

Japan and ASEAN partnership: From Fukuda to Abe Doctrine

*Yasuyuki Ishida*¹

Abstract

With the development of ASEAN as a regional institution, Japan-ASEAN relations have matured into a strategic partnership based on friendship and cooperation. The long-standing partnership has developed following Japan's well-known diplomatic approach, so-called as the Fukuda Doctrine of 1977, toward a "heart-to-heart" relationship. Japan has steadily provided economic cooperation, ODA and various initiatives and funds for ASEAN's development and its community building including economic infrastructure building, competitive environment for investment, human resource development, technical assistance, education and health care. Recent cooperation projects have extended to disaster management, people-to-people exchange, maritime safety, and ASEAN connectivity. With growing interdependence, Japan and ASEAN regard each other as indispensable partners. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has strengthened the Strategic Partnership further following the Five Principles of Japan's ASEAN Diplomacy in 2013. Facing China's expansion and major-powers' competition, Japan-ASEAN strategic partnership needs further multi-layered cooperation on ASEAN's community building and connectivity in Southeast Asia as well as on its leading role in ASEAN-centered regional institutions in Asia and the Indo-Pacific region.

Key words: Japan-ASEAN relations; ASEAN-centered regional institutions; ASEAN centrality; ASEAN connectivity; the Fukuda Doctrine; the Abe Doctrine; Japan's ASEAN diplomacy

Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe congratulated ASEAN for completing the 50th anniversary at the Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting held at Manila on November 13, 2017. As for the next 50 years, Abe

¹ Yasuyuki Ishida is a Japanese scholar of International Relations and Asian Studies, currently working on Japan's policy in Asia and the Indo-Pacific region

expected that “ASEAN, facing the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, will lead the world together with Japan to advance the free and open international order based on the rule of law”². Regarding the cooperation and way forward, “Japan will cooperate to realize a more integrated collective by strengthening the initiatives under the “four pillars of partnership” announced at the ASEAN-Japan Summit Meeting in 2013”³. In response, ASEAN leaders showed their recognition for Japan's various initiatives, especially in the development of quality infrastructure and human resources. ASEAN leaders acknowledged that “Japan’s unwavering support, especially in the first decade of ASEAN’s formation, and valued the long-standing friendship and cooperation between ASEAN and Japan”. Furthermore, ASEAN leaders recognized that “ASEAN-Japan relations have matured into a strategic partnership for peace, stability, prosperity, quality of life and mutual trust and understanding. We traced the beginnings of today's robust ASEAN-Japan relations to 1977 when the Fukuda Doctrine veered Japan’s foreign policy approach towards a “heart-to-heart” relationship with the ASEAN region based on equal partnership”⁴

Compared to much debated US-China relations and great powers rivalries in Asian security discourse, observers have paid little attentions to Japan-ASEAN relations. This paper argues that following the Fukuda Doctrine, Japan has been building partnership and trust with ASEAN and evolving Japan-ASEAN strategic partnership gains further importance not only for Japan and ASEAN but also for the peace, stability and prosperity of Asia and the Indo-Pacific region as a whole. The author aims to overview Japan-ASEAN relations, and identify its potentials, prospects and challenges ahead. First part overviews the backdrop between Japan and Southeast Asian region. Second part explains the outline of ASEAN Japan interaction while the third part reviews Japan-ASEAN relations especially from the Fukuda Doctrine to the Abe Doctrine. Japan’s continued support has led to the “heart-to-heart” partnership. The fourth part of the article analyzes the recent development of interdependent and multi-layered Japan-ASEAN relations and main facilitating factors of the developing relations. It concludes to stress the importance and challenges of evolving Japan-

² Prime Minister Shinzo Abe remarks during Japan-ASEAN Summit Meeting, November 13,2017 at https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000791.html(Accessed December 12,2017)

³ Ibid

⁴ Chairman’s Statement of The 20th ASEAN-Japan Summit, at <http://asean.org/chairmans-statement-of-the-20th-asean-japan-summit/>(Accessed December 12,2017)

ASEAN Strategic Partnership not only for Japan and ASEAN, but also for Asia and the Indo-Pacific region as a whole.

BACKDROP: JAPAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

Southeast Asian history is evolved and driven by its trade to exchange goods, people and culture. Largely divided maritime and continental sub-regions, Southeast Asia is geographically and historically located between two gigantic civilizations of China and India which has been influenced by the religions such as Islam, Buddhism and Christianity. As for Japan and Southeast Asian region (both maritime and mainland), the commonality in their myths and folklore indicates their exchange along islands between Japan and Southeast Asia since the mythical age. In the 8th century, Japanese missions to Tang Dynasty China had some contacts with Indochina region. In the mid of 15th century Malacca Kingdom became a central city and its trade network expanded all over Southeast Asia and Ryukyu Kingdom. In 15th and 16th century, Ryukyu Kingdom (Okinawa) became a center of trade with Ming Dynasty of China and provinces of Southeast Asia such as Malacca, Luzon, and Sham for spices, ivory, and dyestuffs. In the 16th century of Japanese civil war era, ambitious Japanese leaders promoted Nanban Trade with Southeast Asia such as Malacca and Macao via Portuguese and Spanish merchants. Tokugawa Shogunate officially encouraged Japanese traders to exchange Japanese silver and sulfur with foreign goods such as silk and silk goods, gold, and weapons. More than ten thousand Japanese lived in Japanese towns and areas, such as Manila and Ayutthaya, in Southeast Asia. As Tokugawa Shogunate closed the country in 1633, Japanese towns in Southeast Asia also declined and disappeared. Tokugawa Japan continued its very limited trade only at Nagasaki with Indonesia under Holland, for example, to import “Jagaimo”(potato)⁵.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan revived its trade and exchange with Southeast Asia. Japanese merchants traded with Singapore for goods, medicines and cloths. Many Japanese immigrated to Southeast Asian countries for their jobs, business, and investment. By the early 20th century, Southeast Asia region came under the colonial rule of Britain, France, and Holland. Japan improved its international status and attracted many Asian international students. In the course from Sino-Japanese War to the Asia-

⁵ Nomura Ed. *Introduction to Southeast Asia Studies*, Sophia University Research Center for Asian Culture, Tokyo: Mekon. (in Japanese)

Pacific War, Japanese imperialism based on Nanshinron fought against Western colonialism to liberate Southeast Asian region, and expanded Japanese influence and colonialism. Although many Southeast Asians welcomed Japanese army as their liberator in the early stage, Japan lost their support due to Japan's strict rule and exploitation for the pro-longed war. Japanese army's colonial rule left various damages and casualties in Southeast Asia. Japan claimed to respect their sovereign independence and invited promising Southeast Asians, who contributed later to their independence and nation-building.

