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

administrative reforms but national security, the Social Contract is made as the banner and center of Aquino's NSP.⁷⁶

The populist security agenda is promoted by the NSP in relation to the four key elements of good governance, delivery of basic services, economic reconstruction, and security sector reform (SSR). Looking at these elements that guide a policy on national security, it can be seen that the threat perceptions of government are primarily internal and institutional. The key elements, which the NSP is anchored on, revolve around the basic functions of public administration and governance. Even the SSR, as the fourth element, pertains mainly to democratizing the control of the armed forces, professionalizing the military and the public safety agencies, as well as capacitating the oversight function of civilian government and civil society organizations.⁷⁷ To note, these are the *raison d'être* for the establishment of educational and training institutions on public safety in newly democratic and demilitarized states.

In spite of the inward-looking perspective of the Philippine government, in its desire to securitize non-traditional threats, the construct of public safety as a distinctive policy regime of civilian agencies does not appear in the literature of the NSP. Rather, the foremost national security goal to “promote internal socio-political stability” involves the entire but unspecified agencies of the security sector. To realize this goal, the NSP provides that “(t)he security sector shall assist in creating the enabling environment to win the hearts and minds of those with valid grievances and retain the allegiance of the rest of the citizenry.”⁷⁸ It states that the security sector shall ensure the delivery of and access to basic services, such as education, health, water, shelter, electricity, and public infrastructure. The NSP further declares that the security sector shall “help protect the natural resources and reduce the risks of disasters,” as well as as “promote economic reconstruction and ensure the sustainable development through increased investments in critical infrastructure.”⁷⁹

Aside from assisting in the creation of an enabling environment, the security sector is projected to undergo organizational reforms, capacity building, and professional training. With this, the modernization programs of the military and the police are sought in the NSP under the policy theme of “Strengthening Institutions and Internal Mechanisms to Safeguard Public Order and Security.” It must be noted that only in the area of promoting good governance, as a sub-component of “internal socio-political stability,” that the policy construct of “public order” (but not public safety) is mentioned. Here, public order and security go together as a seemingly unitary construct, lumping together the policy concerns for the military and the police with mixed up roles in safeguarding the general public. The paragraph under this policy objective reads as follows:

⁷⁶In his Message in the NSP, the President wrote: “As I have said, our ultimate goal must be the safety and well-being of our people. In line with my ‘Social Contract with the Filipino People,’ the NSP is anchored on the four (4) key elements of good governance, delivery of basic services, economic reconstruction and sustainable development, and security sector reforms.” [See the “2011-2016 National Security Policy,” p. i.]

⁷⁷Ibid.,p. 27.

⁷⁸Ibid.,p. 24.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 25.

Pursue real modernization and transformation efforts in both the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP). This should shore up the AFP's Philippine Defense Reform (PDR) program and the PNP's Integrated Transformation Program (ITP). The military and the police must have to rebuild themselves as institutions by way of reorganizing (as to how units are organized and utilized), retooling (as to equipment, weaponry and facilities), and reorienting their approaches (as to values and even strategy) in order to be more responsive to the constantly changing policy and security environments.⁸⁰

Other than the above-stated policy direction for public order and security, the NSP presents other items on the promotion of good governance for internal socio-political stability. Separate from the concern on "Strengthening Institutions and Internal Mechanisms to Safeguard Public Order and Security," the other items in support of good governance include the courses of action to: "Contribute in the Strengthening of the Rule of Law throughout the Country;" "Promote the Peace Process as the Centerpiece of our Internal Security Program;" and, "Launch a Holistic Program to Combat Terrorism."

It can be seen from the aforementioned policy thrusts that public safety or "public order and security," as it is called in the NSP, is taken as a seemingly separate policy area from other concerns on strengthening the rule of law, combating terrorism, and promoting internal security. But when viewed from the academic lens of the Philippine Public Safety College or PPSC, all of these are the concerns of a public safety system in democratic governance.⁸¹ This viewpoint is drawn from the ideals of a democratic system in which the employment of civilian functions and the use of military force are rationalized in clear terms of policy.

In a policy assessment on Philippine peace and security in 2013, Tolosa and Oreta emphasized that the SSR in the country should have "meant to rectify decades-long misalignment of roles and functions of the police and the military."⁸² But whether the demilitarization of public safety is the course of action desired by the SSR in the NSP, in a move for the national police to take over the functions of internal peace and security, is a question that needs to be addressed as a matter of policy in the Philippines.

In the conceptual framework in Figure 1, I accentuate public safety administration and governance alongside national defense in a bid to define their policy regimes and functional areas in national security. Distinguishing national defense and public security—with their own

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

⁸¹ The comprehensive framework of public safety system in democratic governance was discussed in a policy study by Dr Ricardo F De Leon, President of the Philippine Public Safety College (PPSC). The study, with the title "The Philippine Public Safety College at the Crossroad: Between Continuity and Change, Between Tradition and Transformation," was presented to the Secretary of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) in January 2015.

