

# **FUTURE OUTLOOK FOR JAPAN- ASEAN RELATIONS**

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# INSTRUCTOR SELF-INTRODUCTION



- Mie Oba, born in Tokyo, Japan
- She joined the Kanagawa University Faculty of Law as a professor in April 2020.
- She specializes in international politics and international relations. In particular, Asian international politics; regionalism, regional integration, and regional institutions in Asia; changes in the regional order (East Asia, Asia-Pacific, and Indo-Pacific); political diplomacy and relations with countries outside the region in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and ASEAN region; and Japan-Southeast Asia relations.
- Hobbies: Eating, cooking.

# THE BEGINNING OF JAPAN-ASEAN RELATION

- The Legacy of "Southward Expansion"
- Postwar Japan and Southeast Asia
  - Compensation, and Economic Cooperation
  - Economic comeback (rebound, recovery, turnaround)
- Japan's response to ASEAN at its inception
  - A look at a coalition of small countries
  - A Leftist Intellectual's Look at the Anti-Communist Alliance
- Launch of ASEAN-Japan Dialogue
  - On the Synthetic Rubber Issue (1973)

## TOWARD ASEAN AS A PILLAR OF JAPAN'S SOUTHEAST ASIA POLICY

- Riots against Japan in Thailand and Indonesia during Kakuei Tanaka's visit to Southeast Asia (including the Marari Incident in Jakarta, 1974.1)
- Fukuda Doctrine (1977): Launching Japan's ASEAN Policy
  - Japan will never again be a military power.
  - Advancing the Dialogue of the Heart and Mind
  - equal, and a bridge between ASEAN and Indochina countries.
- ASEAN-Japan relations as one side of ASEAN+1
  - Dialogue Partner system
  - ASEAN Enlarged Foreign Ministers' Meeting (ASEAN-PMC)

## THE JAPAN-ASEAN RELATION AFTER THE END OF THE COLD WAR

- The deepening and expanding economic interdependence after the Plaza Accord (1985) to the 1990s
- The Establishment of the APEC (1989)
- The Establishment of the ARF (1994)
- The Establishment of the ASEAN+3 (1997)
- The regularization of Japan-ASEAN Summit (1997)
- The proposal of Asian Monetary Fund (1997)
- The New Miyazawa Plan (1998, 1999)

# SINO-JAPAN RIVALRY AND JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION

- ASEAN+1 FTA
  - ASEAN Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP)
- The sign of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC)
- The Establishment of the East Asia Summit (EAS)
  - The debate between Japan and China over the membership and modality
- Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit (December 2003)
  - The adoption of Tokyo Declaration for the dynamic and enduring Japan-ASEAN Cooperation in the new millennium, and Action Plan
    - Reinforcing Comprehensive Economic Partnership and Monetary and Financial Cooperation
    - Consolidating the Foundation for Economic Development and Prosperity
    - Strengthening Political and Security Cooperation and Partnership
    - Facilitating and Promoting Exchange of People and Human Resource Development
    - Enhancing Cooperation in Culture and Public Relations
    - Deepening East Asia Cooperation for an East Asian Community
    - Cooperation in Addressing Global Issues

## THE SHIFT OF EMPHASIS POINTS OF JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION DURING THE 2000S

- From the Aid to the FTA (EPA)
  - ASEAN+1 FTA, bilateral FTAs, and the examination of mega-FTA in East Asia (CPTPP proposal)
- The further encouragement of ASEAN Centrality
  - ASEAN+1 FTA, the sign of the TAC, the establishment of the ASEAN Permanent Representative and Permanent Mission in Jakarta
- The background of the shift
  - The economic development of the ASEAN countries makes Japan-ASEAN relation more horizontal one
  - How to address the rising China is further becoming the serious issue in Japan's policy-making circle
    - Abe administration's the idea of "the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity (2006)"

