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Master's Thesis

**Abe's Proactive Engagement in Southeast Asia:
The Pattern of Security Capacity Building
and Cooperation**

아베의 동남아에 대한 적극적 관여:
안보능력 강화와 협력의 패턴

August 2016

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Area Studies Major
Mahar Nirmala**

**Abe's Proactive Engagement in Southeast Asia:
The Pattern of Security Capacity Building
and Cooperation**

A thesis presented by

Mahar Nirmala

to

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**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
Seoul, Republic of Korea
August 2016**

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**Abe's Proactive Engagement in Southeast Asia:
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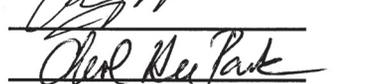
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ABSTRACT

Abe's Proactive Engagement in Southeast Asia: The Pattern of Security Capacity Building and Cooperation

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This thesis examines why Abe is readdressing Southeast Asia more proactively than his predecessors and how Abe has attempted to engage different countries in the region to achieve Japan's strategic goals. This thesis suggests that Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia is motivated by a sense of urgency due to China's assertive behaviors and accelerated by the United States' Rebalance to Asia. In order to find the pattern of security capacity building and cooperation between Japan and Southeast Asian countries, the ten ASEAN countries were categorized into three different groups. The first group consists of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The second group consists of Brunei, Malaysia, and Thailand, while the last group consists of Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. After analyzing the empirical evidence that shows Japan's engagement with these countries, this thesis suggests that Japan's proactive engagement in all ASEAN countries involves an increase in security-oriented ODA and bilateral defense cooperation. However, one can see that Japan certainly has different major goals and strategies in engaging each different group. Therefore, Japan's proactive engagement toward each group differs in terms of the amount of assistance and the type of cooperation.

Keywords : Abe, ASEAN, China, Japan, security, Southeast Asia
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I. Introduction

By the end of 2013, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe had already completed visits to ten Southeast Asian countries within only the first year of his administration.¹ Abe was the first Japanese Prime Minister to visit all of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries, which illustrates the importance of this region for Japan. During his visit to Jakarta on January 18, Abe unveiled the five new principles of Japanese diplomacy in ASEAN: (1) establish and expand universal values such as freedom, democracy, and basic human rights, (2) protect the free and open seas as common goods, which are governed by laws and rules, and welcome the United States' rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region, (3) further promote flows of trade and investment, (4) protect and nurture Asia's diverse cultural heritages and traditions, (5) actively promote exchanges among the young generations to foster mutual understanding (*Kantei*, 2013).

These guiding principles signify that Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia has entered a new policy agenda. Even though Abe's new principles of Japanese diplomacy in ASEAN are similar to the Fukuda Doctrine introduced by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda in 1977, the new principles shows that Abe is taking a more proactive stance in Southeast Asia. He has reoriented Japan's

¹ Southeast Asia as a region consists of the mainland countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam) and maritime countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, Brunei, and East Timor), in total eleven countries. Even though the Association of Southeast Asian Nations excludes East Timor, in this thesis the term of Southeast Asia and ASEAN are used interchangeably.

foreign policy in the region, refocusing the attention on security issues instead of economic activities, as has been stated in the second principle (Wacker, 2015, p. 19). In recent years, Japan has proactively engaged in several joint military exercises and trainings with ASEAN member countries and has provided them with financial and technical assistance.

Japan's current proactive stance towards Southeast Asian countries raises two new questions: why is Abe readdressing this region more proactively than before and how has Abe attempted to engage different countries in Southeast Asia to achieve Japan's strategic goals? The second question relates to the fact that ASEAN consists of ten countries with distinct political and economic backgrounds. Therefore, Abe certainly has a different approach for each country.

This thesis begins with a chapter that briefly reviews the existing literature on Japan's strategic goals in Southeast Asia, the research question, methodology, and argument. In Chapter III, before answering the first puzzle, the Fukuda Doctrine will be addressed to capture the differences between the former and current policies. Afterwards, the United States and China factor will be discussed in order to explain how those factors influence Japan's foreign policy and interest in Southeast Asia. In Chapter IV, Japan's proactive engagement in the region will be examined thoroughly by categorizing ten ASEAN countries into three different groups and presenting the empirical evidence on how Japan engages each group. In this chapter, analysis of the pattern of Japan's proactive engagement will be discussed by explaining the commonalities and differences of Japan's strategies

and policies toward the three groups. The discussion on the differences of Japan's policies and strategies will involve historical and geopolitical variations in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding on this issue. Finally, the last chapter will conclude this thesis.

II. Theoretical Framework

2-1. Existing Literature

Japan's engagement with ASEAN countries under the Abe administration has shifted from a socio-economic agenda into a political-security agenda. Abe's move in Southeast Asia is more decisive than his predecessor, Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda, even though it cannot be denied that Noda played an important role in initiating cooperation with several Southeast Asian countries during his short administration in 2011-2012. In regards to the Abe's strong commitment to undertake strategic engagement in Southeast Asia, much of existing literature provide extensive arguments on the reasons behind Japan's proactive engagement in the region. In this thesis, the author provides three strategic goals for Japan's engagement and elaborates the supporting arguments offered by experts.

The first goal of Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia is to maintain the status quo of the South China Sea, a sea that serves Japan's economic and security interests, but at the same time is the subject of a dispute between several ASEAN countries and China. China's claim on the nine-dash area overlaps with the claims of Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam on the Spratly Islands, the claim of Vietnam on the Paracel Islands (Emmers, 2007, pp. 49-52), and the claim of the Philippines on the Scarborough Shoal. Furthermore, China's assertive behavior has threatened these countries that mostly lack sufficient military capabilities and security frameworks. In regard to this, Japan intends to

prevent any unilateral actions by China that may change the status quo of the sea by supporting ASEAN countries' security capacity building and advocating them to cooperate and adhere to the principles of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS).

There are several advocates that support the argument of preserving the status quo of the South China Sea. First, Jimbo Ken (2014, pp. 53-58), a senior fellow for the Tokyo Foundation as well as an expert of Japan's foreign and security policy, argues that preserving the stability of the South China Sea has become a renewed policy agenda for Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia. One of Japan's interests in this matter is to ensure that the rules and mechanisms for maritime security are consolidated. However, the current condition that shows China's growing maritime capability vis-à-vis ASEAN's relatively slow progress in establishing maritime orders have endangered Japan's interest to preserve the status quo of the South China Sea. Therefore, Japan is committed to helping Southeast Asian countries build their security capacity by actively engaging with them in joint military exercises and training and boosting the amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA).

Another expert of Japan's foreign policies and maritime security, Jeffrey Hornung (2015b), argues that no country in the world can secure its peace and security by itself. In this case, Japan needs to cooperate with ASEAN member countries to secure its interest in the South China Sea. In order to build a unified backing of Japan's interpretation of the UNCLOS, Japan has supported the

capacity building of Southeast Asian countries by conducting joint military training and providing high-tech equipment and patrol boats to several countries.

Céline Pajon (2013), a researcher of Japan's foreign and defense policy from the French Institute of International Relations, offers a similar argument with Hornung. Pajon explains that Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia is driven by the idea that the South China Sea is a matter of survival for Japan. Therefore, Japan needs to build Southeast Asian countries' security capacity to defend themselves and to form a "maritime countries union." This network of the like-minded security partners is important for Japan in their attempt to face China's growing military capability and assertive actions. In order to achieve this goal, Japan utilizes ODA as an instrument to build this network.

Corresponding to Ken and Pajon's argument regarding the use of ODA, James Przystup, a senior research fellow at the Center for the Strategic Research at the National Defense University, and Yuki Tatsumi, a senior associate of the East Asia Program at the Stimson Center, argue that Japan has made strategic use of ODA in order to build law enforcement capacities in the maritime domain across Southeast Asia. Abe has also strengthened both the regional multilateral security framework, including ASEAN and East Asia Summit (EAS), and bilateral cooperation with ASEAN member countries to maintain the status quo of the South China Sea (Przystup and Tatsumi, 2015).

Lastly, Takashi Shiraiishi (2013), President of the National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS), argues that Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia is intended to invite all the countries in the region to participate in the process of drawing up the rules, particularly the rules of the seas based on the legal principles and international laws. More importantly, Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia is also intended to encourage all the countries to abide by the rules that have been formulated. Regarding this intention, Japan considers ASEAN countries as some of the most important actors to work with to build an order for the Asia-Pacific region.

The second goal of Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia is to contain China's aggressive behaviors. Even though this argument might be seen as an exaggeration of Japan's threat perception toward China, this idea is quite popular in the discourse of Japan-China relations. Several experts supported this argument, including Dennis Trinidad (2013), who argues that Japan is pursuing a soft containment strategy to allow both engagement and curtailment of China's influence in the region. Even though this strategy is not purely intended to contain China, it helps Japan mitigate China's behavior. In order to achieve this goal, Japan utilizes value diplomacy, a diplomacy that refers to the use of democracy, human right, and international law – a set of values that China is lacking – to soften Japan's diplomacy in Southeast Asia.

Another advocate, Yaodong Lu, director of the Department of Japanese Diplomacy at the Institute of Japanese Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, also argues that the objective of Abe's diplomatic strategy and frequent visit to Southeast Asia is primarily intended to build a maritime alliance to contain China. Lu shares a similar argument with Trinidad, mentioning that Japan tries to counter China by promoting value-oriented diplomacy and pouring funds into large-sum investments and debt-relief programs. Furthermore, Lu argues that Japan is trying to isolate China by playing up the South China Sea dispute and forcing the non-contending parties to take sides (Wu and Zhang, 2013).