⁸²As Tolosa and Oreta essay, "(a)n even greater anomaly is the fact that under the present administration, the military—the unit that is supposed to handle external security affairs—has dipped not only a finger but its whole arm in internal security." [Kathline Anne Sigua-Tolosa and Jennifer Santiago Oreta, "Revisiting the Policy Environment on Peace and Security: Tracing Alignments and Problematizing Gaps," (Manila, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Department of Political Science; The Asia Foundation; and, the Australian Agency for International Development, 2013), pp. 6-7.]

problem areas, actors, solutions, and jurisdictions—aids in resolving what security functions belong to the military and what should be given instead to public safety agencies in democratic governance. Notably, this is not to create a divide between two distinct sets of policy actors, but to rationalize their mission areas, define lines of accountability, and identify areas of cooperation in a national security strategy.

The wanting national security strategy, which includes the basic components of national defense and public safety, shall define the appropriate ways and means to realize the ends of a national security policy. The strategic direction consists of fiscal policies and administration in support of identified priorities on national security. As I presented earlier, the fiscal policies and administration refer to revenue generation, budgetary allocations, and other administrative mechanisms for efficient, effective, and accountable use of resources. The fiscal component, which is interlinked with political culture, is the domain of public administration and governance in the domestic environment where public policies related to national security are formulated, processed, and enacted.

Logically, the public safety administration of civilian government agencies employs a non-military plan of internal peace, order, and security. In the conceptual framework in Figure 1, I connect this internal plan to the policy objectives of law and order, protection of civil rights, peace and progress, and good governance. The latter consists of the pillars or principles of predictability, transparency, accountability, rule of law, and democratic control—which I then link to peace, progress, and national resilience.⁸³

The Policy Goal and Outcome of National Security

On the cover of the 2011-2016 National Security Policy or NSP is a cover title that says “Securing the Gains of Democracy,” a course of action that is supposed to place in proper perspective the meaning of security in theory and policy. In the said title, with three basic words or constructs, the action word of “securing” refers to policy or to course of action that is to be done.⁸⁴ The subject that needs to be securitized is the “gains” that have been previously acquired in a “democracy.” The latter term, on the other hand, pertains to the system or regime that enables a nation to acquire those gains in desirable and culturally accepted way.

My question is, what then are the “gains” that people enjoy in a democracy? The answer to this policy question points to the referents for security, or to the “things that are seen to be

⁸³ The relations between governance and crime, as well as their implications to national security, are likewise theorized by Realuyo in her study on the illicit networks of crime and terrorism in Latin America. According to her, lawless elements “actively seek out governance gaps, socio-economic vulnerabilities, and character weaknesses as openings to conduct their nefarious activities and expand their power and influence throughout the world.” Positing that the convergence of crime and terrorism threatens state sovereignty, Realuyo plots the problem of public safety in a strategic frame of national and international security. [Celina B Realuyo, “Latin America and the Threats from Illicit Networks,” (Lecture Presentation to the Senior Executives in National and International Security, John F Kennedy School Executive Education, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, 20 August 2015).]

⁸⁴ In the US government, policy is defined informally as “what to do about something” or “what is to be done.” This is distinguished from strategy which refers to “how to do it.” [Stolberg, 2012, p. 41.]

existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival.”⁸⁵ Following the internal logic of the cover title of the NSP, I deduce that the gains that people enjoy in a free country are independence, individual liberties, equal opportunities, human rights, participative governance, free economy, and other democratic values that constitute the Filipino way of life.

I espouse that security is not mainly about producing the gains of democracy; it is more about protecting and defending these from all kinds of threats. This is the course of action that refers to a policy on national security that shall guide the formulation of a national security strategy. It can be seen, however, that the realist policy of “securing the gains of democracy” in the NSP is crowded out by a populist agenda of the administrative leadership that deemphasizes the components of national defense and public safety in national security.⁸⁶

My perspective can be related to how Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde define security in “Security: A New Framework of Analysis” (1998). For these scholars, security is about state survival in the realm of international relations. This worldview of security is distinguished from “social security” that is administered by the police and civilian guards in the domestic realm. Social security, according to the scholars of Security Studies, is strongly associated to social justice and entitlement; whereas the real kind of security is firmly rooted in power politics in national and international levels.⁸⁷

Influenced by Western strategic culture, the realist notion of security has direct link to national security policy and strategy. In the US, “security” is the foremost national interest that is classified separately from the other core interests of economic well-being and democratic values. The policy focus of security in the US National Security Strategy or NSS is not mixed up with the economic and socio-cultural objectives.

What security means in the NSS of the US is defined by Stolberg in his work on “Crafting National Security Interests in the 21st Century Security” (2012). According to the scholar, the highest interest on security pertains to:

(t)he protection of the people (both home and abroad), territory, and institutions of the United States against potential foreign dangers.’ This has always included defense of the American homeland. Domestically, it would now include protection of critical infrastructure such as energy, banking and finance, telecommunications, transportation, water systems, and cyber networks.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Buzan, et al, in Security: A New Framework for Analysis, explain that the referent object for security has traditionally been the state—its sovereignty and identity, among others. [See Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p. 36.

