



# Engaging External Powers: China, Japan and the US

HUBUNGAN INTERNASIONAL DI ASIA TENGGARA

# Outline Lecture

- ▶ ☐ External powers' overlay on Southeast Asia
  - ☐ Southeast Asia and China
  - ☐ Southeast Asia and Japan
  - ☐ Southeast Asia and the US
  - ☐ Between bilateral and multilateral engagement
  - ☐ Hedging and competitive power balance
  - ☐ Norm formation and socialization

# External powers' overlay in Southeast Asia

- ▶ ☐ Under the shadow of big powers
- ☐ Small- and middle-size countries dominate Southeast Asia
- ☐ Located along a very important trading route
- ☐ Ethnic and religious diversity
- ☐ A brief history of external powers' influences
- ☐ The tribute system centred on China
- ☐ Colonial controls imposed by Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, France, the United Kingdom, and the US
- ☐ Military occupation by Japan
- ☐ Cold War confrontation and regional division



# Southeast Asia and China

- Geographic proximity matters
  - Land borders
  - Territorial claims
  - Military confrontation
- China as a key neighbour
  - Mainland Southeast Asia
  - Maritime Southeast Asia
- Being geo-politically close to China also increase other countries' interests in Southeast Asia



# Southeast Asia and China

- ▶ ☐ Relations during the Cold War
  - ☐ China's support for the communist movements in Southeast Asia
  - ☐ ASEAN as a response to internal security challenges
  - ☐ The conflict between Vietnam and China
  - ☐ Bilateral relations after the Cold War
  - ☐ China's growing economic, political and military influences
  - ☐ East Asian Financial Crisis (1997-1998)
  - ☐ ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement proposed in 2001
  - ☐ Early harvest program in agriculture
  - ☐ Two stage process: ASEAN-6 and CLMV
  - ☐ Reducing the debts of some ASEAN countries
  - ☐ China signed TAC in 2003



# Southeast Asia and China

- ▶
  - Addressing the challenges of China's rise
  - The dual strategies of Southeast Asia
  - Maintaining external security relations with other powers
  - Comprehensive and complex engagement with China
  - South China Sea
  - Institutionalized contacts and dialogues
  - ASEAN+3, East Asian Summit, ARF
  - APEC, ASEM
  - Bilateral talks between China and some Southeast Asian Countries (e.g., Vietnam, the Philippines, and Indonesia)
  - Multi-level dialogues (senior-level consultation, lower-level technical and functional committees, and track II exchanges)

# Southeast Asia and Japan

- Japan's occupation of Southeast Asia

- Post-war reconciliation

- Normalization of bilateral relations
- Payment of war reparations to Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Thailand



- Japan as a model of economic development

- Rapid economic growth in Japan in 1960s and 1970s
- Offering economic aids and capitals to Southeast Asia
- Japan as a top foreign investor in ASEAN in 1980s



# Southeast Asia and Japan

- ▶
  - Japan's foreign policy towards Southeast Asia
  - The Fukuda Doctrine in 1977
  - Commitment to peace
  - Mutual trust and cooperation with Southeast Asia
  - Pledging economic and development aid
  - Official Development Assistance (ODA)
  - Between 1976 and 1986 Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Thailand received roughly one third of total bilateral ODA of Japan
  - Post-financial crisis relations: a regional approach
  - From the failed AMF to the 'New Miyazawa Initiative'
  - ASEAN+3 (APT)
  - Bilateral and multilateral FTA negotiations from 2002
  - The East Asian Summit in 2005
  - Proposals for 'East Asian Community'
  - Koizumi 2002; Hatoyama 2009



# Southeast Asia and the US

- ▶ ☐ The US's post-war presence in Southeast Asia
  - ☐ The bilateral hub-and-spoke security arrangement
  - ☐ particularly with the Philippines and Thailand
  - ☐ SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization)
  - ☐ founded in 1954, dissolved in 1977
  - ☐ Post-Cold War security cooperation
  - ☐ The US military base in the Philippines not renewed since 1991
  - ☐ Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia signed military access arrangements with the US in the mid- and late 1990s
  - ☐ Singapore's Changi Naval Base: an alternative logistic hub
  - ☐ ARF was neglected by the US during the Bush administration

# Southeast Asia and the US

- ▶ ☐ War on terrorism in Southeast Asia
- ☐ The Bali bomb attacks in 2002
- ☐ Terrorist groups, esp. Jemaah Islamiyah, closely watched
- ☐ The Abu Sayyaf group in the Southern Philippines
- ☐ The Muslim separatist movements in Southern Thailand
- ☐ Economic links and trade liberalization
- ☐ The US-Singapore FTA came into force in 2004
- ☐ TIFAs (Trade and Investment Framework Agreements) signed with Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam
- ☐ FTA negotiation with Thailand and Malaysia
- ☐ US-led TPP
- ☐ Human rights as a bilateral issue
- ☐ Human rights in Vietnam
- ☐ engagement
- ☐ The situation in Myanmar
- ☐ engagement



# Understanding the impacts of external powers



- Between bilateral and multilateral engagement
- China: initially a multilateral approach, but increasingly bilateral...
- Japan: mixed bilateral and regional approaches
- US: bilateral approach regarded as a priority, plus multilateral engagement
- Hedging and competitive power balance
- Sino-Japanese rivalry and competition in Southeast Asia
- US as an extra-regional actor dominates regional power balance
- Southeast Asia adopts a hedging strategy
- Norm formation and socialization
- ASEAN: institutional frameworks to engage external powers
- China and Japan: self-constrained to avoid possible backlash
- Has Southeast Asia successfully socialized external powers to follow its norms?



Next

- ▶ **Regionalism: Southeast Asia, East Asia or Asia-Pacific?**