Different from the other Japanese analysts, Yoichi Shimada, professor of international relations at Fukui Prefectural University, offers a bold argument regarding Abe's pledge to provide financial assistance for the Mekong countries, which include Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, and Vietnam. He argues that Abe's priority of giving financial assistance to those mainland countries is to find effective ways to counter China's aggressive actions instead of ensuring the peace and stability in Mekong region, a strategic point that serves Japan's economic interest. Shimada further argues that Japanese government would hesitate to admit that this move is intended to counter China, even though this is true (Ryall, 2015).

The last strategic goal of Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia is to create a stable region that will benefit Japan in the future as well as to allow Japan to exert greater influence. Nobuhiro Aizawa (2014), associate professor at the Graduate School of Social and Cultural Studies at Kyushu University, argues that Japan has

four strategic goals in Southeast Asia: (1) build a stronger Southeast Asia in order to create a stable and prosperous region both for its own well being and for a stronger Asia generally, (2) gain legitimacy from Southeast Asian countries, (3) take full advantage of the great talent and youth in the region as Japan is facing demographic challenges of an aging society, and (4) redefine Japan's role in Southeast Asia as Japan is no longer an economic giant and a military powerhouse. Therefore, Aizawa emphasized that Japan's strategy in Southeast Asia should be directed to enhance "four resiliencies," including economic, political, environmental, and security resiliencies.

2-2. Research Questions

Japan's current proactive stance towards ASEAN countries raises a new question: why is Abe readdressing Southeast Asia more proactive than the previous leaders? Furthermore the existing literature leads to another study on how Abe is trying to realize Japan's strategic goals. The important issue here is that ASEAN consists of ten countries with different political and economic backgrounds. Therefore, Japan certainly has a different approach towards each country. The second puzzle in this thesis then would be how has Abe attempted to engage different countries in Southeast Asia in order to achieve Japan's strategic goals? This thesis will examine the commonalities and differences of Japan's engagement policy toward each country to find a pattern of security capacity building and cooperation.

2-3. Argument

This thesis suggests that Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia under Abe administration is more proactive than before because it is motivated by the sense of urgency due to China's assertive behavior in the region and accelerated by the United States' "Rebalance to Asia." Japan's proactive engagement involves an increase of security-oriented ODA and bilateral defense cooperation with all ASEAN member countries. The difference between each country lies on the amount of assistance provided by Japan and the type of cooperation as Japan has different major goals in each group of countries.

2-4. Methodology

This thesis employs a qualitative analysis to examine the pattern of Japan's security capacity building and cooperation with Southeast Asian countries under the Abe administration. The author counts on extensive literature, including government publications, books, journals and academic papers, and articles from newspapers. The government publications are used to examine the government's stand on the issues, while the other sources are used to support the analysis on the pattern of Japan's engagement with ASEAN member countries. Regarding Japan's engagement strategy in Southeast Asia, Abe has certainly placed a priority on the region and implemented a different strategy than his predecessors. For the purpose of examining the patterns of security capacity building and cooperation, the author categorizes ten ASEAN countries into three different groups.

The first group consists of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. These countries are identified as the priority strategic partners by Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Pajon, 2013). Vietnam and Indonesia are two of the first destinations of Abe's tour in Southeast Asia. Abe defined the relations with Vietnam as an extensive strategic partner in 2014 and designated Indonesia as a strategic partner since 2006. In the case of the Philippines, together with Indonesia, both countries are archipelagic states whose stability depends on a stable maritime environment. Vietnam also has a long coastline facing the South China Sea, thus he needs to secure the maritime environment to support its marine-base economic activities (Nguyen, 2013, p. 215). Therefore, these countries share the same interest with Japan in maintaining a secure and stable maritime environment.

The second group consists of Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. In his Southeast Asia tour, Abe decided to visit Thailand in January, Singapore and Malaysia in July, and Brunei in October, at the same time when the ASEAN-related Summit Meeting was held in Bandar Seri Begawan. Besides their political tendencies that put them closer to the United States rather than to China, Japan considers these countries as important partners because Malaysia and Brunei are also involved in the South China Sea dispute. As for Thailand and Singapore, these countries have had a longstanding security partnership with the United States, Japan's closest ally. Therefore, by engaging these countries, Japan hopes to be able to restrain China's move to solve the dispute bilaterally.

The last group consists of the mainland countries, including Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. These countries are known to be China's traditional allies (Chomchuen and Obe, 2014) and to be dependent to China both politically and economically. On the series of his visit to Southeast Asia, Abe decided to visit Myanmar in May 2013. He was the first Japanese leader to visit Myanmar in thirty-six years. For Cambodia and Laos, Abe saved those countries for last, visiting them in November 2013. Instead of focusing on the negative image of being the last destinations, this visit shows that Abe wants to embrace and cooperate with these countries, particularly in the case of the South China Sea, even though these countries are not involved in the dispute. Japan needs their support for at least not taking sides with China.

The following figure summarizes Japan's engagement framework in Southeast Asia. This categorization is based on the Japanese consideration regarding its strategic partners. However, it is not an absolute categorization and is only used to examine the pattern of engagement with the different groups.

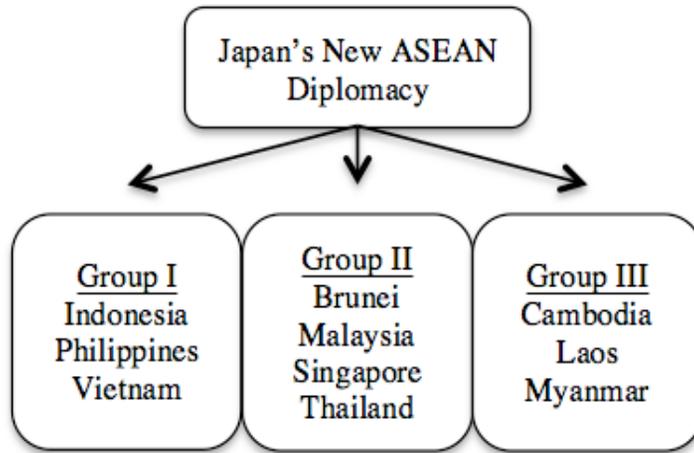


Fig. 1. The Framework of Japan's New ASEAN Diplomacy

III. The Fukuda Doctrine, China, and the United States Factor

This thesis focuses on the Abe administration because Abe was the first prime minister to re-signify the centrality of Southeast Asia for Japan by visiting all ASEAN countries in 2013, even before visiting China and South Korea – Japan’s closest neighbors. Even though security issues are not a new agenda on Japan’s engagement policy in Southeast Asia, Abe has made it clear in the principles of Japan’s ASEAN diplomacy that maritime security is one of Japan’s national interests. Therefore, it is evident that under the Abe administration, Japan has shifted its policy to meet its security interests.

This chapter tries to examine the differences between Abe and Fukuda’s approaches toward Southeast Asia and discuss the reasons behind Abe’s more proactive stance in the region compared to the previous leaders. There are at least two important factors that underlie Japan’s current proactive stance in Southeast Asia: China’s assertive behaviors and the United States’ Rebalance to Asia.

3-1. The Fukuda Doctrine and Abe’s New ASEAN Diplomacy

Japan’s New ASEAN Diplomacy that was unveiled by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe during his visit to Jakarta in January 2013 has become a new guideline for Japan in engaging Southeast Asian countries. Even though most of the

principles in the New ASEAN Diplomacy are similar to the Fukuda Doctrine that was introduced by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda during his visit to Manila in August 1977, the two guidelines differ in terms of their background, aims, and Japan's proactive stance in the region.

The Fukuda Doctrine was introduced amid the fear of communism and the United States' urge for Japan to play larger political role in the region. Considering the fact that Saigon, Phnom Penh, and Vientiane had fallen to communist forces in 1975 and that the U.S. wanted to disengage partially from the region, Japan decided to set new guiding principles in Southeast Asia (de Miguel, 2013).

The Fukuda Doctrine is comprised of three principles: (1) Japan is committed to peace and will never pose a military threat to Southeast Asia, (2) Japan will foster "heart-to-heart" relationships with Southeast Asian countries, and (3) Japan will develop an equal partnership and contribute to regional peace and prosperity (Lam, 2013, pp. 10-14). These three principles were then articulated through several practical actions, including bridging the gap between ASEAN countries members and the three mainland countries that had fallen to Communists, serving as an economic model and becoming the number one ODA donor to the ASEAN countries, and promoting Japanese soft power instead of military power in the region (de Miguel, 2013). Overall, the Fukuda Doctrine was introduced as a policy to improve Japan-Southeast Asian countries' relations and economic cooperation.

In accordance to Abe's New ASEAN Diplomacy, as has been stated in the introduction, it consists of five guiding principles to engage ASEAN. The background of this New ASEAN Diplomacy is no longer the fear of communism, but the rise of China and its assertive behaviors in the region. Therefore, the aim of this New ASEAN Diplomacy is to contain China and to redefine Japan's role in the region. The first principle – to establish and expand universal values, is obviously intended to corner China—a country that is considered undemocratic and refuses to recognize human rights.

The most important factor that differentiates the Fukuda Doctrine and Abe's New ASEAN Diplomacy is Japan's proactive stance in the region. As stated in the first principle of the Fukuda Doctrine, Japan's military role in the region was clearly limited. However, the second principle of the New ASEAN Diplomacy suggests that Japan is reviving its military power through a series of security and military capacity building programs with ASEAN countries. Furthermore, it is also stated that Japan encourages ASEAN member countries to welcome the United States' Rebalance to Asia, which means Japan is currently playing a proactive role in the region both as the United States ally and as a major power in Asia.