After the defeat in 1945, Japan signed the San Francisco peace treaty in 1951, recovered its independence, and rejoined the international community. Then Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida set the fundamental posture of Japanese foreign and security policy, so called as the "Yoshida Doctrine". In the post-war era, Japanese diplomacy started with the Japan-US alliance relations and its compensation diplomacy with Southeast Asian nations. Then Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi suggested "Three Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy" in the first Japan's Diplomatic Blue Book in 1957, which suggested Japan's leadership in Asia and economic-oriented diplomacy for the development of Asia. After the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan's diplomacy toward Southeast Asian nations started to provide compensation, economic cooperation, or Official Development Assistance. Japan's ODA and economic and technological support enhanced Japanese companies' business as well as the economic development and nation-building in new independent countries of Southeast Asia. As Japan's ODA and economic relations to Southeast Asia were based on its bilateral relations, Japan's priority on ASEAN was not so high in the beginning until the reconsidered initiative well known as the Fukuda Doctrine of 1977.

ASEAN'S EVOLUTION AND TRANSFORMATION

In the 1960s, America's military involvement in Vietnam War at the Cold War's height prompted regional cooperation in Southeast Asia. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was established in 1967 to promote peace and prosperity in the region. From the five founding member states of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, the membership of ASEAN today has expanded to ten countries: Brunei Darussalam joined in 1984; and Viet Nam, the Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Cambodia joined from 1995 to 1999 after the Cold War. Originally, ASEAN was expected to contribute to a two-faceted regional peace: the invulnerability against external major powers of Cold War rivalries and the

good neighborhood relations among themselves. ASEAN also aimed to contribute to two-faceted regional prosperity and economic development: economic handicaps vis-a-vis advanced countries and the lack of experience in mutual economic cooperation among themselves⁶.

In the 1970s, ASEAN facilitated impressive political cooperation as a regional institution. In 1971, ASEAN foreign ministers adopted the Zone of Peace Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPHAN), which meant ASEAN's collaborated foreign policy in order to approach to socialist countries of north Vietnam and China. In 1976, the first ASEAN summit was held in Bali and adopted the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) to confirm a set of rule and norm in Southeast Asian region. ASEAN's diplomacy and voice were acknowledged in dealing with the Cambodian conflict in 1978.

In the 1980s, ASEAN region achieved its remarkable economic development as the center of economic development in the world. Backed by international assistance and foreign investment, especially that from Japanese company after the Plaza Accord in 1985, ASEAN countries enjoyed rapid industrialization and economic development. In the 1990s, the end of the Cold War enhanced ASEAN's considerable change and transformation. ASEAN fostered its deepening and expanding of integration. The regional situation has become stabilized by the end of the Cold War and the peace agreement of Cambodia. ASEAN strengthened its relations with countries within and without, and increased its dialogue forums. ASEAN established ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) and enhanced economic cooperation. CLMV countries acceded to the TAC one after another, eventually joined ASEAN by 1999, and participated in the AFTA process. ASEAN finally realized its original goal of "ASEAN 10" for the regional integration.

In response to changing political and economic structures, ASEAN strived to strengthen economic cooperation among its member countries to agree on the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) in 1992. ASEAN has been experiencing remarkable economic growth by leveraging its enormous market, with a total population of more than 600 million, and an abundant labor force of young workers. ASEAN managed to overcome the 1997 Asian financial crisis, and aimed for its further regional cooperation and development. As a result, the region is now recognized as a center of growth open to the world, and is attracting much global attention.

⁶ Yamakage, Susumu. 2017. "From the Two Ps to the Two Cs: The accomplishments and challenges of ASEAN at 50", AJISS-commentary No. 247, 05 October.

After the Cold War, ASEAN has positively contributed to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region by playing a lead role in establishing multilateral dialogues such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) in 1994, ASEAN Plus Three (ASEAN+3) in 1997, and the East Asia Summit (EAS) meeting in 2005. Entering the 21st century, ASEAN has profoundly and multi-facetedly transformed into a new ASEAN. In 2003 ASEAN decided the establishment of the ASEAN Community by 2020. This proposed Community consisted of the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC). In 2007, the target year for launching the ASEAN Community was brought forward to 2015⁷.

In addition, ASEAN Charter was adopted in 2007 to reconfirm a traditional ASEAN's basic principles on the centrality of ASEAN in regional co-operation, respect for the principles of territorial integrity, sovereignty, non-interference and national identities of ASEAN members, and promoting regional peace and identity, peaceful settlements of disputes through dialogue and consultation, and the renunciation of aggression⁸. Furthermore, ASEAN Charter aims to create a "new ASEAN" based on additional new objectives and principles such as the rule of law, good governance, and democracy. Despite such ambitions then, the ASEAN Charter came into effect in 2004 without delay, and the ASEAN Community came into being in 2015, five years earlier than originally planned. Today, ASEAN enhances various initiatives to strengthen ASEAN Community. Above all, the ASEAN Economic Community is expected to achieve further economic development with high potentials by the free exchanges of people, goods, and money in the region. ASEAN celebrated its 50 years anniversary in 2017⁹.

ASEAN plays a significant role in peace, stability, and prosperity in Southeast Asian region. 50 years ago, ASEAN started as a passive and

⁷ ASEAN Economic Community at <http://asean.org/asean-economic-community/> (Accessed 22.12.2017)

⁸ The Declaration on the Establishment of the Association of South-East Asian Nations Bangkok, 8 August 1967, at https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/asean/pdfs/gaiyo_04.pdf/ (Accessed 22.12.2017)

⁹ Mission of Japan to ASEAN. 2015. "JAPAN-ASEAN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION: Shared Vision, Shared Identity, Shared Future", <http://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/documents/20150402%20pamphlet.pdf> (Accessed 12.12.2017). Also refer to OBA, Mie. 2017. "ASEAN Plus Dialogue Mechanism for Mitigating Confrontation", *Gaiko (Diplomacy, Vol.45, Sep./Oct.)* (in Japanese). Yamakage, Susumu. 2017. "From the Two Ps to the Two Cs: The accomplishments and challenges of ASEAN at 50", *AJISS-commentary No. 247*, 05 October.

inward-oriented regionalism full of mutual mistrust. Today, ASEAN has evolved into a proactive and outward-oriented regional mechanism with mutual trust and understanding. These successes are based on soft regionalism based on the principle of “ASEAN Way” learning from their experience to overcome their vulnerability. ASEAN has achieved “ASEAN-led Southeast Asia” by gaining additional member states of Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia.