# THE SHIFT OF EMPHASIS POINTS OF JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION DURING THE 2010S

- The ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit Meeting (December 2013)
  - The adoption of “Vision Statement on ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation: Shared Vision, Shared Identity, Shared Future”
    - Partner of Peace and Stability
      - The cooperation through ASEAN Architecture (ARF, ASEAN+3, EAS, ADMM+, ASEAN Maritime Forum)
      - Strengthen dialogue and cooperation for the maintenance of maritime security and safety, freedom and safety of navigation, anti-piracy measures, peace-building and PKO, strengthen cooperation to combat terrorism and other forms of transnational crimes support the work of ASEAN Inter- Governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR)...
    - Partner for Prosperity
      - Accelerate and support ASEAN’s economic integration, AJCEP, RCEP, Strengthen ASEAN connectivity and connectivity between ASEAN and Japan,...
    - Partner for Quality Life
  - Not only economy, but also security cooperation/partnership
    - National Security Strategy (2013) ”The Republic of Korea (ROK), Australia, ASEAN countries, and India: Share universal values and strategic interests. Strengthen cooperative relationships”



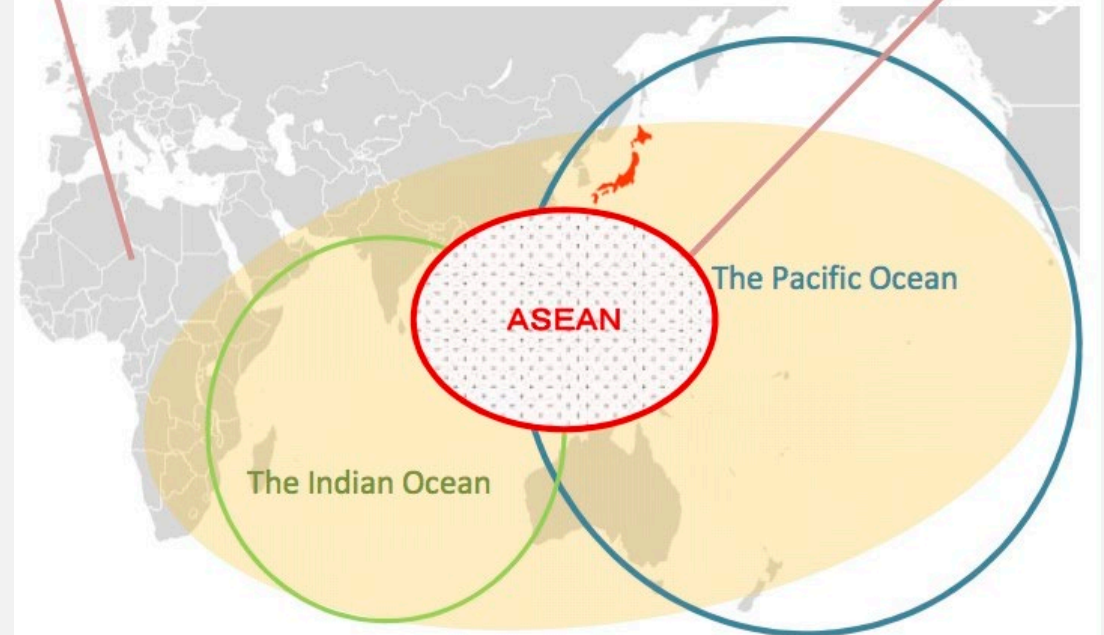
# JAPAN'S "FREE AND OPEN INDO-PACIFIC (FOIP)

Improve "connectivity" between Asia and Africa through free and open Indo-Pacific, and promote stability and prosperity of the region as a whole



※ To make the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy" into shape, Japan will strengthen strategic collaboration with India, which has a historical relationship with East Africa, as well as the US and Australia.

Improve "connectivity" between Asia and Africa through free and open Indo-Pacific, and, with ASEAN as the hinge of two oceans, promote stability and prosperity of the region as a whole



# JAPAN'S FREE AND OPEN INDO-PACIFIC (FOIP)

- “Improve “connectivity” between Asia and Africa through free and open Indo-Pacific, and promote stability and prosperity of the region as a whole”
- “Develop free and open maritime order in the Indo-Pacific region as “international public goods”, bringing stability and prosperity for every country as well as securing peace and prosperity in the region as a whole. Japan will cooperate with any country that supports this idea.”
- three pillars:
  - 1.promotion and establishment of rule of law, freedom of navigation and free trade, etc.
  - 2 Pursuit of economic prosperity (improving connectivity, etc.)
  - 3 Commitment for peace and stability (capacity building on maritime security, etc)