3-2. China's Assertive Behaviors and the United States' Rebalance to Asia

Japan's current proactive engagement in Southeast Asia has been motivated by a sense of urgency due to China's assertive behavior in the region. The idea of China's assertive behavior is actually not a recent phenomenon. Back in mid-

1990s, China had undertaken several aggressive moves by sending ships to disputed reefs in the South China Sea. Besides showing its military strength, China also encouraged Southeast Asian country to abandon their alliances, particularly with the United States. However, the result of these actions has not turned out as China expected. Quite the contrary, ASEAN member countries condemned China's policy and decided to solidify their military cooperation with the United States. (Kurlantzick, 2007, p. 38).

Following those reactions from Southeast Asian countries, China seemed to not have a coherent foreign policy in the region until the late of 1990s. Only in the beginning of 2000s did China eventually declared the term "Peaceful Rise" as a new idea to guide China's foreign policy in the region. During Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's speech in 2004, he explained that peaceful rise means China "will not come at the cost of any other country, will not stand in the way of any other country, nor pose a threat to any other country" even as China becomes a global power (Kurlantzick, 2007, p. 37-38).

Even though the term of "Peaceful Rise" does not sound alarming, Southeast Asian countries remain vigilant toward China. Southeast Asian countries, particularly the contending parties in the South China Sea, often feel intimidated by China's military modernization and assertive actions. Between 2000 and 2014, it is reported that China had acquired at least 41 submarines (Nagao and Collin, 2016). Apart from the rise of China's military capacity, China has been provoking its ASEAN counterparts by conducting large-scale land reclamation projects on

disputed islets and building outposts. Those actions are certainly contradictory to the 2002 DOC. Furthermore, China placed its Haiyang Shiyou-981 oilrig near the Vietnamese coastline in May 2014 (Tan and Korovin, 2015, p. 10), which has further enflamed the dispute between Vietnam and China.

In regard to these actions, Japan certainly feels threatened, as it possesses economic and security interests in the South China Sea. However, Japan cannot directly oppose China's unilateral actions due to its status as non-contending party in the dispute. Therefore, in order to maintain the status quo of the South China Sea and to ensure Japan's own security and economic interest, Japan decided to build closer relations with Southeast Asian countries, as this is regarded as the most feasible policy to counter China. Japan keeps providing financial and technical assistance as well as supporting military capacity building programs, especially to the contending parties, given the fact that they lack the military capacity and financial resources of China.

Besides China's assertive behaviors, the discourse of Japan's proactive engagement in Southeast Asia cannot be separated from Obama's policy of "Rebalance to Asia." During his visit to Australia in November 2011, President Obama conveyed his decision to rebalance America's effort and investment to the world's fastest-growing region, Asia Pacific, in close partnership with United States allies and friends.

This rebalancing policy is an effort of the United States to resolve the geographic imbalance of their previous policies and to meet several objectives: (1) modernize and strengthen U.S. alliances as well as ties with emerging partners, (2) support effective regional institutions, (3) increase trade and investment, (4) ensure United States military presence in the region, (5) promote democratic principles, (6) expand people-to-people ties (U.S. Department of State, 2013a).

Tom Donilon, National Security Adviser to the President, and Daniel R. Russel, Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, emphasized that the rebalancing does not mean diminishing ties to U.S. partners in other regions or a policy that occurs at the expense of Europe. They also confirmed that this is not a containment strategy to contain China. More importantly, this policy is not only a matter of U.S. military presence, rather it should be seen as an engagement involving a broader and more balanced agenda as mentioned above. In the future, the “Rebalance to Asia” will be a sustained policy to correct the U.S.’ overweighed in other regions (The White House, 2013 and U.S. Department of State, 2014).

Regarding its refocus in the Asia-Pacific region, the United States is still considering Japan as the cornerstone of Obama’s “Rebalance to Asia.” Furthermore, it is worth noting that the United States is enhancing their presence in Southeast Asia, as it has been believed that Southeast Asia was a low priority for the United States during 2000s (Kurlantzick, 2012, p. 8), whereas, this region has a huge market of approximately 600 million consumers, GDP of more than \$2.2

trillion, and relatively fast economic growth (U.S. Department of State, 2013b). Furthermore, there were greater demands from the ASEAN member countries for joint training, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief. Considering these facts, in 2011 President Obama appointed a U.S. resident ambassador to ASEAN and signed the ASEAN Treaty of Amity and Cooperation. The U.S. and ASEAN leaders also hold regular high-level meetings to deepen and sustain their partnerships (Campbell and Andrews, 2013, pp. 6-8).

America's rebalance to Asia in a sense demands greater support from the U.S. allies to ensure that these objectives will be achieved. Among all of the allies, the U.S. has long considered Japan as one of its most influential allies in Asia, particularly to oversee the regional security situation that has always been dynamic. Fortunately for the U.S., Japan under Prime Minister Abe is also in line with this idea. Therefore, both countries decided to share responsibility in shaping the Asia-Pacific economy, security, and political affairs for now and beyond.

In accordance to the United States' Rebalance to Asia, particularly to Southeast Asia as the most underweighted sub-region, Japan designated five guiding principles to engage ASEAN countries in January 2013. These guiding principles are to protect and promote universal values, such as freedom, democracy, and basic human rights; ensure free and open seas as the most vital common asset are governed by law and welcome the United States' rebalancing to Asia; promote trade and investment for Japan and ASEAN's prosperity; protect

and nurture Asia's diverse cultural heritage; and promote exchange among the young generations (*Kantei*, 2013).

Japan's five principles for ASEAN diplomacy are certainly similar to the essence of the United States' Rebalance to Asia. The second principle also mentioned that ASEAN countries should welcome the U.S. and their rebalancing to Asia-Pacific. It shows that Japan is supporting America's policy and playing its role as the United States' ally, while at the same time is fulfilling Japan's economic, security, and political interests in the region.

The most explicit example of how the United States' Rebalance to Asia influences Japan's foreign policy can be seen through Abe's effort to engage the mainland countries, particularly Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. These countries were once shunned by the United States due to their autocratic governments. However, U.S. policy lines have been changing since the implementation of "Rebalance to Asia" policy, particularly in regards to Myanmar. This policy encouraged Japan and other U.S. allies to end nearly all sanctions on Myanmar by 2014 and to help Myanmar in reforming its economic and political systems. Since the United States was certain that there was room to improve relations with mainland countries, Japan also began to pursue its interest in those countries and to exert greater influence. (Kurlantzick, 2015, pp. 1-6). Therefore, in conclusion, the U.S.' Rebalance to Asia has accelerated Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia.

IV. Japan's Engagement in Southeast Asia and the Pattern of Security Capacity Building and Cooperation

4-1. Japan's Proactive Engagement in Southeast Asia

In the past, Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia was mainly intended to meet Japan's economic interests. However, recently Japan's engagement has expanded to not only fulfilling Japan's economic interest, but also its security interest. Shoji (2015, pp. 99-100) explained that the significance of Japan's security cooperation with ASEAN countries comprises of two dimensions. First, Japan is pursuing a "multi-dimensional, comprehensive partnership" involving economic, political, and security areas. Second, the ASEAN itself is increasingly important for Japan's own security. These significances are in line with the National Security Strategy (NSS) published by the government in December 2013 and the 2013 National Defense Program Guideline (NDPG). The NSS mostly deals with Japan's "Proactive Contribution to Peace" policy based on the principle of international cooperation, while the 2013 NDPG, as the basic document of Japan's defense strategy, emphasizes maritime and air superiority based on joint operations to address "gray-zone" situations, which are neither pure peacetime nor contingencies conditions regarding to territory, sovereignty, and maritime interests (NIDS, 2014, pp. 55-65).

Following the publication of the NSS and NDPG, Abe is working hard to develop Japan's defense posture and security ties with other countries as Japan is surrounded by an uncertain security environment and expected to play a more proactive role by international communities. In April 2014, the government decided to ease rules on defense equipment transfer to allow arms exports under certain circumstances as long as it contributes to the promotion of peace and international security as well as Japan's own security (Lee, 2015, pp. 22-23). In February 2015, Japan announced that ODA policy had been revised for the first time since 2003 to meet the NSS and NDPG principles. This revision allows Japan to provide aid to foreign militaries for non-combat use through ODA. On September 19, 2015, the Japanese Diet passed a law allowing Japan's Self-Defense Forces (JSDF) to provide support to armed forces of foreign countries as long as those activities are related to Japan's security matter.

In Southeast Asia itself, most of the countries are still struggling with their internal security issues, while the others are struggling to defend their perceived territories in the South China Sea. Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam are competing with China in the Spratly Islands, an archipelagic region extending over 250,000 square miles and consisting of more than a hundred islets, reefs, and rocks, and more importantly oil and natural gas reserves (Weatherbee, 2009, pp. 142-145). In regard to this issue, ASEAN and China actually had agreed on the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) in 2002. However, this DOC has failed to enhance favorable conditions for peaceful

solutions and to act as the foundation for a binding Code of Conduct (COC), even though both parties have commenced with official consultations on a COC on October 9, 2013 during the ASEAN Summit Meeting in Bandar Seri Begawan (Valencia, 2015 and Chalermphanupap, 2014, p. 57).

In regard to this dismal condition, most Southeast Asian countries have been willing to accept capacity building assistance from and strategic cooperation with other countries. Even though a military build-up in the region has been visible since the 1990s, as can be seen from the rise in defense expenditures and arms procurements (Acharya, 2003, pp. 136-137), the fact shows that most of the ASEAN countries still lack military capabilities compared to China.