ASEAN’s success gained international recognition. First, as a result of dialogue, regular meetings among foreign ministers enhanced mutual understanding, friendship, and peace among member states. Regular and frequent meetings enabled to create a “regional identity”, leading to ASEAN’s cohesion, cooperation, expansion, and integration via ASEAN Way. Second, as a result of cooperation and cohesion, ASEAN gained diplomatic power, voice, and influence much bigger, via ASEAN-centered regional institutions and dialogue mechanism. Third, ASEAN’s economic development contributed to the economic dynamism of the Asia-Pacific region. Furthermore, as a result of achievement, ASEAN attained international reputation, and member states increased its legitimacy of rule and governance¹⁰.

JAPAN’S POLICY TOWARD ASEAN: FROM THE FUKUDA DOCTRINE TO THE ABE DOCTRINE

In the 1970s, Japanese company’s investment in Southeast Asia rapidly increased and overwhelmed their local business. In order to deal with the economic problem, Japan and ASEAN established the Japan-ASEAN Forum on Synthetic Rubber in 1973. This forum was succeeded to Japan-ASEAN Forum as a platform of Japan-ASEAN dialogue. Then Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited Southeast Asian countries in 1974 and faced anti-Japanese demonstration and protest in Bangkok and Jakarta, which forced rethinking of Japanese policy toward Southeast Asia.

In 1977, then Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda was the first Japanese Prime Minister to meet ASEAN leaders at the 2nd ASEAN Summit in Kuala Lumpur. In the same year, during his visit to Manila, Prime Minister Fukuda enunciated the historic “Fukuda Doctrine”, and this “heart-to-

¹⁰ Kuroyanagi, Yoneji. 2015. *50 Chapters for the Understanding of ASEAN*, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten. (in Japanese)

heart” diplomacy became the anchor of Japan-ASEAN relations. Japan set three basic principles of diplomatic policy towards Southeast Asia:

- 1) Japan is committed to peace, and rejects the role of a military power;
- 2) Japan will do its best for consolidating the relationship of mutual confidence and trust based on “heart-to heart” understanding as an equal partner;
- 3) Japan will cooperate positively with ASEAN while aiming at fostering a relationship with the countries of Indochina and will contribute to the building of peace and prosperity throughout Southeast Asia¹¹.

The Fukuda Doctrine remarkably contributed to ASEAN’s favorite and friendly attitudes to Japan. Japan developed its cooperation with ASEAN and played a leading role of ASEAN’s relations with external powers. In 1978, the Japan-ASEAN Foreign Ministers’ meeting was held, where Japan initiated its collaborative relationship with ASEAN as the first Dialogue Partner. However, Vietnam’s invasion to Cambodia in 1978 and the external powers’ interference made it difficult for Japan to bridge ASEAN and Indochina in the 1980s.

TABLE 1: MILESTONES IN ASEAN-JAPAN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION
1967 - ASEAN was established
1973 - Japan-ASEAN Forum on Synthetic Rubber was established.
1977 - The first Japan-ASEAN summit meeting was held. The Fukuda Doctrine was announced by PM Takeo Fukuda in Manila.
1978 - The first Japan-ASEAN foreign ministers meeting was held.
1981 - The Japan-ASEAN Centre was established in Tokyo.
1994 - The first ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was held after Japan’s proposal.
1997 - Asian Financial Crisis. Japan offered 8 million dollars support to ASEAN. The third ASEAN-Japan summit meeting was held (every year after this). The first ASEAN Plus Three (Japan/China/ROK) summit meeting was held.

¹¹ Mission of Japan to ASEAN. 2015. “Japan-ASEAN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION: Shared Vision, Shared Identity, Shared Future”, <http://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/documents/20150402%20pamphlet.pdf>

2003 - 30 th Anniversary of ASEAN-Japan Dialogue relations. The Japan-ASEAN commemorative summit meeting was held. The Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring ASEAN-Japan Partnership in the New Millennium was adopted.
2004 - Japan joined the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia.
2005 - The Joint Statement for Deepening and Broadening of ASEAN-Japan Strategic Partnership. The first East Asia Summit (EAS) meeting was held.
2006 - The Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF) was established in Tokyo.
2008 - ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) went in effect.
2009 - 1 st Japan-Mekong Summit Meeting was held.
2010 - Ambassador of Japan to ASEAN was designated. (The first Ambassador among Dialogue Partners)
2011 - The Mission of Japan to ASEAN was established in Jakarta. The Bali Statement and Action Plan was adopted.
2013 - 40 th Anniversary of Japan-ASEAN Dialogue relations. The second Japan-ASEAN commemorative summit meeting was held. The Vision Statement on Japan-ASEAN Friendship and Cooperation, and its Implementation Plan were adopted.
2015 - The ASEAN Community was established.
2017 - Japan celebrated ASEAN's 50 th Anniversary.

Source—Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan at https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/page3e_000791.html

In the early 1990s, Japan significantly contributed to Cambodia's peace and political stabilization, which led to the realization of ASEAN-10. Japan accepted the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) in Southeast Asia in July 2004. Japan's accession strengthened the importance of the TAC as a code of conduct governing international relations and a diplomatic instrument for promotion of peace and stability in the region. Japan-ASEAN cooperation has been contributing to regional peace, stability, and prosperity in Southeast Asian and beyond.

As for economic cooperation, the ASEAN-Japan Centre was established in 1981 based on the Agreement Establishing the ASEAN Promotion Centre on Trade, Investment and Tourism. The Tokyo-based Center promotes to the increase of exports, investment, and tourism in the economic development and cooperation between Japan and ASEAN

countries. Despite setbacks of two economic and financial crises, many Japanese companies have established a presence in Southeast Asia, and trade built on strong areas of each side has expanded considerably.

Since the 2000s, Japan and ASEAN have concluded bilateral economic partnership agreements, bilateral investment treaties, and the ASEAN–Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) agreement in 2008. Japan and ASEAN have further deepened their mutual dependence by expanding production networks across the region. Japan and ASEAN also enhance people-to-people contacts and cultural exchanges, particularly among the youths and intellectuals. For example, Japan initiated youth exchange projects including the Japan East-Asia Network of Exchange for Students and Youths (JENESYS) in 2007, “Kiruna” (which means “Bond”) project in 2012, JENESYS 2.0 in 2013, and other various cultural and educational exchange projects. At the first ASEAN–Japan Commemorative Summit in 2003, Japan and ASEAN announced the “Tokyo Declaration for the Dynamic and Enduring ASEAN–Japan Partnership in the New Millennium.” ASEAN began building a ASEAN community, and has played a leading role in creating regional forums such as the ASEAN Regional Forum, the ASEAN Plus Three, and the East Asia Summit. Through this ongoing process the ASEAN–Japan relationship formed a “strategic partnership,” playing a critical role for the stability and prosperity of entire East Asia region¹².

Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in his second term strengthen Japan-ASEAN Strategic Partnership based on friendship and cooperation. China’s assertive and provocative posture under Xi Jinping forced Japan’s closer relations with the U.S. and ASEAN. Japan under Abe Administration push forward its regional diplomacy: (1) the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy for rules-based Indo-Pacific ocean; (2) strengthening the Japan-US alliance; and (3) strengthening cooperation with maritime Asian countries such as ASEAN, Australia, and India¹³.

Japan-ASEAN relations celebrated their 40th anniversary in 2013. In this commemorative year, Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced the Five Principles of Japan's ASEAN Diplomacy.

¹² ASEAN Secretariat. 2013. “ASEAN-Japan Partnership: Thoughts Connected Future Connected” (Jakarta). Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. 2014. “Opinion Polls on Japan in Seven ASEAN Countries”, March, http://www.mofa.go.jp/press/release/press4e_000271.html

¹³ International Situation and Japan's Diplomacy in 2016, Diplomatic Bluebook 2017, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, at <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2017/html/chapter1/c0102.html>

- 1) 'Protect and promote together with ASEAN member states universal values such as freedom, democracy and basic human rights
- 2) Ensure in cooperation with ASEAN member states that the free and open seas, which are the most vital common asset, are governed by laws and rules and not by force, and to welcome the United States rebalancing to the Asia–Pacific region
- 3) Further promote trade and investment, including flows of goods, money, people and services, through various economic partnership networks, for Japan's economic revitalization and prosperity of both Japan and ASEAN member states
- 4) Protect and nurture Asia's diverse cultural heritages and traditions
- 5) Promote exchanges among the young generations to further foster mutual understanding¹⁴.

Following the Abe's visit to the 10 member countries of ASEAN, the Japan-ASEAN Commemorative Summit was held in Tokyo in December 2013. This summit meeting adopted the "Vision Statement on ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation: Shared Vision, Shared Identity, Shared Future" and its "Implementation Plan", announcing greater cooperation focusing on four key areas of the partnership: Partners of Peace and Stability, Partners for Prosperity, Partners for Quality of Life, and Heart-to-Heart Partners. Japanese and ASEAN leaders declared the "Joint Statement of the Japan-ASEAN Summit: Hand in hand, facing regional and global challenges" to express Japan's continued support of ASEAN's community building beyond 2015 as well as Japan and ASEAN's common recognition on regional and global issues and challenges. To celebrate the milestone year of 2013, various commemorative meetings, seminars, symposiums, and cultural events were held during the year in both Japan and ASEAN countries¹⁵. Further, in order to diversify investment and promote development in ASEAN countries Japan undertook initiatives to support development not only through aid but also through connectivity.

¹⁴ Factsheet on Japan-ASEAN Relations, Ministry of foreign Affairs, Japan, at <https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/asean/factsheet.html>

¹⁵ Mission of Japan to ASEAN. 2015. "Japan-ASEAN Friendship and Cooperation: Shared Vision, Shared Identity, Shared Future", <http://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/documents/20150402%20pamphlet.pdf>.

JAPAN'S SUPPORT OF ASEAN'S DEVELOPMENT, INTEGRATION, AND CONNECTIVITY

Japan's first National Security Strategy mentions: "Japan has contributed to the realization of stability and prosperity in the international community through initiatives for supporting the economic growth of developing countries and for addressing global issues based on the principle of human security, as well as through trade and investment relations with other countries. In particular, Japan's cooperation contributed to realizing stability, economic growth and democratization in many countries, especially those in Asia, including the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)"¹⁶.

Recognizing the importance of ASEAN's development, Japan has provided various cooperation in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, including establishments of grants. Major contributions were also provided through the cooperation of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and ASEAN-Japan Centre. Japan offered grants for ASEAN including ASEAN Cultural Fund in 1978, Japan ASEAN Exchange Projects in 1988, Japan ASEAN Solidarity Fund in 1999, Japan ASEAN General Exchange Fund in 2000, and Japan ASEAN Integration Fund in 2006¹⁷.

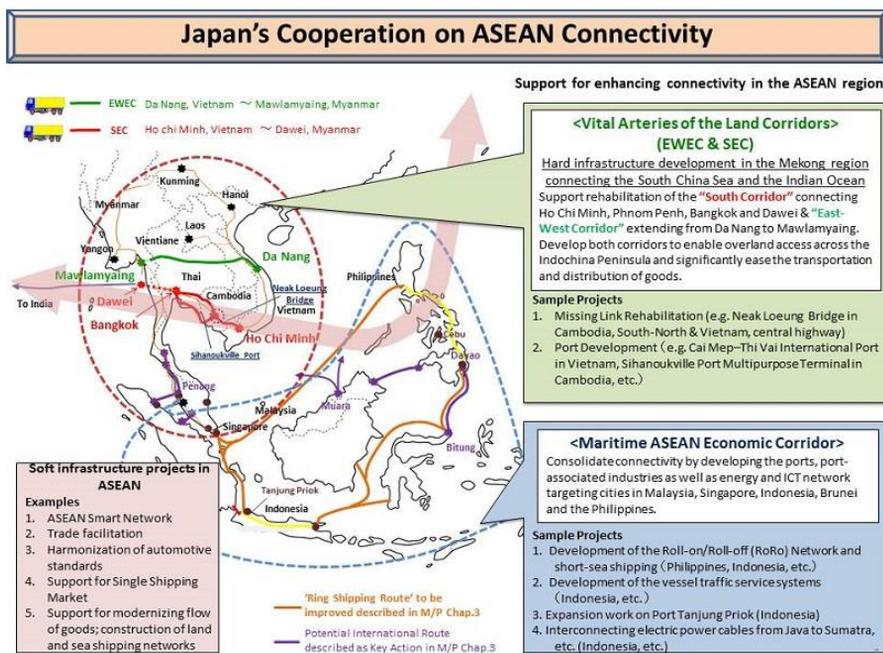
In 2006, Japan established the Japan-ASEAN Integration Fund (JAIF), a 7.5 billion-yen fund for assisting ASEAN's efforts to build the ASEAN Community by 2015. Japan also provided another 100 million dollars to JAIF in 2014 (JAIF 2.0). JAIF's total contribution from 2006-2017 is approximately USD 657 million. An additional contribution totaling 53.9 billion yen (excluding the contribution to JAIF 2.0) was also provided to the fund to promote youth exchange activities and economic partnership between Japan and ASEAN, extend emergency economic assistance, support natural disaster responses, and implement other measures. To support ASEAN's ongoing integration after 2015, Japan pledged ODA worth approximately two trillion yen over the following five years in December 2013. Through these initiatives, Japan continues to offer assistance to ASEAN to develop infrastructure that provides greater

¹⁶ Japan National Security Strategy December 2013, at <https://www.cas.go.jp/jp/siryou/131217anzenhoshou/nss-e.pdf>

¹⁷ ASEAN Secretariat. 2013. "ASEAN-Japan Partnership: Thoughts Connected Future Connected" (Jakarta)

connectivity, reduces poverty, improves healthcare access and other living standards, and narrows the development gap in the region¹⁸.

Since the ASEAN adopted the “Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity” in October 2010, Japan has been providing support in three core areas to enhance ASEAN Connectivity: the development of the “East-West and Southern Economic Corridors (Land Corridors)” and the “Maritime ASEAN Economic Corridor (Maritime Corridor)”, and the “Soft Infrastructure Projects throughout the ASEAN Region.” One good example is the construction project on the Neak Loeung Bridge (Tsubasa Bridge) and the rehabilitation project on National Route 9 in Laos, both in the area of “Land Corridors”. Japan holds regular meetings to discuss Japan’s cooperation with ASEAN (the Meeting between Japan Task Force on ASEAN Connectivity and the ASEAN Connectivity Coordinating Committee)¹⁹.



(Source: Mission of Japan to ASEAN, 2016)

Apart from the connectivity projects, ASEAN also figures prominently in Japanese diplomacy.

¹⁸ Mission of Japan to ASEAN. 2015. “Japan-ASEAN Friendship and Cooperation: Shared Vision, Shared Identity, Shared Future”, <http://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/documents/20150402%20pamphlet.pdf>.

¹⁹ Mission of Japan to ASEAN. 2016. “Japan's Cooperation on ASEAN 2025 (Connectivity)”, <http://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/asean2025/jpasean-ec03.html>

ASEAN AND SOUTHEAST ASIA FOR JAPANESE DIPLOMACY

Japan-ASEAN partnership is increasingly important for Tokyo. Japan's first National Security Strategy (NSS) of 2013 clearly acknowledges, "The countries of ASEAN, where economic growth and democratization have been progressing and which embraces great cultural diversity, are located in the critical areas of sea lanes of communication of Japan. Japan will further deepen and develop cooperative relations with the ASEAN countries in all sectors, including politics and security based on the traditional partnership lasting more than 40 years. Given the influence ASEAN has on peace, stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region as a whole, Japan will provide further assistance to their efforts towards maintaining and strengthening the unity of ASEAN"²⁰.

For its economic survival, Japan needs trade and investment with foreign countries, especially neighbouring Asia. Southeast Asian countries expect Japanese ODA and economic cooperation, assistance, and investment for their economic development. Southeast Asian countries and people today are not so severe on Japanese colonialism during the WWII. Thus, Japan finds Southeast Asia as a favourable region for political, social, and economic cooperation. Contrary to Southeast Asia, Japan has still uneasy relations with mainland China and Korea, which have the Cold-War confrontation, and anti-Japanese criticisms on Japanese colonialism and invasion. Southeast Asian countries expect Japanese ODA and economic cooperation, assistance, and investment for their economic development. Southeast Asian countries and people today are not so severe on Japanese colonialism during the WWII. Thus, Japan finds Southeast Asia as a favourable region for political, social, and economic cooperation. Contrary to Southeast Asia, Japan has still uneasy relations with mainland China and Korea, which have the Cold-War confrontation, and anti-Japanese criticisms on Japanese colonialism and invasion.

Southeast Asia has been a salient source of Japanese economic power as a resource provider and then its market and production base. Japanese ODA as an effective diplomatic tool for international cooperation has been developed and sophisticated in the trials and errors in Southeast Asia. Japanese regional diplomacy regards ASEAN as a convenient and effective regional institution. Since the 1990s, Japan could negotiate with ASEAN on Southeast Asian regional affairs mainly through the Japan-ASEAN meeting at once without its bilateral negotiations with each country. In

²⁰ National Security Strategy of Japan, Tokyo, 2013.

cases of East Asia and South Asia, Japan needs its bilateral negotiations with most of East Asian countries and South Asian countries²¹.

Japan’s creative diplomatic visions and regional order visions were proposed relating to Southeast Asian region such as the “Minister Conference of Economic Development of Southeast Asia” plan of the Sato Cabinet, the “Fukuda doctrine” of the Fukuda cabinet in 1977, the “new Miyazawa plan” after the financial crisis, and the “human security” concept of the Obuchi cabinet in 1998. Southeast Asia is not so directly critical to Japanese national security compared to Northeast Asia, but important for economic relations. Japan has its presence and regional partnership in Southeast Asia. Even though Japanese presence and initiative was quite influential by the 1990s, Chinese existence and influence has been rapidly expanding since the 2000s. Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto proposed the regular meeting of the Japan-ASEAN Summit in 1997, and accepted ASEAN’s counter proposal of ASEAN+3 (Japan, China, South Korea) meeting, which was institutionalized as the ASEAN Plus Three(APT) Summit. The APT institutionalized and enhanced various functional cooperation, even aiming at an idealistic vision of “East Asian community” building. However, contemporary Japanese regional initiatives include external balancing powers of India and Australia: the “ASEAN Plus Six (EAS)” of the Koizumi cabinet, the “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” strategy of the Aso cabinet, and the “Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy” of the Abe cabinet. Japan’s regional policy has been shifted from Japan-ASEAN bilateral relations to the comprehensive regional networking and institutionalization²².

TABLE 2: JAPAN’S REGIONAL INITIATIVES

Period	Preferable regional image	Policy initiatives
The Cold War era	Peaceful Southeast Asia Asia-Pacific cooperation	Development (ASEAN countries)
The 1990s	East Asian community building	Security and development
The 2000s	Peaceful Indo-Pacific Ocean	Economic partnership and development
The 2010s		Universal values and TPP

(Source: Yamakage 2016)

²¹Iwasaki, Ikuo. 2017. *Southeast Asian Modern and Contemporary History*, Tokyo: Kodansha. (in Japanese).

²²Yamakage, Susumu. 2016. “Japan’s Regional Vision and China’s Rise”, in Mie OBA ed., *The Making of East Asia: Order, Integration and Stakeholders*, Tokyo: Chikura Shobo. (in Japanese)

Japan's multilateral regional diplomacy are mostly ASEAN-centered regional dialogue frameworks (even though major powers like the U.S., China, and India, create and utilize their own multilateral regional frameworks). This fact indicates the importance of Japan's cooperation with ASEAN and ASEAN-centered regional architecture for peace, stability, and regional order building. Furthermore, as indispensable and time-tested partners of ASEAN-centered regional institutions, Japan-ASEAN relations gains more importance beyond the two countries. Japan's support of ASEAN is considered as critically important not only for Japan and ASEAN but also for peace, stability, and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region as a whole.

GROWING JAPAN-ASEAN RELATIONS

Since the Fukuda Doctrine of 1977, Japan and ASEAN have developed relations as indispensable partners in various areas. First, Japan supports ASEAN Community building. Japanese ODA has contributed to the improvement of the business environment of ASEAN countries, and encouraged foreign direct investment and foreign company into ASEAN countries. Japanese economic cooperation has strongly supported economic development and nation-building of ASEAN countries in various areas including education and health welfare, economic infrastructure building, healthy competitive environment for investment, human resource development, and technical assistance. In recent years, Japan supports to strengthen ASEAN integration and community building, especially ASEAN connectivity.

Second, Japan and ASEAN become indispensable "economic partners". Japan and ASEAN are major trading, business, and economic partners for each other. For enhancing economic cooperation and the liberalization of trade and investment, ASEAN Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) came into effect in 2008. RCEP has been under negotiations. In the Chairman's Statement of the 20th ASEAN-Japan Summit, ASEAN leaders "highlighted the significance of ASEAN and Japan economic cooperation in achieving mutually beneficial economic growth. With total merchandise trade reaching USD 201.9 billion, and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows from Japan to ASEAN amounted to USD 11.5 billion" and also noted that "Japan ranked as ASEAN's fourth largest trading partner and ASEAN's second largest source of FDI in 2016²³."

²³ ASEAN Investment Report 2017 Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Zones in ASEAN,

Third, Japan and ASEAN become indispensable “regional diplomatic partners” for the peace and stability in Asia and the Indo-Pacific region via various ASEAN centered regional cooperation frameworks. Japan regards ASEAN as a major partner to engage and enhance regional institutions and cooperation frameworks such as the EAS, ARF, ADMM Plus and ASEAN+3. Japan supports ASEAN centrality in ASEAN-centered regional cooperation mechanisms. For both Japan and ASEAN, the leading role of ASEAN-centered regional institutions is salient for engaging the U.S. commitment, enhancing China’s constructive role, and building peace, stability, and prosperity in Asia and the Indo-Pacific region.

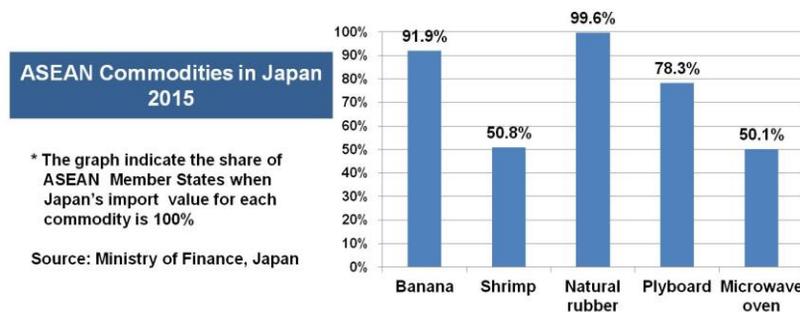
Finally, following the 1977 Fukuda Doctrine, Japan-ASEAN relations develop and consolidate with mutual confidence and trust based on a “heart-to-heart” equal partnership. Japan and ASEAN develop its cooperative relations since the first dialogue partner for ASEAN in 1979. Reflecting the past of Japanese colonialism and war, Japanese post-war diplomacy faithfully follows the spirit of the Fukuda Doctrine to build a “heart-to-heart” Japan-ASEAN relations based on the equal partnership. Japan steadily supports ASEAN’s integration, peace, stability and prosperity shared as Japan’s objectives and interests. As a result, Japan is now regarded widely as the most reliable country for ASEAN. For example, the recent opinion poll indicates ASEAN countries’ largely positive image and trust in Japan compared to other external powers.

In recent years, Japan-ASEAN economic relations on trade, investment, tourism, and people-to-people exchange have been rapidly growing. Japan-ASEAN Centre (2017) explains the current status of Japan-ASEAN relations in terms of trade, investment, and tourism and human exchanges as follow:

DEEPENING INTERDEPENDENCE IN TRADE BETWEEN THE ASEAN COUNTRIES AND JAPAN

‘ASEAN Member States and Japan have become increasingly important business partners to each other over the years. In Japan, the total two-way trade value between the 10 ASEAN Member States and Japan expanded to over 23 trillion yen in 2014, accounting for around 15% of Japan’s overall trade figures. Conversely, trade with Japan accounts for 9% of the ASEAN Member States’ total trade figures in the same year, which makes Japan the second largest trading partner of the ASEAN following China.

In the past, Japan used to import raw materials as well as agricultural and marine products, and export manufactured goods to the ASEAN Member States. However, the import percentage for manufactured goods from the ASEAN Member States, which was less than 10% of the total value of their imports in 1980, rose to more than 52 % in 2014. The manufactured products imported from the ASEAN Member States are mainly represented by electronics, machinery, wood products and textiles. Also, not only volume of trade in goods, but also the volume of service trade has been increasing year by year²⁴.



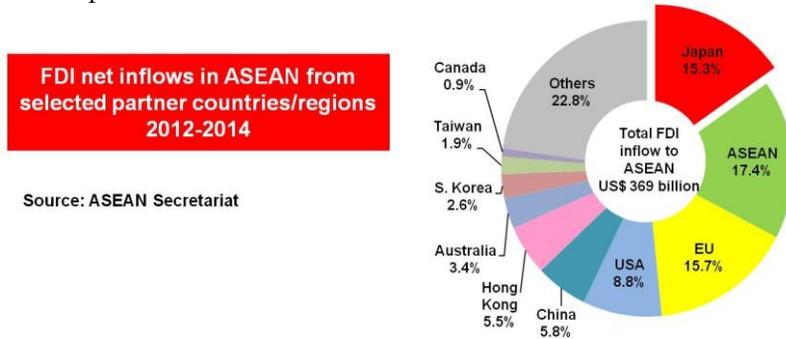
INVESTMENT: ASEAN REGION AS A PROMINENT PRODUCTION BASE AND CONSUMER MARKET

For a number of Japanese companies, the ASEAN Member States have been important investment destinations in parallel with China and the U.S. Japan and the ASEAN Member States have consolidated institutional frameworks to further vitalize trade and investment activities by concluding or signing bilateral economic partnership agreements (EPAs), as well as investment agreements; the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Economic Partnership (AJCEP) Agreement also went into force on December 2008, between the ASEAN as a whole and Japan. In 2014, more than 9,000 Japanese companies operated in the ASEAN region, and the number of Japanese people living in the region surpassed 170,000.