# ESCALATION OF U.S.-CHINA RIVALRY AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE REGIONAL ORDER

- From Obama's "rebalance" to Trump's "America First"
- Focus of confrontation: trade → IP (technological hegemony) → values and norms
- The crisis of the international liberal order
  - The international liberal order
    - Free and open economy
    - Multilateralism
    - Liberal values: democracy, human rights, rule of law, and good governance..
    - The US as a hegemon
  - The increasing strategic tensions in Indo-Pacific has shaken the international liberal order and regional order narrows the room for ASEAN to play a role
  - U.S.-China moves to enclose supply chains by setting regulations and promoting export control
    - The contradiction with free and open economic order
- The pressures from both sides to the ASEAN/ASEAN countries to take one side
  - The challenge against ASEAN's strategic autonomy

# THE RISING CHINA

- Expectation
  - The huge size of China market, the core of the supply chains
  - The AIIB
  - The BRI
    - Ex. Opening of China-Laos High Speed Rail (2021.12)
- Concerns
  - Anxiety about excessive reliance on Chinese investment and aid
  - South China Sea issue: China's assertive stance over issues related to sovereignty
    - Rapid reclamation and construction of facilities on islands and reefs in South China Sea
    - Formulation of Code of Conduct (COC) in conflicts
    - PCA judgement in July 2016



# THE JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION UNDER THE “BANNER” OF THE FOIP

## Examples of Japan's efforts on the achievement of a FOIP



- Main cooperation items related to ASEAN
  - “Quality Infrastructure”
    - (1) openness, (2) transparency, (3) economic efficiency, (4) debt sustainability (also included in “G20 Principles for Quality Infrastructure Investment” in 2019)
  - Enhance the Capacity-building on fiscal policy and debt management
    - Dispatch fiscal policy experts to Mozambique, Zambia, Laos, Maldives to improve the capacity of policy making and implementation through sustainable management of macroeconomy and public debt.
  - Ensure maritime stability: Providing equipment and human resource development for maritime law enforcement in Southeast Asia
    - Provision of a total of 27 patrol vessels, 13 high-speed boats and 11 coastal monitoring radar equipments to coastal countries in Southeast Asia.
    - Dispatch of Japanese experts for long term placement at maritime law enforcement agencies to build local capacity
    - Law enforcement training utilizing provided patrol vessels
    - Japan-US training on operation and maintenance of provided high-speed boats

## VIENTIANE VISION (NOVEMBER 2016): JAPAN-ASEAN DEFENCE COOPERATION INITIATIVE WITH THE ASEAN

- Three points of cooperation
  - To consolidate the order based on the principles of international law governing peaceful conduct among states, Japan supports ASEAN efforts to uphold principles of international law, especially in the field of maritime and air space
  - To promote maritime security which is a foundation for the regional peace and prosperity, Japan supports ASEAN efforts to build up capabilities for Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) and Search and Rescue (SAR) at sea and air space
  - To cope with increasingly diversifying and complex security issues, Japan supports ASEAN efforts to build up capabilities in various fields
- Measures
  - Sharing understanding and experience regarding international law, especially in the field of maritime security, through i.e. conducting researches and sponsoring seminars, etc., with a view to its effective implementation.
  - Conducting capacity building cooperation in various fields such as HA/DR, PKO, landmine and UXO clearance, cybersecurity, defense buildup planning (sharing know-how), etc.
  - Transferring equipment and technology, developing human resources regarding defense equipment and technology Cooperation , holding seminars on defense industries, etc.
  - Continued participation in multilateral joint training and exercises, inviting ASEAN observers to Self-Defense Forces' training, etc.
    - Inviting Opinion Leaders from ASEAN, etc.