4-2. Japan's Engagement with Countries in Group I

The first group of countries consists of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. Indonesia and Japan's strategic cooperation dates back to March 2006 when both countries agreed to establish a strategic partnership underpinned by sea and democracy. In June of the same year, Abe announced that Japan would donate three patrol boats to Indonesia for the purpose of counterterrorism and anti-piracy efforts that are prevalent in Malacca Strait. These patrol boats were worth a total of ¥1.921 million were transferred to Indonesia through the ODA framework in 2007 and were banned from being transferred to any third country (MOFA, 2006).

The following year, Prime Minister Abe expressed his intention to contribute more to the security of the Malacca Strait during a meeting with Indonesian and

Malaysian leaders in August. Japan intended to provide further technical assistance and capacity building efforts to secure the strait as 90% of Japan's imported crude oil passes through the Malacca Strait (Shoji, 2009, pp. 178-179).

Recently, Indonesia and Japan are strengthening their security and defense cooperation through multi-dimensional frameworks. Back in June 2011, during the Japan-Indonesia Summit Meeting, Prime Minister Naoto Kan and President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono agreed to host regular defense ministerial consultations. This mechanism developed later in December 2013 when Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President Joko Widodo agreed to host a Japan-Indonesia Foreign and Defense Ministerial Meeting, a significant step to enhancing security and military cooperation by involving two crucial ministries.

Furthermore, as the largest donor to Indonesia, Japan has been contributing in building Indonesia's economy and governance as well as supporting modernization of its military and defense capability. For the later contribution, Japan's assistance to Indonesia is in line with President Joko Widodo's maritime axis doctrine, a doctrine introduced in June 2014 and consisting of five pillars to eliminate sources of conflict in the two major seas surrounding Indonesia: the Indian and Pacific Oceans. One of the pillars says that Indonesia needs to develop maritime defense forces to ensure its maritime security. Therefore, Japan's assistance in the maritime field, such as human resource development, capacity building efforts, enhancement of vessel traffic system, and provision of patrol boats, have been well received by Indonesia.

On March 23, 2015, Tokyo and Jakarta established a Japan-Indonesia Joint Statement – Towards Further Strengthening of the Strategic Partnership Underpinned by Sea and Democracy. On that occasion, both leaders welcomed the results of the Japan-Indonesia Ministerial-Level Strategic Dialogue and the signing of memorandum between Ministry of Defense of both countries on cooperation and exchanges in the defense area. During this meeting, Jokowi and Abe also agreed to set up a new high-level bilateral maritime forum to enhance the competence of coast guard capabilities (MOFA, 2015a).

Last year on December 17, both countries held the first Japan-Indonesia Foreign and Defense Ministerial Meeting (2+2 Meeting) in Tokyo as a follow-up to the initiative launched in December 2013. In their meeting, Minister of Defense Gen Nakatani described Indonesia as the major power of ASEAN, while the Indonesian side welcomed Japan’s “Legislation for Peace and Security” under the policy of “Proactive Contribution to Peace.” During the meeting, the ministers decided to initiate discussions for an agreement on the transfer of defense equipment and technology as the Indonesian government already welcomed Japan’s decision on the Three Principles on Transfer of the Defense Equipment and Technology passed in April 2014.

During the meeting, Indonesia Defense Minister Ryamizard Ryacudu was also reported to express Indonesian intention in procuring US-2 amphibious aircraft from Japan for maritime rescue missions. Ultimately, in order to create sustained cooperation, the two countries agreed to hold the 2+2 Meeting on a

regular basis. As a follow-up to this meeting, Japan participated in the multilateral naval “KOMODO” exercise held in Indonesia on April 12-16 by sending its destroyer (MOFA, 2015b).

By following the development of Japan-Indonesia cooperation, it can be seen that prior to 2010 their security cooperation focused on anti-piracy activities (Hornung, 2015a, p. 171). However, since the beginning of Abe’s second administration and the launching of Jokowi’s Maritime Axis Doctrine in June 2014, both countries are building closer cooperation on broader security-defense areas.

The second country in the first group is the Philippines. Japan and the Philippines became strategic partners in 2011. In July 2012, during the ministerial talks held in Japan, the Philippines’ Department of National Defense and Japan’s Ministry of Defense signed a statement of intent to promote defense cooperation and exchanges, including the arrangement of high-level interaction and working-level exchanges. The Philippines is fully welcoming Japan as a balancing factor in the region amid its fierce competition with China in the South China Sea. Actually, the Philippines has already ventured into the South China Sea disputes with arbitration to the international tribunal in January 22, 2013. However, China has refused to follow up the proceeding and decided to not honor the decisions made by the tribunal (Chalermphanupap, 2014, p. 56). Due to this uncertainty, the Philippines has been welcoming of Japan’s assistance to their country.

Japan seems to be the right partner for the Philippines to address the South China Sea dispute, as Japan also needs to secure its economic and security interest in that sea. Furthermore, the fact that the Philippines is the United States' ally gives Japan more justifications to cooperate closely with this country under the United States' Rebalance to Asia policy and Japan's Proactive Contribution to Peace initiative. During the ministerial talks held in June 2013, Japan and the Philippines announced to further cooperate in maritime and air defense. In July 2013, during Abe's visit to the Philippines, both countries agreed to undertake joint exercises involving the defense authorities and coast guard agencies. The most important decision made during this talk was that Japan would provide ten patrol vessels to the Philippine Coast Guard (Fukuda, 2015, p. 25).

As of April 20, 2015, the Japan Marine United Corp (JMU) won a bid to provide the Philippines with ten multirole response vessels (MRRVs) to assist the Coast Guard in their search and rescue operations, particularly in Manila, La Union, and Puerto Princesa, and to assist in maritime law enforcement. The MRRVs are scheduled to be delivered from 2016-2018 and will only cost the Philippines under \$30 million from the total cost of around \$200 million as these MRRVs will come from Japan's ODA to the Philippines. According to the Philippines Department of Transportation and Communications, the MRRVs will be 40 meters long with a standard cruising speed of 16 knots and a range of 1,500 miles (Pollmann, 2015 and Parameswaran, 2015a).

The year of 2015 marks a stronger defense and maritime cooperation between Japan and the Philippines. On May 12, two Japanese destroyers – the JS *Harusame* and *Amigri* – and a Philippines warship BRP *Ramon Alcaraz* participated in their first joint naval exercise in the South China Sea, focusing on communication strategies to test the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea (CUES). The joint exercise that involved around 600 Japanese personnel and 100 Philippines navy held maneuvers less than 300 km from the Scarborough Shoal – a disputed territory claimed by the Philippines.

On June 4, 2015, the two countries launched the Japan-Philippines Joint Declaration and endorsed the “Action Plan for Strengthening of the Strategic Partnership.” The Joint Declaration mainly discusses a joint contribution to secure regional peace, stability in Mindanao, collaboration for economic growth, and coordination in the international area, while the annexation provides a detailed agenda on the joint contribution to secure regional peace and stability, including cooperation in disaster relief, security dialogues, capacity building assistance and joint exercise and training, maritime safety and security cooperation, combat to piracy and armed robbery, and consultation on international law (*Kantei*, 2015). During the meeting, both parties also agreed to start a study on the transfer of Japanese military technology and a visiting forces agreement as the Philippines has expressed its receptiveness to grant JSDF access to its bases (Pollmann, 2015).

From June 22 to 26, 2015, Japan and the Philippines conducted their second joint exercise close to the South China Sea. Even though this was their second joint exercise, the drill was called “the first-formal, full-fledged” exercise, involving a Japanese P-3C Orion maritime surveillance aircraft. This exercise focused on the humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR), maritime search and rescue operations, and maritime situational awareness training. In November, the two countries held their third defense ministerial meeting, discussing the regional situation and welcoming the defense cooperation of capacity building assistance and exchange of equipment and technology.

In January 2016, the United States and the Philippines have concluded a significant step for their bilateral relations. Both countries agreed to expand military exchanges and give American troops access to the Philippines bases. This decision will certainly accelerate Japan-Philippines security and defense partnership in the future. As of February 29, 2016, Japanese Ambassador to the Philippines Kazuhide Ishikawa and Philippine Defense Minister Voltaire Gazmin signed a new framework for the provision and joint production of military hardware and technology, enforcement of joint research and development projects, and donation of second-hand military equipment – following the Japan-Philippines Joint Declaration concluded last year.

In March 2016, the Philippine plans to lease five Japanese TC-90 aircrafts that have a radius of 600 kilometers to help the Philippine navy monitor the Spratly Islands. Another progress in the area of defense between the two countries was

shown during the port call of a training submarine *Oyashio* and two destroyers *Ariake* and *Setogiri* at Subic Bay in April 2016. The port call marked the first visit of Japanese submarine since 2001 involved 500 Japanese personnel, including 55 officer candidates. They were scheduled to take part in several confidence building activities and shipboard tours. Following these developments, Japan expects that the two countries can conclude an agreement on sharing and protecting classified defense information by the end of 2016.

Considering the development of Japan-the Philippines partnerships, it can be concluded that a shift in the focus of cooperation has occurred. The 2011 strategic partnership agreement was initially intended to facilitate the flow of trade and investment between the two countries. However, following Abe's visit to the country in 2013, the focus of their strategic partnership has shifted to address the maritime security issue in the region, especially the South China Sea dispute.

The last country included in the first group is Vietnam. The Japan-Vietnam relationship was once complicated following Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in 1978. Japan had to consider the U.S. factor before resuming its relationship with Vietnam. However, later Japan realized that there were several political and security reasons that underlay Japan's decision to resume their relations. Considering this situation, Japan decided to restart engaging Vietnam, especially through its Official Development Assistance framework.

In 2006, the two countries announced the establishment of a strategic partnership to enhance bilateral relations. Since then, their relationship become deeper and involves broader strategic matters. In 2010, Japan and Vietnam began to hold annual 2+2 Meetings between their foreign and defense ministries. In October 2011, on the occasion of Vietnamese Defense Minister Phung Quang Thanh's visit to Japan, both countries adopted a Plan of Action to implement the strategic partnership and signed a memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation and exchanges, allowing a promotion of high-level defense exchanges and regular dialogue, cooperation on non-traditional security issues, and cooperation in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. This meeting signified the establishment of Defense Attaché offices in each country and the inauguration of Defense Policy Dialogue.

Japan and Vietnam shared intertwined interests in particular ways. Japan committed to build Vietnam's civilian maritime law enforcement (CMLE) capacity to help Japan securing its interest in the South China Sea, while Vietnam considers Japan as a reliable source of technical and financial assistance to help Vietnam securing its 3,400 km vast coastline from China's aggressive actions. In accordance to this, when Abe started his overseas visits in January 2013, he selected Vietnam as the first destination among the other Southeast Asian countries. During the meeting, Abe and Nguyen Dan Tung were engaged in constructive discussions on various issues related to regional and bilateral cooperation. Following this meeting, Minister of Defense Onodera paid a visit to

Vietnam in September 2013. In this meeting, both parties were committed to proactively promote Japan-Vietnam defense cooperation and exchanges, focusing on the HADR.

In March 2014, President Truong Tan Sang and Prime Minister Abe agreed to elevate their eight-year-old “strategic partnership” to a higher cooperation framework called the “extensive strategic partnership.” This framework allows for the advancement of cooperation between JSDF and Vietnam People’s Army in the field of human resource development, capacity building, and visits of military ships and a continuation of exchange delegations at various levels. A joint statement involving 69 points was also concluded during the meeting. On the defense cooperation sub-section, both countries committed to implement a memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation and exchanges issued in 2011 and to continue their formal Defense Policy Dialogue. On that occasion, Abe also agreed to provide assistance and enhance Vietnam’s CMLE capacity, including providing Hanoi with ¥120 billion in loans.

At the end of July 2014, Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida visited Vietnam and agreed to supply Vietnam with six used vessels, including the lifeboats, radar, and training. The vessels that consisted of two former Fishery Agency patrol boats and four commercial fishing boats modified for patrol tasks and weighing around 600-800 tons are being provided under an ODA-type grant valued at ¥500 million. The vessels were supposed to be delivered by the end of 2014. However, only two vessels have been delivered to Vietnam by September 2015. The first vessel was

delivered to Vietnam Marine Police in February 2015 while the other was delivered to Vietnam Fisheries Resources Surveillance Force in August 2015. The second vessel, named *Hayato*, is a ship built in 1993 and is more than 56 meters long and 9 meters wide, with a maximum speed of 12.5 nautical miles per hour and the room to accommodate 49 crew members (Parameswaran, 2015b).

In September 2015, Vietnamese supreme leader Nguyen Phu Trong was on a four-day official visit to Japan. During his meeting with Prime Minister Abe, both leaders agreed on a Joint Vision Statement on Japan-Vietnam Relations and issued a Memorandum on Cooperation between Coast Guard Agencies. Abe further agreed to provide Vietnam with more used vessels and a ¥200 million aid grant to beef up Hanoi's CMLE capacity amid increasing tensions with China. Their defense cooperation further deepened in November 2015 when both countries agreed to allow Japan Maritime Self-Defense Forces (MSDF) to make port calls in Cam Ranh Bay and to discuss joint naval exercises between the Vietnamese navy and MSDF. In the same month, Japan delivered two other used ships to the Vietnamese Coast Guard.

Recently in February 2016, the MSDF and Vietnamese navy conducted joint exercises for three days, involving the use of P-3C patrol aircraft and dispatch of an MSDF team to Danang. On April 12, 2016, two Japanese destroyers – *Ariake* and *Setogiri* – arrived in Cam Ranh Bay to make a port call for the first time and to conduct joint exercises with the Vietnamese Navy. As the two countries' defense

cooperation develops rapidly, Japan plans to send ships to Cam Ranh Bay for refueling and restocking on supplies in the future.

Considering a closer cooperation between Japan and Vietnam, it can be seen that there is a shift of focus following Abe's second administration. The 2006 strategic partnership agreement was initially intended to facilitate trade and investment between Japan and Vietnam. However, since they upgraded their cooperation to Extensive Strategic Partnership in 2014, the focus of their cooperation has changed to address the maritime security issue and support Vietnam's CMLE.

4-3. Japan's Engagement with Countries in Group II

The second group consists of four countries: Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand. Brunei is one of the claimants in the South China Sea dispute, particularly in regards to the Rifleman Bank, Louisa Reefs, and its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and continental shelf. Since its claims are covering only a limited area, Brunei decided to avoid any clash with China while actively participating in the multilateral forums, such as ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), the highest defense consultative and cooperative framework in ASEAN, and ADMM-Plus (Chalermphanupap, 2014, p. 55).² Through these mechanisms, Brunei initiated the so-called Direct Communication Link (DCL),

² ADMM-Plus involves eight other countries outside ASEAN: Australia, China, India, Japan, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, and the United States.

key confidence and security building measures developed for crisis situations, including maritime security issues and natural disasters.

In regard to Brunei's stance on the South China Sea dispute and its overall views on the regional situation, Japan and Brunei have not yet built deep relations in the area of security and defense cooperation. Instead, both countries have been deepening their economic activities, particularly in the energy sector. Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah once remarked that Japan is the biggest trading partner for Brunei and Japan itself is committed to boost its presence in Brunei by engaging in various economic activities. As the two countries have mutual interests in the energy sector, in April 2013 Japan and Brunei renewed a long-term export and import contract of Liquefied Natural Gas. Besides the energy sector, the Japan-Brunei partnership is limited to the area of technical cooperation, given the fact that Brunei does not receive any loans or grants from Japan as part of the ODA.

Apart from economic cooperation, Japan and Brunei have been cementing a closer bilateral relation in other areas. During 2013, both countries held three bilateral meetings in May, October, and December. Those meetings were held in Tokyo, Brunei, and again Tokyo, respectively. During the summit meeting in May, both leaders agreed to strengthen cooperative partnership in the disaster relief and maritime security fields and to cooperate closely in the ADMM-Plus multilateral exercises that would be held in Brunei. Following this meeting, several visits and exchanges involving troop levels were held, particularly during the ADMM-Plus multilateral exercises held in June. Furthermore, Brunei was also actively

participating in various programs related to defense that were organized by Japan, such as the Tokyo Defense Forum, the Western Pacific Naval Symposium, and the Multilateral Cooperation Program in the Asia Pacific (Embassy of Japan in Brunei Darussalam, 2014).

Recently, Japan and Brunei agreed on January 28, 2016 to work closely on the South China Sea disputes issue amid revelations of large-scale and fast-paced reclamation projects conducted by China. In March 2016, during a courtesy call between the Deputy Minister of Defense First Admiral Dato Seri Pahlawan Abdul Aziz and Japanese Vice Minister of Defense for International Affairs Toru Mimura, both countries discussed several feasible means to strengthen their defense ties and the importance of ADMM-Plus to boost their cooperation.

Considering the development of Japan-Brunei cooperation, it can be concluded that the two countries' bilateral cooperation is still dominated by economic cooperation. In the near future, it is important for Japan to explore several possible frameworks of security and defense cooperation and types of technical assistance suitable for and needed by Brunei. According to a report published by Deloitte in 2015, as a higher-income spender country, Brunei is focusing on the acquisition of sophisticated command, including procuring sophisticated maritime patrol and transport aircraft, coastal patrol vessels, and maritime surveillance systems (Deloitte, 2015, p. 14). In regard to this report, Japan needs to consider these factors in order to be able to cooperate closely with Brunei on maritime security issues.

The second country in the second group is Malaysia. For Malaysia, Japan was regarded as a role model country since 1981 when Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad initiated the Look East Policy (LEP) to accelerate investment and technology transfers from Japan. Since then, this policy has contributed to the strengthening of economic, security, and defense cooperation between the two countries, including maritime security and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief partnerships. Besides Indonesia, Malaysia is also considered as important partner in ensuring the security of the Malacca Strait. In order to assist Malaysia, Japan and Malaysia signed an Exchange of Notes on “the Project for Improvement of Equipment for Maritime Security Enhancement” on January 25, 2008. Through this project, Japan agreed to provide ¥473 million to enhance the capacity of Malaysian Maritime Enforcement Agency (MMEA). This occasion reaffirmed Japan’s commitment to supporting the capacity building of coast guard and rescue that has been continued since 2004 by dispatching experts and improving technical assistance to MMEA (Embassy of Japan in Malaysia, 2008).

In April 2010, Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama and Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak signed a joint statement to establish an “Enhanced Partnership” framework intended to reaffirm existing relations and to explore new fields of cooperation, such as partnerships for peace and security, strengthening sustainable growth, and contributions in the environment and energy sectors and human resources development. Furthermore, it is worth noting that this joint statement signified the changing status from mentor-mentee relationship to that of

equal partners (Zainuddin, 2015, pp. 14-15). Therefore, recently JICA's agenda in Malaysia has been focused on supporting Malaysia to become a high-income country, responding to common issues in the region, and developing the partnership beyond the region.

In the security and defense area, following the first joint exercise held in September 2013 both nations agreed to enhance the partnership between their maritime security organizations. This commitment was reaffirmed in April 2014 during talks between Japanese Minister of Defense Itsunori Onodera and Malaysian Defense Minister Hishammuddin Hussein. Both ministers agreed to enhance their cooperation in maritime security and to promote the establishment of a memorandum on defense exchanges. Following this commitment, Japan MSDF's vessels and the Royal Malaysian Navy held a goodwill exercise in the west of Kyushu in the same month.