The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) established in 2015 is drawing wide attention from Japan, as well as the rest of the world, as it is expected to further vitalize the regional economy by creating a single market with fewer barriers to the flow of people, goods and capital. A huge economy with over 600 million people created by the AEC is an attractive consumer

²⁴ ASEAN-JAPAN CENTRE. 2017. "ASEAN Information Map", Tokyo. (in Japanese) at <http://www.asean.or.jp/ja/asean/known/base/outline/6.html>. ASEAN-JAPAN CENTER. "Learn About ASEAN: ASEAN-Japan Relations" <http://www.asean.or.jp/en/asean/known/relation.html>. ASEAN-JAPAN CENTRE. 2016. "ASEANPEDIA", Tokyo. (in Japanese)

market for the Japanese companies along with their already well-established production networks²⁵.



TOURISM & EXCHANGES OF PERSONS: ACCELERATING FLOW OF PEOPLE

Tourism is one of the key industries in the respective ASEAN Member States. The ASEAN Member States are enriched with attractive tourism destinations which include renowned resorts in breath-taking natural surroundings and historical places that are designated as World Heritage Sites. In addition, having almost no time difference with Japan, ASEAN countries are popular destinations for Japanese tourists as one could casually enjoy overseas travelling. As a result, more than 4.6 million Japanese tourists visited the ASEAN Member States in 2014.

Meanwhile, as the middle class has expanded with the ASEAN Member States' economic growth, Japan today has become a popular tourist destination among people in the ASEAN region. This trend has been accelerated by the emergence of LCCs and changing lifestyles. The number of people visited Japan from the ASEAN Member States tripled to more than 1.6 million in 2014 in five years.

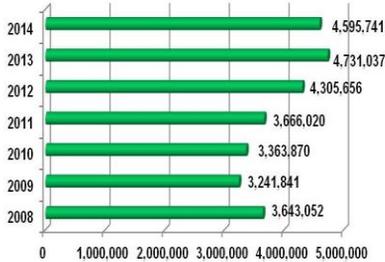
Further, number of students studying in Japan has been increasing. There are a growing number of youths in the ASEAN Member States who became interested in Japan and decided to learn Japanese language. Many of them took their motivation from Japanese pop-culture, including animation, manga and J-POP music, which have been popular in the region²⁶.

²⁵ ASEAN-JAPAN CENTRE. 2017. "ASEAN Information Map", Tokyo. (in Japanese) at <http://www.asean.or.jp/ja/asean/known/base/outline/6.html>. ASEAN-JAPAN CENTER. "Learn About ASEAN: ASEAN-Japan Relations" <http://www.asean.or.jp/en/asean/known/relation.html>. ASEAN-JAPAN CENTRE. 2016. "ASEANPEDIA", Tokyo. (in Japanese)

²⁶ Ibid

Japanese Visitors in the ASEAN Member States

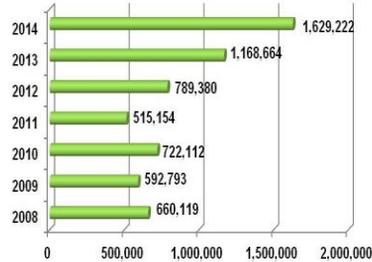
Japan → ASEAN



Source: Respective National Tourism Offices
and Statistical Offices in ASEAN countries

Visitors from the ASEAN Member States in Japan

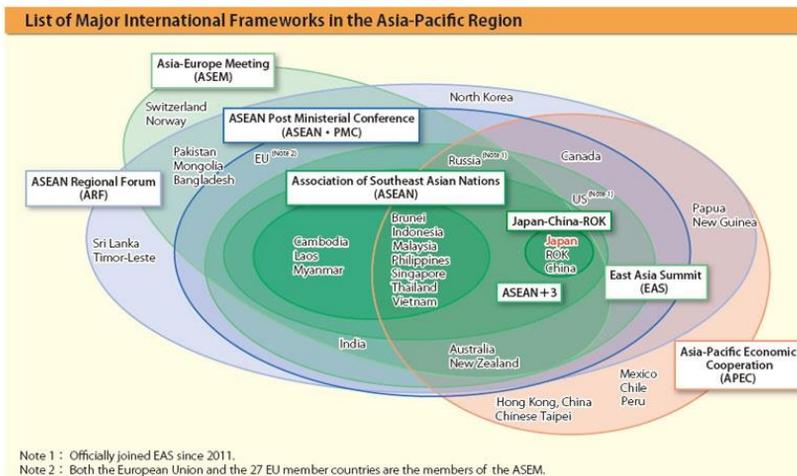
ASEAN → Japan



Source: Japan National Tourist Organization (JNTO)

ASEAN-CENTERED REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE

In the changing strategic environment in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan and ASEAN cooperate through multilateral collaborative frameworks to maintain peace, security, and stability in the region, which serves regional and global interests. There exist multi-layered ASEAN-centered mechanisms for regional collaboration led by ASEAN, such as the ASEAN+3, the East Asia Summit (EAS), the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM)-Plus, and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Japan places importance on the EAS as a premier forum for dialogue and cooperation on strategically important regional issues in the Asia-Pacific region.



(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2015)

PROSPECT AND CHALLENGES OF JAPAN-ASEAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

The one issue which emerges with regard to Japan-ASEAN partnership is the question related to the US-China Rivalry and a New Asian Regional Order. Facing uncertainty and instability with major powers' severe rivalry and competition, Japan and ASEAN share common interests in regional order building. During the 2000s, the East Asian economic crisis in 1997-98 enhanced ASEAN-centered "East Asian" regional cooperation without the U.S. as a hedge against the U.S. intervention. Many Asian countries perceived the U.S. policy intervention as a risk to their economic recovery. Asian leaders created East Asian regional frameworks for an "East Asian Community". Since the 2010s, however, China's expansion and assertive actions prompted the "Asia-Pacific" regional cooperation to secure the U.S. engagement in Asia. China under President Xi Jinping turned to be quite assertive in the South China Sea and the East China Sea. Many Asian countries perceive China's expansion and assertive behavior as a threat in the region. US President Barack Obama's pivot/rebalance strategy was aimed to compete with China for the regional order making. The U.S. and China are competing for taking initiatives of setting equitable rules and norms in the regional order making for the next generation. Japan and ASEAN stand between old and new hegemonic rivals.

This structural tensions between the "US-led Asian security system" and the "China-centered Asian economic system" is gradually and steadily increasing. Miyagi explains this growing contradiction as a dichotomous Asia as a region that comprises an "economic order" in which China stands as one of the central pillars and a "security order" that is centered on the US and a network of alliances that conspicuously excludes China. A critical question of Asia is "How can the latent tension between these two versions of Asia be managed in order to maintain a stable regional order?" Japan would be required to determine the future direction and strategies of its Asian diplomacy²⁷. Japan and ASEAN share similar concerns and common interests in regard to the US-China relations and Asian regional order building via ASEAN-centered regional institutions.

Southeast Asia is located in the strategically important region in the Indo-Pacific. China's expansion to the South China Sea poses difficult challenges

²⁷ Taijo Miyayagi, *Asia and Japan in the 21st Century —The Decade of the 2000s*, Japan's Diplomacy Series, Japan Digital Library, http://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/digital_library/japan_s_diplomacy.php
https://www2.jiia.or.jp/en/pdf/digital_library/japan_s_diplomacy/160331_Taizo_Miyagi.pdf

to ASEAN, the Indo-Pacific region and the international community. The expansion of Chinese influence and major power relations with the U.S., Japan, and India pose geo-political and geo-economic uncertainty to the region and ASEAN integration. ASEAN countries do not want to choose between China and the U.S. but to keep friendly relations with all the external powers including Japan and India. It needs to consider that ASEAN countries are not identical on their threat perceptions and interests and that ASEAN's centrality and diversity should be respected.

ASEAN'S POTENTIALS AND CHALLENGES AHEAD

After 50 years of its creation, ASEAN has promising potentials and difficult challenges ahead. ASEAN has economic strengths such as the world's fifth-largest economic power (with 10 rapidly growing economies); the Asian third-largest growing economy (with a combined GDP of USD 2.6 trillion); growing ASEAN trade amounts to USD 2.8 trillion; the rapid rise of FDI (with USD 136 billion amounts to 11% of world FDI). ASEAN has economic and social potentials such as the world's third largest market and labour force with 637 million people (with young labour force); rapidly expanding middle-class consumers; locational complementarity; overall social progress; and high technology adoption rate²⁸.

ASEAN still faces various unsolved problems and difficult challenges ahead: poverty reduction (with large number of poor and marginally non-poor in most of the ASEAN members); improving moderate GDP per capita; need to improve economic competitiveness of low R&D budget; slow progress in building a fully functioning ASEAN economic community; and insufficient basic infrastructure. Above all, ASEAN needs to deal with various problems including political, economic, and social instability; multifaceted issues and trade-offs due to different stages of socio-economic development; high corruption rate, etc.²⁹. The South China Sea and Indochina are pressing regional issues for all the concerned stakeholders in Asia and the Indo-Pacific region. Many ASEAN countries need to ensure political stability and democratization in the context of growing civil society and globalization.

There are two contrasting theoretical views on ASEAN's role in international relations. On one hand, realists suggest a critical view that

²⁸ ASEAN-Japan Centre. 2017. "ASEAN Information Map", Tokyo. (in Japanese) at <http://www.asean.or.jp/ja/asean/know/base/outline/6.html>

²⁹ ASEAN-Japan Centre. 2017. "ASEAN Information Map", Tokyo. (in Japanese) at <http://www.asean.or.jp/ja/asean/know/base/outline/6.html>

ASEAN is only small-medium powers' group and lacking of decisive power in international order making. ASEAN-led regional dialogue mechanism is merely a "talk-shop" without any implementation capability of conflict resolution. On the other hand, liberals and social constructivists appreciate the role of ASEAN-led cooperative security mechanism, but ASEAN attains only limited regional peace without freedom because the principle of non-interference of "ASEAN way" admit authoritarian governance at the cost of human rights and freedom. The future role and influence of ASEAN-centered regional architecture will be largely determined by ASEAN's "two-pronged approach": ASEAN's integration for its community building and its relations with external major powers including China, the U.S, India, and Japan. ASEAN's role and influence would increase as a driver of ASEAN-centered regional institutions in the Asia-Pacific³⁰.

In the long term, Southeast Asia will be influenced by three driving forces of globalization: Southeast Asian original diversity, Islamic extremist movements, and prevailing English. Southeast Asian countries will also face serious problems such as aging population, environmental problems, and drags and social crimes (Iwasaki, 2017).

ASEAN's five original member states pursued peace and prosperity. After the Cold War, CLMV countries joined ASEAN in seeking for peace and prosperity. Today ASEAN is pursuing centrality and connectivity. ASEAN pursues its "centrality" in order to exercise power and influence through various ASEAN-centered regional institutions in the Asia-Pacific. ASEAN also strengthens its "connectivity" in order to enhance regional integration and to ameliorate regional disparities.

POTENTIALS AND CHALLENGES OF JAPAN-ASEAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Following the spirit of the Fukuda Doctrine as an equal partnership, Japan has supported ASEAN integration, peace, and prosperity. It has acknowledged ASEAN's connectivity and supported ASEAN's centrality in ASEAN-centered regional architecture, including East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Plus Three (APT), and ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). Following the ADB's promoted connectivity project of the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS), Japan promotes improving connectivity in

³⁰ Kuroyanagi, Yoneji. 2015. 50 Chapters for the Understanding of ASEAN, Tokyo: Akashi Shoten. (in Japanese)

ASEAN's eastern maritime area covering Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines (BIMP-EAGA). This area faces various threats and non-traditional security problems including international terrorism, transnational crimes and armed robberies at sea. Improving ASEAN connectivity could promote ASEAN's further integration contributing not only to ASEAN countries, but also to the ASEAN-centered regional security architecture in Asia and the Indo-Pacific.

Considering increasing US-China rivalry, Southeast Asia region has become the centre of geo-politics and geo-economics in Asia and the Indo-Pacific. ASEAN-centered regional institutions plays a significant role for peace, stability, and prosperity of the region. Since its beginning, Japan-ASEAN relations have evolved in the Asian geo-political and geo-economic context. For five decades, ASEAN has been successfully developing and expanding its role and influence in Asia-Pacific region. But ASEAN still faces continued internal weakness and vulnerabilities. Considering Japan's historical and contemporary relations in Asia, the "heart-to-heart" relations based on trust and mutual understanding is the cornerstone of Japan-ASEAN partnership. Both parties could utilize various channels and areas for further cooperation including diplomacy, business, people exchanges, and tourism. Japan and ASEAN could continue its multi-layered cooperation on ASEAN integration based on mutual understanding and trust. In the regional context of geo-political and geo-economic competition among major powers, Japan-ASEAN partnership needs to continue its joint efforts not only in ASEAN Community building, but also in the ASEAN-centered regional security architecture building in Asia and the Indo-Pacific region as a whole. Japan and ASEAN will be indispensable strategic partners for peace and stability, in the regional and global interests, to ensure the rule of law at the free and open seas and to promote universal values of freedom, democracy, and basic human rights.

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