# VIENTIANE VISION 2.0 (NOVEMBER 2019)

- Updating Vientiane Vision in 2016: More sophisticated, adopted to the FOIP
- Three principles
  - Heart-to-heart Cooperation: Upholding ASEAN's principles, valuing people-to-people connections and listening sincerely to partners' needs
  - Tailored and Lasting Cooperation: Pursuing sustainable outcomes through well-planned, transparent and ongoing engagement
  - Equal and Open Cooperation: Pursuing wide-ranging international collaboration that supports ASEAN centrality, unity and resilience
- Ends
  - To enhance the Japan-ASEAN Strategic Partnership
  - To contribute to ASEAN centrality and unity by supporting its resilience.
- Means
  - Promoting Shared Understanding of International Norms: Holding programs such as seminars with a view to share knowledge on international norms and practices
  - Defense Cooperation Program: Assisting ASEAN's proactive efforts for enhancing its collective capabilities by sending JSDF personnel to Southeast Asia, and inviting ASEAN practitioners to Japan
  - Defense Equipment and Technology Cooperation: Transferring equipment and technology, developing human resources, holding seminars on defense industries, etc.
  - Joint Training and Exercises: Conducting bilateral and multilateral joint exercises, expanding forms of participation and inviting ASEAN observers to JSDF training
  - Human Resource Development and Academic Exchanges: Reinforcing human networks among students and trainees, inviting opinion leaders to Japan, etc.

## THE SITUATIONS OF THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC AND RESPONSES BY THE GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

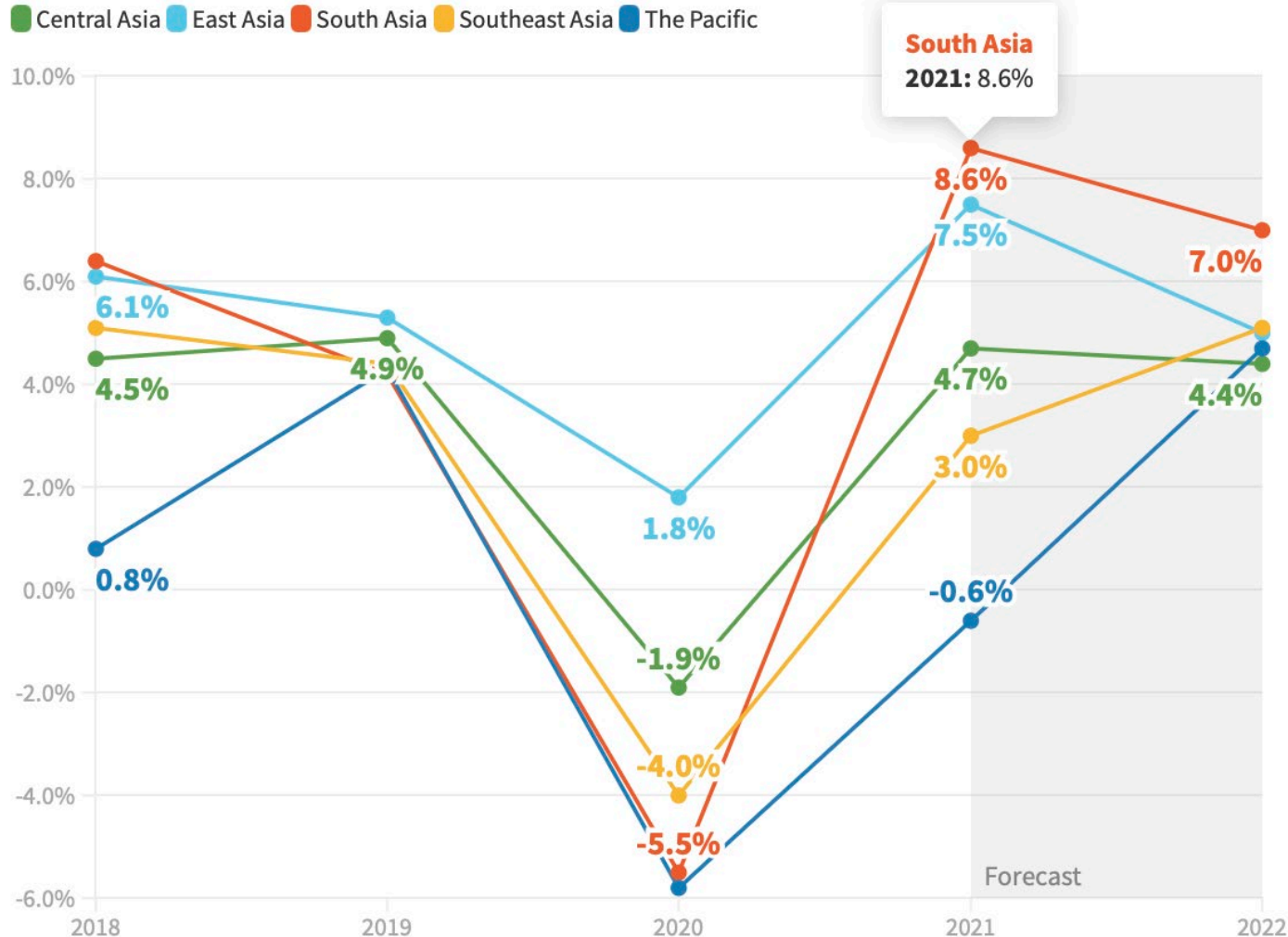
- Still many new infections in ASEAN countries
  - The highest number of infections in the last 28 days was in Vietnam (341,866, according to John's Hopkins University database)
- Several countries have eased restrictions on behavior or eased restrictions on entry into the country.
  - Malaysian government announced that Malaysia reopen its borders to international visitors from April 1, allowing visitors who are fully vaccinated without quarantine (March 8)
  - Vietnam's Prime Minister Pham Minh Chinh directed the health ministry to begin the process of moving the country to the course of living with Covid-19 and treating it as endemic even as cases surge (March 4)
  - Indonesian government eased restrictions, then fully vaccinated domestic travellers no longer need to undergo a Covid-19 test in Indonesia from March 8



# THE ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN SEA

## GDP Growth Forecasts, by Subregion

click on a legend to filter



Source: Asian Development Bank. Asian Development Outlook Supplement, December 2021

<https://www.adb.org/outlook>

- How to revitalize their own economies beyond the pandemic?
  - Tourism
  - DX
  - Deepening and expanding supply chains across the borders
    - The importance of free and open international economic order
    - The importance of the RCEP (and the CPTPP)
- China as the most significant economic partner
  - In 2020, China-ASEAN trade marked the highest (\$731.9 billion)
  - ASEAN became the largest trade partner for China in 2020
  - For ASEAN, China is the largest trade partner (about 20%)

# THE MAIN EFFORTS OF JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION UNDER THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

- Support for the establishment of ASEAN Centre for Public Health Emergencies and Emerging Diseases (ACPHEED)
  - To donate US\$49.8 million to the Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) (May 2020)
  - To conduct the Feasibility Study of the management of the Centre
  - To provide training officers to ASEAN countries with other countries and some international organization such as WHO and Asia-Europe Foundation
- Medical Cooperation
  - Donation to the COVID-19 ASEAN Response Fund: 1 million US dollar (June 2021)
  - Donation through ASEAN+3 Cooperation Fund: US\$ 390 thousand
  - Assistance in medical supplies and equipment and technical cooperation
- Support to revitalize the economy
  - Financial support loans: US\$ 2.5 billion worth of financial support loans to ASEAN countries
  - The Initiative on Overseas Loan and Investment for ASEAN (Nov.2019)
  - Japan-ASEAN Economic Resilience Action Plan (July 2020) : more than 50 specific projects related to economic and industrial cooperation
    - Overseas supply chain diversification support projects (budget amount: 35.1 billion yen (US\$325 million))
    - Asia Digital Transformation (ADX) Projects (budget amount: 920 million yen (US\$ 8.5 million))

# BIDEN'S DIPLOMACY TOWARD SOUTHEAST ASIA

- To strengthen some of ASEAN countries which the US regards as partners
- “Pragmatic” approach
- Indo-Pacific strategy (February 2022)
  - “This intensifying American focus is due in part to the fact that the Indo-Pacific faces mounting challenges, particularly from the PRC. The PRC is combining its economic, diplomatic, military, and technological might as it pursues a sphere of influence in the Indo-Pacific and seeks to become the world’s most influential power.” p.5
  - Five points
    - Advance a Free and Open Indo-Pacific
    - Build connection beyond the region
    - Drive regional prosperity
    - Bolster Indo-Pacific Strategy
    - Build regional resilience to transnational threat
  - Traditional allies: Japan, the ROK, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand
  - Partners: India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, Singapore, Taiwan, Vietnam, and the Pacific Islands
  - The New Indo-Pacific Economic Framework?- What merit for the ASEAN and Japan?

## THE EFFORTS TO KEEP “ASEAN CENTRALITY” AND THE STRATEGIC AUTONOMY

- The crisis of its centrality and strategic autonomy
- Basic policy: to strengthen its own resilience and unity, and to avoid taking one side
- ASEAN Outlook on Indo-Pacific (AOIP) (2019)
  - To emphasize “inclusiveness” and Indo-Pacific based on “ASEAN Centrality”
    - The East Asian Summit (EAS) :the most important institution in ASEAN architecture
- To tighten cooperation with the third parties
  - Japan
    - The expectation for Japan’s FOIP as resources for their economic development (especially Mekong countries)
  - European countries and the EU
    - Welcoming Indo-Pacific strategies by European countries
    - Concern and expectation for Aukus
  - India,Australia
  - Russia
    - Tightening economic/business relations (Vietnam, Indonesia)

## ASEAN'S EFFORTS: TO ADDRESS UKRAINE CRISIS

- The stances of ASEAN countries were diverse, but ASEAN countries shared the concern of the impact of Ukraine Crisis on the existing international order based on the respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity, no use of force and settlement of dispute
  - ASEAN's statement-"quite minimalist" (by Former Indonesian attorney-general Marzuki Darusman), but shows the common understanding and concerns of ASEAN countries as small and middle powers
  - Singapore is the most proactive actor in terms of this issue
- A resolution condemning the deployment and attack of Russian military operations in Ukraine at the eleventh emergency special session of the UNGA
  - Co-sponsored this resolution: Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar, and Singapore
  - Approval: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand
  - Abstain: Vietnam and Laos

# ASEAN'S EFFORTS: TO ADDRESS MYANMAR CRISIS

- Coup d'état by the state military in Myanmar in February 2021
  - The coup in Myanmar came from the context of Myanmar's domestic politics, but it is linked to the current intensifying competition between the U.S. and China and the upheaval in the existing liberal international order.
- Why should ASEAN address this issue?
- ASEAN's Response
  - Special Summit in Jakarta - 5 Consensus
  - Decision not to invite Myanmar's top military leader, Min Aung Hlaing, to regular summit meetings
  - Cambodia's efforts to resolve this issue
- The diverse stances
  - Indonesia, Malaysia vs. Cambodia
- The firm attitude of Myanmar's Military Regime
  - Can the special envoy of the ASEAN meet all of the stakeholders?

# PROSPECT OF JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION ①

- As strategic competition in the Indo-Pacific intensifies and the regional order shifts, Japan and ASEAN are on the same position.
  - Not easily take only one side between the US and China
- From Japan's point of view, to keep international liberal order is indispensable
  - On this point, the stance of the ASEAN countries are diverse, especially on the liberal values
  - But ASEAN countries have also enjoyed economic benefits and regional environmental stability under the liberal international order.
- For both Japan and ASEAN, to encourage the strategic autonomy of the ASEAN/ASEAN countries is critical.
- Japan should strengthen cooperation as a reliable partner and third-party for ASEAN to strengthen the strategic autonomy of the ASEAN/ASEAN countries

## PROSPECT OF JAPAN-ASEAN COOPERATION ②

- The significant fields of cooperation
  - To encourage and improve the RCEP and sustaining liberal international order
  - To address the new Indo-Pacific Economic Framework by the US together
  - To promote infrastructure development
  - To collaborate on green energy and the DX
  - To promote capacity building in terms of maritime security to keep peace and stability in Indo-Pacific strategic circumstances
- The serious challenge for both: democracy and human rights issues (most recently, toward Myanmar crisis)
- To update the liberal international order into more fair, transparent and inclusive one





Thank you very much.