In May 2014, during the Japan-Malaysia Summit Meeting held in Tokyo, both leaders expressed their intention to enhance their maritime safety ties, including cooperation on human resource development for ASEAN maritime safety and assistance on equipment in the field of maritime security. In order to elevate their defense cooperation, Prime Minister Abe and Prime Minister Najib agreed to initiate exchanges between their defense authorities and establish a new mechanism for security dialogue.

One year later, Japanese and Malaysian leaders signed a new strategic partnership to elevate their bilateral ties on May 25, 2015. Even though the meeting also addressed their economic cooperation through the LEP 2.0 launched by Prime Minister Najib in 2013, maritime security became the most important agenda during the talks. Since Malaysia has been welcoming Japan's "Legislation for Peace and Security", Najib also welcomed further security and defense cooperation. The two leaders agreed to commence discussion on transfers of defense equipment and technology, increase Malaysia's coast guard agency's capacity building, and support Malaysia's maritime law enforcement body amid heightened tensions in the South China Sea. Abe also expressed Japan's intention to launch a new training program for 500 Malaysian vocational trainees. As a follow-up, on November 20, Abe reaffirmed Japan's decision to begin a study on the possible provision of a ship-handling simulator to enhance MMEA's capacity during a summit held in Kuala Lumpur.

Examining the development of bilateral cooperation between Japan and Malaysia, there has been an enhancement in ties from year to year. Prior to 2010, their cooperation focused on economic activities that emphasized their mentor-mentee relation. After the establishment of the enhanced partnership framework, they gradually develop broader security cooperation. Finally, after the establishment of the strategic partnership framework in 2015, both countries decided to focus on addressing maritime security issues in the region.

The third country in the second group is Singapore. As a developed country, Singapore and Japan are working closely on providing technical assistance to third-party countries under the Japan-Singapore Partnership Programme for the 21st Century (JSPP21) initiated back in 1997. On the economic front, Singapore became the first country to sign an economic partnership agreement for a new age partnership (JESPA) with Japan in January 2002. In the security and defense area, Singapore again became the first country in Southeast Asia to sign a memorandum on defense cooperation and exchange with Japan in December 2009. This memorandum accelerated and broadened the defense cooperation between Japan and Singapore. Prior to 2010, their defense relations have been limited to joint anti-piracy exercises between their coast guards as Singapore is also pertinent to the Strait of Malacca. However, since China is becoming more aggressive in claiming the South China Sea, both countries decided to elevate their bilateral relations to include discussion on regional maritime security, such as freedom of navigation and stable Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) (Hornung, 2014, p. 108).

Japan-Singapore's closer defense relations can also be seen through high-level visits to discuss the regional situation, such as between their Defense Ministries in June 2013 during the 12th Shangri-La Dialogue, in August 2013 during the 2nd ADMM-Plus Meeting, and in May 2014 during the 13th Shangri-La Dialogue. In July 2013, Prime Minister Abe and Prime Minister Lee also reaffirmed their decision to strengthen Japan-Singapore defense forces' ties,

particularly in rear-area assistance in the case of disaster and rescue operations, besides confirming their plans to advance the export of infrastructure systems.

Apart from their cooperation in several areas, there are at least two important tenets regarding Japan-Singapore relations. First, unlike most of Southeast Asian countries, Singapore does not receive any ODA from Japan. Second, Singapore does not consider Japan as the only reliable partner to balance Southeast Asia even though this country already welcomed Japan's leadership in the region and expressed its support for Japanese "Legislation for Peace and Security." Instead, Singapore is seeking other reliable partners outside the region, such as India. Recently, Singapore has been strengthening its relations with India. In July 2015, both countries signed an agreement on sharing white-shipping information while maintaining their high-level meetings, professional exchanges, and joint maritime bilateral exercise (SIMBEX). In regard to this, Japan is expected to be able to enhance its cooperation with Singapore, such as by initiating a joint bilateral exercise similar to SIMBEX.

The last country in the second group is Thailand, a long-lasting partner of Japan in the military and defense areas. Since 1988, Japan and Thailand have held a Politico-Military Talk annually. Furthermore, the Japanese Ministry of Defense and SDF have been participating in Cobra Gold since 2005.³ Unfortunately, these harmonious relations have been interrupted by several military coups, the most

³ Cobra Gold is the largest multilateral military exercises in Asia-Pacific region and hosted annually by the United States and Thailand.

recent one in May 2014. Following this coup, the Japanese government suspended various high-level diplomatic exchanges and Japanese direct investment also fell by 37% in the same year (Obe, 2015).

Fortunately, this condition did not last long as Japanese companies lobbied their government to maintain good relations with the Thai junta government, given the fact that Thailand is the largest overseas investment destination in Southeast Asia for Japan and that Thailand has approached China in search of closer economic ties. These reasons explain why Japan has been exercising a different approach from the U.S. in regards to the recent coup and decided to embrace the Prayut Chan-ocha government even though Japan's foreign policy itself is based on value-oriented diplomacy (Ichihara, Koo, Saho, Pongsudhirak, 2015, pp. 1-2).

In September 2013, Japanese Minister of Defense Onodera and Defense Minister Yingluck Shinawatra held talks reaffirming that both Japan and Thailand would deepen their defense cooperation. On March 14, 2015, Prime Minister Prayut and Prime Minister Abe held a bilateral meeting in Sendai, praising the Politico-Military and Military-Military (PM/MM) consultations framework as a result of the longstanding partnership between Japan and Thailand. In regards to this, Prime Minister Prayut also expressed his willingness to upgrade this framework to a ministerial level to allow deeper cooperation, particularly in policymaking on national defense industries.

On February 9, 2015, Japanese and Thailand Prime Ministers held a Summit Meeting in Japan. Both leaders agreed on a joint statement covering areas of political and security, economic, people-to-people exchanges, and regional cooperation. In the security area, both countries committed to extend their defense exchanges through various opportunities, such as the Cobra Gold Exercise. During this meeting, Abe also expressed Japan's hope to restore democracy to Thailand. Besides the security and defense cooperation, Japan and Thailand, together with Myanmar, have signed a Memorandum of Intent to build the Dawei Special Economic Zone, including a deep-sea port with capacity to hold 250 million tons of cargo.

Besides Japan, Thailand has established close defense relationships with China and India. Last year, Thailand and China held their first joint military exercises and Thailand has been preparing to buy three submarines from China. In February this year, the Vice President of India, Hamid Ansari, visited Thailand and held talks on security and defense ties, especially regarding counterterrorism and maritime security partnerships, following-up the memorandum of understanding on defense cooperation agreed to in January 2012. This visit signified India's intention to help Thailand modernizing its military capability by continuing their training and exchanges at various levels, developing human resources, and providing technical assistance.

4-4. Japan's Engagement with Countries in Group III

The last group consists of three mainland Southeast Asian countries: Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. Japan's security and defense relations with Cambodia dates back to 1992 when Japan first dispatched its SDF for peacekeeping operations in Cambodia. Since then, Japan has become Cambodia's biggest donor, focusing on the construction of Cambodia's infrastructure after war. As of April 2012, the focus of Japan's ODA in Cambodia has been broadened to include strengthening the basis for economic activities, promotion of social development (water supply, health care, education, and mine clearance), and strengthening governance (MOFA, 2015c). In 2013, Cambodia received grants from Japan worth \$33.9 million for the improvement of small hydropower dams, health care, and education and \$36 million for clean water and human resource development; both were signed in March and June (An, 2013, Yi, 2013).

In July 2013, Prime Minister Hun Sen's ruling party, the Cambodian People's Party, was reelected to power after winning the parliamentary election. The results of this election have been used by Hun Sen to boost his legitimacy and to ask for electoral reform assistance from Japan during Abe's two-day visit to Phnom Penh in November 16-17, 2013. Even though the main focus of their meeting was on the economic issue, both leaders also agreed to issue a joint statement on bilateral maritime security cooperation and to allow JSDF and experts to provide training to Cambodian peacekeeping officers. Abe also pledged ¥500

million to aid the demining activities and \$1.8 million for the Khmer Rouge Tribunal (Global Post, 2013).

A new phase in Japan-Cambodia relations was marked during the summit held in November 15, 2013. Both leaders agreed to upgrade their relations to a strategic level and witnessed the signing of an Exchange of Notes on three projects (projects for Improvement of the National Road No. 1, Sihanouk Provincial Referral Hospital, and the Equipment for the Restoration of the Western Causeway of Angkor Wat) and a Memorandum on Defense Cooperation and Exchanges (The Cambodia Herald, 2013). For those infrastructure projects mentioned above, Abe provided \$134 million in loans to Cambodia, while on the Memorandum on Defense Cooperation and Exchanges, various issues such as exchanges between high-level, working-level, and unit-to-unit level; education and research exchanges; capacity building for non-traditional security threats; and exchanges on views of regional situation, maritime security, and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief were discussed (Japanese Ministry of Defense, 2013).

On November 21, 2015, Prime Minister Hun Sen and Prime Minister Abe held a talk on the occasion of ASEAN-related Summit Meeting. During the meeting, Hun Sen expressed his support for Japan's "Proactive Contribution to Peace" and welcomed Japan playing a larger role in Southeast Asia. In regard to the South China Sea dispute, as a non-contending party Cambodia recommended thorough consultations among the contending parties to address the issue.

Meanwhile, Abe expressed his hopes that the next election could be held democratically amid the heightened political tensions.

