

***Japan's Relations with Southeast Asia: The Fukuda Doctrine and Beyond.* Edited by Lam Peng Er. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013. Hardcover: 203pp.**

This volume examines one of the most critical and forward-looking initiatives in Japanese foreign policy towards Southeast Asia: the Fukuda Doctrine. Named after then Prime Minister Fukuda Takeo, the initiative was introduced in a speech delivered in Manila during a tour of Southeast Asian countries in 1977. The doctrine comprised three principles: Japan will never pose a military threat to Southeast Asia; Japan will foster “heart-to-heart” relationships with Southeast Asian states; and Japan will develop an equal partnership with ASEAN and its member states, and contribute positively to regional stability. This volume is a collection of essays prepared to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary (in 2007) of the doctrine and, more importantly, to analyse its impact on the development of Japan-Southeast Asia relations.

As clearly outlined in this volume, the Fukuda Doctrine was a visionary initiative that transformed Japan's relations with Southeast Asia. Its implementation created a new context, both materially and normatively, that significantly improved Japan's image in Southeast Asia, enabled Japan to contribute politically to Southeast Asian affairs and laid the foundations of the strong Japan-Southeast Asia relationship that we see today. All the contributors to this volume recognize the significant contributions of the Fukuda Doctrine in shaping Japan-Southeast Asia relations, and argue that it continues to be relevant today. In fact, some of the authors also suggested that Japan should implement a similar doctrine towards Northeast Asia.

There are many positive aspects to this volume. It does an excellent job in analysing the various aspects of the Fukuda Doctrine, such as its guiding principles, origins, impact and continued relevance. The chapters are written by prominent analysts from Japan and Southeast Asia, including a chapter by Edamura Sumio who was actually involved in the drafting of the Fukuda Doctrine itself and offers readers a rare insider's account of its genesis. The chapters in this volume cover a wide range of perspectives related to the Fukuda Doctrine: theoretical and historical (Chapters 1 and 2); Great and Major Powers (Chapters 3 and 4); Sino-Japanese relations (Chapter 5); Japan-ASEAN relations (Chapter 6); and regional architecture and institution-building (Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

The importance of understanding the impact of the Fukuda Doctrine on Japan-Southeast Asia relations is especially critical today. China's rising power and the accompanying weakening of Japan due to two decades of stagnation have created a new strategic context for East Asia. From the late 1990s, China's growing economic and political profile in Southeast Asia posed a challenge to Japan's influence in the region. Only recently has Japan sought to regain its former position by strengthening economic, political and even security relations with Southeast Asian countries. Key measures have included aggressive economic engagement with Myanmar, the signing of strategic partnerships with the Philippines and Vietnam, and actively supporting US efforts to "pivot" towards Asia, in which Southeast Asia occupies a central position. To understand contemporary Japanese foreign policy towards Southeast Asia, it is important to return to the Fukuda Doctrine. In this regard, this book does an excellent job.

If there is one criticism of this volume, it concerns the continued relevance or application of the Fukuda Doctrine today. One could argue that the doctrine was a product of a specific historical context. When the doctrine was announced during the Cold War, Japan was in a unique position: it was the strongest economic power in Asia, ASEAN and China were relatively weaker entities and reliant on Japan and the United States for economic growth and political and strategic stability, and ASEAN, Japan, China and the US had shared strategic concerns related to the spread of communism in Indochina supported by the Soviet Union. Within this structural context, Japan was successful in the implementation of the doctrine and achieving its goals.

Today the situation is quite different: a weakened Japan is faced with a stronger China; ASEAN has completed its expansion to ten members; Southeast Asia relies on China as much as Japan for economic growth; and there are new strategic challenges to address, most notably the re-emergence of contentious territorial disputes. Due to this altered structural context, Japan and the region are faced with a more complex strategic environment compared to the Cold War. Japan has responded in a proactive manner by adopting a foreign policy practice towards Southeast Asia that is arguably beyond the prescription of the Fukuda Doctrine. One example is the use of the military as a legitimate tool in Japanese foreign policy practice. This is an important development that was perhaps not anticipated by the architects of the doctrine. Instead of relying on the Fukuda Doctrine, perhaps a new label is needed

to capture contemporary developments in the conduct of Japanese foreign policy. This is not only a problem related to the Fukuda Doctrine but also to the Yoshida Doctrine. Named after former Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, this doctrine formed the basis of Japan's foreign policy during the Cold War. It was defined by the following three principles: concentration of all resources and effort to economic growth; limited rearmament; and reliance on the United States for Japan's national security. Today, analysts and scholars of Japanese foreign policy debate whether the Yoshida Doctrine best captures the evolving nature of Japanese foreign policy practice in the post-Cold War era.

Overall, this volume is a key resource for students, academics and practitioners who seek to understand the conduct of contemporary Japanese foreign policy in general and Japan-Southeast Asia relations more specifically from the both the policy and academic perspectives.

BHUBHINDAR SINGH is an Assistant Professor at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore.