

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

Japan rose as a strong imperial power after the end of World War I, and gained a permanent seat in the League of Nations after the war. The Showa recession in 1926, and internal political instabilities later contributed to the rise of Japanese militarism in the late 1920s to 1930s. On 1941 December 7–8, Japanese forces carried out surprise attacks on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, British forces in Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong and declared war on the United States and the United Kingdom, bringing the US and the UK into World War II in the Pacific.²

After the end of World War II, Japan rebuilt it self under the close relation and protection from the United States, which provided Japan with the ability to have concentrated development on economic sector while avoiding to take part to any major initiatives related to the international situation. With the constitution of Japan forbid the establishment of a standing army but still will be protected by United States, Japan has these advantages which is to maintain political neutrality in foreign affair while expanding its economic relations wherever possible.

Relations between Japan and the Philippines has begun since Muromachi period of Japanese history, during this period Japanese merchants and traders had settled in Luzon. Especially in the suburb of Manila, Dilao, which was a

²(インドネシア独立運動と日本とスカルノ (2), (2009-10-02), Retrieved 9 7, 2016, From: <http://www.sankei.co.jp/seiron/koukoku/2005/0504/ronbun3-2.html>

*Nihonmachi*³ (Japantown) of 3,000 Japanese around the year 1600. After the World War II, United States grant The Philippines independence and The Philippines also take part as the signatory in the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty with Japan. The diplomatic relations between Japan and The Philippines re-established in 1956, when a war reparations agreement was concluded. Japanese companies and individual investors had begun to return to the Philippines by the end of the 1950s.

Picture 1.1: Geographical position of Japan and The Philippines



Source: <https://amti.csis.org/atlas/>

Japan and Philippines have similarities in their geographical properties as an archipelagic nation, with both located adjacent to Pacific Ocean makes both of the country experienced direct effect if there are political changes in the near

³*Nihonmachi* is a term used to referring historical Japanese communities in Southeast and East Asia. The term has also been applied to several modern-day communities, though most of these are called simply "Japantown", in imitation of the common term "Chinatown".

waters. The location of Japan and Philippines make's up what's called the first-island chains"(Castro, 2013), surrounding the inner sea of East and South China Sea from the open water of Pacific.

Former Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda chose Manila to deliver his famous "Fukuda Doctrine" speech in 1977 to show Tokyo's new approach to Southeast Asia which had been spoiled by Japanese occupation during WWII⁴. Economics has long been a major part of the relationship between Japan and the Philippines, but growing anxiety about Chinese actions in the East and South China Seas have led both countries to strengthen their defense ties under a strategic partnership first inked in 2011⁵. Tokyo has provided Manila a low-interest loan to be used for the purchase of ten new Japanese high-speed patrol vessels.

Japan and Philippines developed their relation into a strategic partnership during President Benigno S. Aquino III, Official Working Visit to Japan from 25 to 28 September 2011. President Aquino paid a State Call on His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and visited Ishinomaki City in Miyagi Prefecture, a disaster-affected area of the Great East Japan Earthquake⁶. Contained inside the Strategic

⁴The Philippine Star.(2010, 1 10).*Japan and Phl: A special friendship*. Retrieved 3 26, 2016, from PhilStar Headline: <http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2013/01/10/895207/japan-and-phl-special-friendship>

⁵Parameswaran, P. (2015, 6 5).*Asean Beat, The Diplomat*. Retrieved 3 27, 2016, from The Diplomat Website: <http://thediplomat.com/2015/06/japan-philippines-declare-strengthened-strategic-partnership/>

⁶Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. (2015, June 4). *Countries & Regions, Japan-Philippines Relations, Japan-Philippines Joint Declaration A Strengthened Strategic Partnership for Advancing the Shared Principles and Goals of Peace, Security, and Growth in the Region and Beyond*. Retrieved May 28, 2016, from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan Website: http://www.mofa.go.jp/s_sa/sea2/ph/page4e_000280.html

Cooperation joint statement by the government of Philippines and Japan, are two main initiatives which is; (1) “Maintaining and strengthening high-level bilateral relations” by conducting three main aspects which is:

- a) Mutually beneficial cooperation in economic field, by conducting Japan-Philippines Economic Partnership Agreement, Promotion and enhancement of investment, continuation of economic cooperation, environment and climate change.
- b) Mutual Trust in political and security aspects, convening of multi-layered policy dialogues, cooperation in the field of maritime affairs, peace in Mindanao.
- c) Mutual Understanding at the people-to-people level. Conducted in Tourism, and Youth exchange programs(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2015).

And (2) “Contribution to the regional and international community” which includes several points of actions in fields of; Maritime Security, Promotion of regional economic integration, regional cooperation on disaster prevention, special attention on The Korean Peninsula, Climate change negotiations, UN Security council reform, and UN peacekeeping operations(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2015).

In May and June 2015, the Maritime Self Defense Force and the Philippine Navy held their first joint exercises. Manila and Tokyo even explored a visiting forces agreement, which would grant Japanese forces access to base in the

Philippines. The Philippines has expressed its interest in acquiring used Japanese P-3C Orion surveillance aircraft, which would significantly enhance Manila's ability to keep an eye on its maritime territory and near seas⁷.

President of The republic of the Philippines Benigno S. Aquino III paid an official state visit to Japan, and held a meeting with prime minister of Japan Shinzo Abe on 4 June 2015. Both of the state leader declared that the relationship between the two countries has entered the stage of Strengthened Strategic Partnership⁸. Both countries are fully committed towards strengthening the Partnership, and aware of the increasing and complex challenges facing the region and the international community, and both country agree on establishing guiding principles for the future relationship between the two countries in "Action Plan for Strengthening of the Strategic Partnership" which consist of 6 main aspects which is: Strategic Partnership for Shared Principles and Goals, Joint Contribution to Secure Regional Peace and Stability, Towards Enduring Peace in Mindanao, Collaboration for Economic Growth of the Region, Close Coordination in the International Arena, and Strengthening Dialogues and Exchanges.

With this undergraduate thesis, writer wishes to be able to explore relevant information and able to analyze about the reasons of the strengthening strategic partnership between Japan and The Philippines in 2015.

⁷Mazza, M. (2015, 10 5). *National Interest Security Section*. Retrieved March 25, 2016, from Nationalinterest.org : <http://nationalinterest.org/feature/china-japans-battle-influence-southeast-asia-14006>

⁸Ministry of Foreign Affair of Japan. (2011, September 27). *Speeches and Statements by Prime Minister; Japan-Philippines Joint Statement on the Comprehensive Promotion of the "Strategic Partnership" between Neighboring Countries Connected by Special Bonds of Friendship*. Retrieved May 28, 2016, from Ministry of Foreign Affair of Japan website: http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/pm/noda/joint_statement110927.html

B. Research Question

After discussing and analyzing the background of Japan foreign policy towards the strengthen of its strategic partnership with The Philippines, writer formulates the main research question for this thesis proposal as follows:

“Why Japan strengthened its strategic partnership with The Philippines in 2015?”

C. Theoretical Framework

In order to the analyze the reason why Japan has strengthened its strategic partnership with The Philippines, writer will use two concepts as the tools to analyze the information and data that has been gathered, which are the concept of National Interest and Balance of Power:

1. Concept of National Interest:

The concept of national interest could be understood as a country's goals or ambitions in economic, military, or cultural sector. In other word national interest could be defined as the goals and aims of a nation. The early thinker of this concept is Niccolò Machiavelli in his book the Prince (*Il Principe*) in 1513 which further develop the school of realism and considered as the founder of modern political science studies.

Other scholars According to Thuau, National Interest is: “..a form of reason "born of the calculation and the ruse of men" and makes of the state "a knowing machine, a work of reason"; the state ceases to be derived from the divine order

and is henceforth subject to its own particular necessities” (Thuau, 1966). Thuau argues that state, as a “knowing machine” that work for a reason, this so called reason should be related to the goals and aim of the state which should be followed realistically. More specifically, Jack C. Plano and Ray Olton define national interest as:

National interest is the fundamental objective and ultimate determinant that guides the decision-makers of a state in making foreign policy. The national interest of a state is typically a highly generalized conception of those elements that constitute the state’s most vital needs. These include self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well-being. (Jack C. Plano, 1988)

Plano defines national interest as a vital interest of a state that should be fulfilled in order to preserve its existence. A states *vital needs* according to Plano includes; Self-preservation, independence, territorial integrity, military security, and economic well-being. Self-Preservation means the needs of a state to ensure its survival from any threat which may harm the state, Independence means the needs of state to exercise its independent actions as a form of sovereignty, territorial integrity means the need of states to protect the integrity of its territory from any possible harm, and the economic well-being means the interest of state is related to its effort to secure its economic sector. Thus according to Plano, every act of a state in form of foreign policy has these vital needs as the main needs that should be fulfilled.

In relation to the case of Japan and Philippines strategic cooperation, both Japan and The Philippines have the same concern towards China’s aggressive

claims in South China Sea. China claims almost over the entire sea as the sovereign territory of China. Japan together with its key-allies United States, concern China's assertiveness because of strategic position of South China Sea, which connects the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Guaranteeing freedom of navigation in these waters is vital to the global economy, in fact one third of world Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) passes through the strait of malaca and South China Sea, in 2011 3.4 trillion cubic feet of Japan's LNG pass through South China Sea⁹, indicates the importance of South China Sea for Japan and other country.

China's dramatic increases in military spending, and its military infrastructure buildups in artificial islands in South China Sea, has improved its strategic position in the sea. Thus China has been able to act much more assertively throughout the region and produce a security threat to neighboring countries in the East China Sea and the South China Sea(Castro, 2013).

Using Plano's concept of vital needs in his concept of national interest, writer will analyze "military security" and "economic well-fare" as vital needs of Japan in regards to analyzing Japan's reasons behind the strengthening of its strategic cooperation with the Philippines in 2015.

2. Balance of Power (BoP) Theory:

The balance of power theory in international relations, suggests that national security is enhanced when military capability is distributed so that no one state is

⁹Center of Strategic and International Studies.(2014). *18 Maps that explain maritime security in Asia*. Retrieved June 7, 2016, from Asia maritime transparency initiative: <http://amti.csis.org/atlas/>

strong enough to dominate all others (Wittkopf, 2005). According to this theory, if one state becomes much stronger than others, it will take advantage of its strength and dominate weaker neighbors, thereby providing a necessity for those countries that feel threatened to unite in a form of defensive coalition to counter the possible threat from the dominant power.

China claims almost 80% of the South China Sea by its U-shape nine-dash line map that is along with the Paracels and Spratly Islands, which are also claimed in parts by the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, and Vietnam (Castro, 2013). The map indicates not only China's sovereignty over the island and waters of South China Sea, but also its transportation, fishing, and mineral extraction rights over "all the waters within the nine-dash line" (International Herald Tribune, 13 August 2012). By this maritime claim, China ensures its national security and enhances its territorial integrity. The other states view this development as an sign of Chinese maritime expansionism in an area of key strategic location and potential resources (Scott, 2007).

The concept of balance of power by Stephen M. Walt suggests that there will be different ways a state will act towards the dominant threat, According to (Walt, 1987): "When confronted by a significant external threat, states that look to form alliances may *balance* or *bandwagon*. *Balancing* is defined as allying with others against the prevailing threat, while states that have *bandwagoned* have aligned with the threat."

Japan with all historical and rivalry with China in East China Sea certainly could not *bandwagon* to china in the case of its south china sea assertiveness, thus Japan need to do *balancing* actions, which is allying with others against the prevailing threat. According to Sudo (2009),Japan relies on two instruments to try balancing China's influence in South China Sea which is; ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and the provision of maritime security assistance.

With Walt's concept of Balance of Power, writer will try to analyze the means of the strengthening strategic cooperation between Japan and The Philippines in relation to Japan's effort to balance China in South China sea through the maritime security assistance included in the strategic cooperation between Japan and The Philippines.

D. Hypothesis

As a hypothesis, writer has prepared two hypothesis answering the research question of this research paper. Japan strengthens its strategic partnership with the Philippines in 2015 because of:

- a. The needs of Japan to fulfil its vital needs by ensuring its Economic well-being and military security from China's influence in South China Sea.
- b. And as a form of balancing action towards the influence of China in South China Sea.

E. Research Method

This thesis will be using a qualitative method of analysis and use secondary data sources obtained by conducting library research, finding journals,

articles and also other source of information related with Japan – Philippine relations and its action plans to strengthen the relations.

By using this method, writer hopes to collect as many data and information as possible related towards the topic.

F. Research Purpose

1. To understand the reason why Japan strengthens its Strategic cooperation with The Philippines in 2015.
2. To fulfill the requirement for achieving the bachelor degree of International Relations, in Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

G. Scope Of Research

To keep this paper specific, writer will limit the scope of analysis in relation with the Japan-Philippines strategic cooperation since 2011 until 2016, and the Action Plan for Strengthening of Japan-Philippines strategic cooperation in 2015. However writer will also gather data with strong relation with the topic that may beyond the mentioned periods.

H. Organization Of Writing

To construct this Undergraduate Thesis to be a good scientific research paper, writer will organize this paper in several chapters.

Chapter I : The first chapter will discuss the introductions to this Undergraduate Thesis, which contains background, research question, theoretical framework, research method, hypothesis, research purpose, scope of research, and organization of writing

Chapter II : The second chapter will discuss about Japan foreign policy, related to its dynamichistorical developments, and further will discuss also its character towards the current situation in the nearby region, especially Southeast Asia and the disputes in the area of South China Sea.

Chapter III : The third chapter will discuss more specifically on the Japan and Philippines relations in started by discussing via historical context and followed by a deeper discussion on the establishment of strategic cooperation between Japan and the Philippines.

Chapter IV : The fourth chapter will discuss on implementing theoretical framework to find out the reason of the strengthening of the strategic cooperation between Japan and The Philippines in 2015. The analysis will then used to challenge the hypothesis proposed in the first chapter.

Chapter V : The fifth chapter will be the conclusion of this undergraduate thesis which explains the findings and result of this research.