Considering these developments on bilateral cooperation between Japan and Cambodia, it is worth noting that Japan has been working hard to engage Cambodia since their first contact in 1992. Prior to 2013, Japan's ODA focused on infrastructure development. However, since Abe's visit to the country in November 2013, the security and defense cooperation has been intensified to ensure Cambodia's internal security as well as to address the maritime security issue.

Above all, it is important to take note that Cambodia is not only strengthening its relations with Japan, but also with its traditional ally, China. On the economic front, China is Cambodia's largest donor and investor. In the security and defense area, China has been supporting Cambodia's army and navy capacity building. In November 2015, China agreed to provide further military assistance, including telecommunication and radio equipment and training for the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces. Currently, China also jointly runs a military academy based in Cambodia. Furthermore, in February 2016 both countries held their first-ever joint exercise, which shows deeper security and defense cooperation compared to that between Japan and Cambodia.

The next country in the third group is Laos. Even though Japan-Laos cooperation seems to be relatively minor, Japan has remained the biggest ODA donor for Laos, particularly in forms of grants and technical assistance. JICA has set several priorities in Laos, including the improvement of socioeconomic

infrastructure, agriculture sector, education and human resources, health care, and sanitation. These priorities are particularly intended to support the poverty reduction efforts that have been targeted to be achieved by 2020.

Besides various measurements related to poverty reductions, recently Japan has been engaging Laos in the security and defense area. In April 2013, for the first time the National Defense Academy of Japan accepted students from Laos. Later in August 2013 both countries held their first Defense Ministerial Meeting on the occasion of 2nd ADMM-Plus Meeting. Furthermore, as a part of Abe's tour in Southeast Asia, the Prime Minister of Japan visited Laos on November 17, 2013. During this visit, both leaders agreed to issue Joint Statement to strengthen their comprehensive partnership that was issued in 2010. On that occasion both leaders also agreed to develop a framework for meetings between foreign and defense officials to discuss various security issues. Meanwhile on the economic front, Abe promised to provide more assistance to support the government's poverty reductions efforts and expected to see bigger investments from Japanese companies in Laos in the following years.

In December of the same year, during the Japan-Laos Summit Meeting the two countries reaffirmed their intention to realize the security dialogue between foreign and defense officials. Following this progress, the Administrative Vice-Minister of Defense visited Laos in January 2014 to discuss further cooperation on HADR through the Experts' Working Group (EWG) in ADMM-Plus. Furthermore, as a realization of the intention set the previous December, both countries held

their first security dialogue in April 2014, discussing broad issues such as HADR and counterterrorism activities.

Throughout 2014, Japan also strengthened its economic relations with Laos through several mechanisms. In January, JICA and the government of Laos signed a loan agreement worth ¥9.517 billion to support the policy and institutional reform and to improve the air transportation services in Laos (JICA, 2014). In April, Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) opened its office in Vientiane. During the opening, JETRO's Chairman Hiroyuki Ishige introduced two priorities of JETRO in Laos: attract direct investment from Japan and support local industries. In July, Ishige reported a growing interest of Japanese companies investing in Laos, with the number doubling to around 120 investors from 2012 to late 2014 (JETRO, 2015).

In March 2015, the Japan-Laos relationship entered a new phase. Prime Minister Thongsing Thammavong and Prime Minister Abe agreed to issue a joint statement, marking an elevation of their relationship from comprehensive partnership to strategic partnership. The joint statement that was signed in conjunction of the 60th anniversary of Japan-Laos diplomatic ties and covered five areas as the focus of their cooperation, including political-security, economic, trade and investment, people-to-people exchanges, and cooperation on regional and international issues. The political-security section signified the acceptance of Lao students into the National Defense Academy of Japan and cooperation on HADR,

while the economic, trade, and investment sections signified the development of local industry and collaboration of private sector (MOFA, 2015d).

In November 20, 2015, Prime Minister Abe expressed Japanese intentions to strengthen security cooperation with Laos based on the “Legislation for Peace and Security.” Abe also expressed his support for Laos as the chairman of ASEAN in 2016. In the same month, both countries also held a Defense Ministerial Meeting, in which during the meeting Japan expressed their support for Minister Sengnuan as the chairman of 2016’s ADMM. Furthermore, both countries also reaffirmed their cooperation through the EWG of ADMM.

Since March this year, Japan has been strengthening its commitment to help Laos on the economic front by signing a loan agreement worth ¥10.271 billion for the Vientiane Capital Water Supply Expansion Project (JICA, 2016). In the same month, the Laos Ministry of Planning and Investment and Head of Asia and Oceania Unit of Mizuho Bank signed a memorandum of understanding to build business and investment relationships between Japan and Laos. Japan’s quick moves both in the economic and defense fronts proved that it has been targeting Laos for broader Japanese agendas in the region.

After examining the Japan-Laos bilateral cooperation, it can be seen that prior to 2013 Japan’s ODA in Laos had been focused on poverty alleviation. However, following 2013, the Abe administration is not only trying to strengthen their economic cooperation, but also initiating further security and defense

partnerships, even though it is still limited to the acceptance of Lao students to the National Defense Academy of Japan and the discussion of HADR area.

The last country in the third group is Myanmar. A series of political and economic reforms carried out by Myanmar had been encouraging Japan to resume its economic assistance and investment activities in the country (Hong, 2014, p. 3). When the transition from military to democratic government occurred in March 2011, Japan had been actively promoting exchanges involving various stakeholders and assisting the democratization and national reconciliation process in Myanmar. For example, in February 2013 Abe appointed Yohei Sasakawa, the chairman of Nippon Foundation, as a special envoy on behalf of Japanese government to conduct dialogues with the Myanmar government, ethnic minorities, and governments of other countries.

Furthermore, Japan has also been offering a series of ODA to Myanmar. In 2012, Japan agreed to write off 60% of Myanmar debts dating from 1987 amounting in ¥500 billion. In 2013, Abe agreed to write off 100% of the debt, providing a new way for Myanmar to begin accepting Japanese ODA loans. The first loan to be offered by Japan was signed by JICA in June 2013. This loan worth ¥51 billion is intended to cover the investments in Thilawa infrastructure, to rehabilitate a gas power plant in Yangon, and to fund regional infrastructure. In September 2014 JICA again agreed to provide ¥63 billion of ODA loans to renovate the Yangon-Mandalay railway, develop irrigation in the Bago region, upgrade Yangon and Thilawa's water supply, and develop Thilawa's infrastructure

(Oxford Business Group, 2015). Among these projects, Thilawa became Japan's priority, as it is a large-scale joint project to develop 2342 ha site into a base of foreign investment. By looking at the disbursement of the ODA loans, it can be concluded that JICA's priorities in Myanmar are to improve the people's livelihood, fulfill the needs for infrastructure, and promote Myanmar's economic development and sustainability.

In May 2013, Abe became the first prime minister to visit Myanmar since 1977 and issued a joint statement in a "cordial and friendly atmosphere." During the visit Abe was accompanied by business delegation that interested in strengthening economic relations with Myanmar. It is worth noting that Abe's visit to Myanmar was not only merely to discuss economic cooperation, but also to elevate security and defense ties. Following this visit, the two countries carried out several defense activities throughout 2013. For example, in September the Training Squadron of Japanese MSDF made a call at Yangon Port for the first time. In the following month the two countries welcomed the exchange of their defense officials and in November both defense authorities held the first consultation meeting in Naypyidaw, discussing the regional situation, defense policies, and future exchanges between Japan and Myanmar.

In December 2013, President U Thein Sein and Prime Minister Abe signed four memorandums of understanding on the sidelines of the ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit and the 5th Mekong-Japan Summit. These agreements include memorandums on Japanese assistance for human resource development,

cooperation in Thilawa Special Economic Zone, improvement of mangrove forest rehabilitation, and economic cooperation between the Japan Bank for International Cooperation and the Myanmar government. Both leaders also welcomed the development of the “Japan-Myanmar Joint Initiative” that was drafted in October 2013 to outline the investment environment in Myanmar. Furthermore, both leaders also discussed security and defense cooperation and shared their intention to enhance cooperation and exchanges between defense authorities.

During 2014 Japan and Myanmar have been strengthening their relations through several economic and defense activities. On the economic front, the Japanese ambassador to Myanmar and the Nippon Foundation pledged approximately \$100 million to improve the living standards, assist capacity and institution building, and improve education and health care services in several ethnic minorities areas, such as of the Rakhine, Kachin, and Shan, for the next five years (Ichihara, 2015). On the security and defense front, for the first time JSDF represented by Chief of Staff Gen. Shigeru Iwasaki paid a courtesy visit to Myanmar in May to discuss bilateral military cooperation and security and disaster relief efforts. In December, the Nippon Foundation launched a Japan-Myanmar Military Officials Exchange Programme scheduled for the next five years to facilitate Myanmar’s transition to democracy by allowing exchanges between JSDF and Myanmar’s military. Thus, Myanmar can learn about the military’s role under a civilian government (The Nippon Foundation, 2014).

Japan and Myanmar's relations kept blossoming throughout 2015. In March, the Ministry of Defense began training in disaster relief and maritime security for Myanmar's military personnel. In July, during the Japan-Myanmar Summit Meeting held in Japan, both leaders committed to promote further defense exchanges, including inviting Myanmar's army to attend the National Defense Academy. This plan to invite Myanmar military cadets was again reaffirmed during the meeting between Myanmar's Chief of Defense and a Japanese envoy. In the meeting both parties also discussed a possible joint military training between Japanese and Myanmar's armies in the near future.