⁸⁶As I wrote in a journal article: “...the shift in security thought in the NSP can be construed in the conspicuous omission of the military dimension in the enumerated elements of national security. The absence of this core element, however, appears to be interesting or rather intriguing as military defense is essentially and explicitly included in the contemporary praxis of national security administration.” [Almase, “What the Subject of Security Really Means,” 2013, p. 89.]

⁸⁷ Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde, 1998, p. 21.

⁸⁸ Stolberg, 2012, p. 16.

Omand, in “Securing the State: National Security in Contemporary Times” (2012) affirms the national priority accorded by a good government to security that is distinguished from other public policies. But while he places security at the top of the agenda, he recognizes the critical components of good governance and internal order which, in the sense, is the regime of public safety administration. To quote from Omand’s writings:

My argument, in a nutshell, is that good government will always take the task of ‘securing the state’ at the top of its priority. With security comes confidence, economic and social progress and investment in the future. But good government also recognizes...that security needs the active support of the public and thus the right relationship between justice, civic harmony, wise administration, fortitude, prudence and other values to which the wise ruler and government aspire.⁸⁹ (Underline provided.)

In the Western literature, the defining characteristic of national security as state security is taken ideally as the top priority of government. The well-defined construct of security is a cut from other agenda which are not fused and confused with the former just to earn public attention and congressional support. Understanding the nature of security helps map out what the core security interests are from peripheral concerns, the big picture from small ones, and the strategic goal from mundane tasks. As I resolved in a previous journal on “What the Subject of Security Really Means” (2013), a security that is qualified as ‘national’ is clearly ‘state security’ especially when this is invoked by the Chief of State. The use of the term ‘national security’ is a politically powerful construct that already sets out its real meaning and leaning in policy and strategy formulation.⁹⁰

Security, in the real sense and actual strategy, is about national defense and public safety that enable the country to progress and prevail in an uncertain and volatile environment. With reference to the conceptual framework in Figure 1, I point to national security as the policy goal and outcome of complex but coherent series of actions directed by the state towards that desired goal and condition.

National security is not just about socio-economic development in the country, as the NSP of the President and the Internal Peace and Security Plan of the AFP impress. The domestic focus in these policy documents does not and cannot change the strategic nature of national security nor the geo-political character of a state that must secure its survival, integrity, and identity in the region. This, on the whole, is the policy goal of national security whose realization requires systemic loops of constant vigilance and governance.

⁸⁹ David Omand, “Securing the State: National Security in Contemporary Times,” RSIS Working Paper No. 251 (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2012), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁰ Almase, “What the Subject of Security Really Means,” 2013, p. 98.

Relatedly, in my article with Jimena on “Romanticizing Realism: What Does National Security Mean in the NDCP Hymn?” I wrote that: “In the tradition of security thought, realism connotes a state-centric perspective, especially when the subject of security has a qualifying term ‘national’ before it. Hence, the realist thinking about “national security” essentially refers to the defense, independence, and survival of the state which citizens are willing to fight and die for.” [See Ananda Devi Domingo-Almase and Joy Jimena, “Romanticizing Realism: What Does National Security Mean in the NDCP Hymn?,” NDCP Policy Brief No. 4 (13 March 2014), p. 1.]

Conclusion

In this study, I have constructed an institutionalist policy framework of national security by discussing its constitutive components, core actors, complex relations, and strategic direction. In so doing, the construct of public safety, which appears neglected in the academic literature, emerges as one of the focal areas in a system of national security.

In discussing the broad scope of the study, I have organized the subtopics in the paper as stand-alone essays that can set the direction for the policy discourse on Philippine security. Having said this, I need not reiterate here the conclusive thoughts that I have already written in each subtopic. But I shall only stress some important notes that I think need to be internalized by students and policymakers in the field of national security administration.

What constitutes national security, especially in the case of the Philippines, is an important question in framing a national security policy. Defining national security that is bereft of any scholarly perspective produces unsound policy arguments, if such atheoretical definition has even practical value to policy analysis and policy-making. It is in this light that theory—which is a meaningful explanation of patterns of social realities—and policy—which is a principled guide to action of influencing those realities—go together in understanding national security with the end view of acting on it.

When a scholarly framework on security as a state policy is wanting, especially in a country that does not have a strategy on this, disconnected packets of themes and tactics are instead promoted to various sectors and interest groups in the domestic scene. Without a theoretically informed frame of capturing the policy dynamics on a macro and strategic level, national security cannot be understood as interlinked networks of international and domestic policies applied in a complex security environment.

Thus, to contribute to the literature of National Security Studies, I have drawn a conceptual frame where the key forces and drivers in the security environment are factored in; the primary components of policy are identified; and, their relations laid out in the pursuit of national security objectives. This framework aids in comprehending the logic, dynamics, and linkages of constituent elements in the complex policy system of national security.

On the whole, I affirm that the soundness of a national security framework is one that is informed by a disciplined way of looking at it—not really as a social construction of ideologues with no strategic direction, but as a scholarly field of analysts with conceptual tools and as a policy regime of a state with a worldview.

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