In January 26, 2016, Japan and Myanmar held their Foreign Minister's Meeting. During this meeting both countries were praising the development of Thilawa Special Economic Zone that was opened in September 2015 and welcomed further investments from Japanese companies. The Japanese side also expressed its hope that Myanmar's government could carry out smooth transfer of power as Aung San Suu Kyi and her National League of Democracy (NLD) had won the general election in November 2015. Even though this victory leaves Japan with several uncertainties, particularly in the economic and investment sectors, Japan is still planning to provide loans and grants worth ¥100 billion for Myanmar's current government under President Htin Kyaw, which has already started its new government on March 30. In regard to this power transition, Japan promised to further assist democratization, economic reforms, and national reconciliation in Myanmar.

To summarize Japan-Myanmar's bilateral cooperation, it is evident that prior to the Abe's second administration, Japan's ODA had been focusing on infrastructure development and improvement of livelihood. After Abe took power in 2012, Japan has been intensifying its security and defense cooperation with Myanmar, even though it is still limited to defense exchanges and training programs in HADR.

4-5. Analysis of the Pattern of Security Capacity Building and Cooperation between Japan and Southeast Asian Countries

From the categorization provided above, several patterns regarding Japan's strategy and approach to ASEAN countries and each group can be addressed. There is a commonality on the engagement pattern between Japan and all ASEAN countries. Japan's proactive engagement with ASEAN countries involves an increase in security-oriented ODA and bilateral defense cooperation. Even though the increase of security-oriented ODA is only pertinent in the first group, the increase of bilateral defense cooperation is common in all countries.

The intensification of bilateral defense cooperation between Japan and all ASEAN countries marked the difference between the Abe administration and the previous leaders' administration. Prior to 2013, cooperation between Japan and Southeast Asian countries focused on the economic sector. Their security and defense cooperation was mostly limited to anti-piracy efforts and counterterrorism. However, since the Abe administration began in December 2012, particularly after

his visits to all Southeast Asian countries in 2013, the focus of their cooperation slightly moved to the security and defense area.

The shifting of their focus of cooperation is motivated by the sense of urgency due to China's assertive behaviors in the region and accelerated by the United States' Rebalance to Asia. Those two factors influence Japan's view on its economic, political, and security interest and its position as a major power in the region. On one hand, Japan needs to ensure its own security and on the other hand Japan needs to redefine its role in the region to prove that Japan is not declining and can still be regarded as a reliable partner to counter China.

Apart from the above commonality, Japan's proactive engagement toward each group of countries differs in terms of the amount of assistance provided by Japan and the type of bilateral cooperation, as Japan possesses different major goals in relation to each group. For the first group countries, Japan's major goals are to keep the status quo of the South China Sea and to counter China's aggressive actions, as the perception of China as a threat is strong, especially in the Philippines and Vietnam.

In accordance to those goals, Japan designed these policies in the first group countries: (1) maritime security-oriented ODA, for example through the provision of patrol boats and improvement of coast guard agencies' capability, (2) intensification of defense exchanges and dialogues, including the establishment of defense policy dialogue and 2+2 Meeting framework, and (3) broader security capacity building programs, for example through joint military exercises.

Based on the empirical evidence provided in the previous section, the trend in the first group shows that prior to the Abe administration, relations with Japan focused on trade and investment. However, after Abe's visit to Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam in 2013, their security cooperation deepened and focused on maritime security.

As for the second group, Japan's major goals in Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand are similar to those in the first group: to keep the status quo of the South China Sea and to counter China's aggressive actions in the region, as Brunei and Malaysia are also the contending parties in the South China Sea dispute. However, the perception of China as a threat in these countries is not as strong as in the first group countries. In order to meet those goals, Japan designed these policies for the second group: (1) continuation of defense exchanges and dialogue, including the PM/MM Talk framework and Cobra Gold military exercises and (2) broader security capacity building programs, including training programs for MMEA.

According to the empirical evidences in the previous section, the trend of Japan's engagement shows a rather diverse pattern. In the case of Brunei and Singapore, their relation with Japan is dominated by economic cooperation. On the security-defense area, Brunei preferred to utilize multilateral framework, such as ADMM-Plus, while Singapore preferred to diversify its partnership, especially with India. In the case of Malaysia, its relations with Japan were elevated from a mentee-mentor relationship to that of equal partners. Recently both countries are

committed to address maritime security issues more closely. As for Thailand, Japan's approach toward this country is a mix of economic and security-defense agenda as Thailand is seen leaning toward China following the military coup in May 2014. Despite all the differences mentioned above, overall their security cooperation with Japan has developed gradually due to China's assertive behaviors.

For the last group, Japan's major goals in Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar are to build strong and stable countries, both economically and politically, and to exert greater influence in those countries known as China's traditional allies. In order to achieve those goals, Japan designed these policies: (1) poverty alleviation and social development-oriented ODA, for example through infrastructure development, construction of Special Economic Zones, institutional reforms, and health care programs and (2) further defense cooperation and security capacity building programs, including exchanges of defense authorities and invitations to attend National Defense Academy.

Based on the empirical evidence presented in the previous section, the trend shows that prior to 2013, Japan's engagement with the third group countries focused on infrastructure development and improvement of people's livelihood. Following 2013, the Abe administration has not only tried to strengthen economic cooperation, but also create a path to cooperate on broader security and defense agenda, even though it is still limited to the exchange of defense authorities and training programs.

V. Conclusion

Japan's engagement in Southeast Asia under the Abe administration has entered a new policy agenda. Abe's New ASEAN Diplomacy, as the most recent guideline to engage Southeast Asia, certainly possesses a different focus compared to the Fukuda Doctrine. The differences lie in the background, aims, and Japan's proactive stance. The Fukuda Doctrine focuses on economic cooperation, while Abe's New ASEAN Diplomacy emphasizes the security and defense area, especially to ensure free and open seas. Following this, Japan has proactively engaged in joint exercises and training with ASEAN countries and provide them with financial and technical assistance. This thesis suggests that Japan's proactive engagement is motivated by the sense of urgency due to China's assertive behaviors and accelerated by the United States' Rebalance to Asia.

From the empirical evidences provided in Chapter Three, one can see that Japan's proactive engagement in all ASEAN countries involves an increase in security-oriented ODA and bilateral defense cooperation. This trend marks the difference between the Abe administration and his predecessors'. Besides the commonality possessed by all countries, there is a geopolitical variation that shows a different engagement pattern between Japan and each group. Japan certainly has different major goals in each group of countries. Therefore, Japan's proactive engagement toward each group differs in terms of the amount of assistance and the

type of cooperation.

As for the first group, Japan's major goals in these countries are to keep the status quo of the South China Sea and to counter China's aggressive actions. In order to obtain these goals, Japan designed several policies, including maritime security-oriented ODA, intensification of defense exchanges, and broader security capacity building programs. The trend in first group countries shows that following Abe's visit to those countries, the focus of their cooperation shifted from an economic to a maritime security agenda.

In the case of second group, Japan's major goals in these countries are similar to those in the first group. However, the perception of China as a threat is not as strong as in the first group. In accordance to those goals, Japan designed policies to continue their defense exchanges and to broaden their security programs. Even though the trend shows a rather diverse pattern of engagement, overall the security cooperation between Japan and Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand has developed gradually due to China's assertive behaviors.

As for the third group, Japan's major goals are to build strong and stable countries, both politically and economically, and to exert greater influence in Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar. Therefore, Japan designed several policies, including poverty alleviation and social development-oriented ODA and furthered security-defense cooperation and security capacity building programs. The trend of engagement shows that prior to 2013 Japan focused on infrastructure development and improvement of people's livelihood. However, following the Abe

administration, Japan is not only strengthening its economic cooperation, but also creating a path to cooperate closely in the area of security and defense.

This thesis has offered a new study of Japan's engagement pattern towards Southeast Asian countries under the Abe administration. In this thesis, the author considers the United States and China factors to support the analysis on the reasons why Abe is readdressing Southeast Asia more proactively than before. In the future, an analysis involving the South Korean factor and the competition between the three Northeast Asian countries (Japan, China, and South Korea) can be addressed to raise a debate on how these factors influence Japan's foreign policy in Southeast Asia.

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ABSTRACT (IN KOREAN)

아베의 동남아에 대한 적극적 관여: 안보능력 강화와 협력의 패턴

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이 논문은 아베 총리가 그의 전임자보다 동남아시아에 더욱 주목을 하는 이유를 조사하고 아베 총리가 일본의 전략적 목표를 달성하기 위해 동남아시아의 여러 나라에 참여를 시도한 방법을 제시하고자 합니다. 동남아시아에서의 일본의 적극적인 참여는 중국의 독단적 행동에 대한 일본의 긴급감에 의해 시작되고 아시아에 대한 미국의 재조정 에 의해 가속되는 것을 의미한다. 일본과 동남아시아 나라간의 보안 능력 배양과 협력의 패턴을 발견하기 위해 열 아세안 국가를 세 가지 그룹으로 분류 하였다. 첫 번째 그룹은 인도네시아, 필리핀, 베트남으로 구성되어 있고 두 번째 그룹은, 브루나이, 말레이시아, 태국 구성되어 있으며 마지막 그룹은 캄보디아, 라오스, 미얀마 구성되어 있다. 이 국가들에 대한 일본의 참여를 보여주는 증거를 분석하되 이 논문은 모든 아세안 국가에 대한 일본의 적극적인 참여에 보안 중심의 ODA 와 양국간 방위 협력의 증가가 수반되어 있는것을 밝히고 있다. 그러나 일본은 각 그룹에 대한 참여는 다른 목표와 전략을 가지고 있음을 볼 수 있다. 따라서, 각 그룹에 대한 일본의 적극적인 참여중에 도움의 량과 협력의 형태등 측면에서 차이를 볼 수 있다.

핵심어 : 아베, 아세안, 중국, 일본, 안보, 동남아

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