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Oleh Oliynyk

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0083-9960>

VECTORS AND MECHANISMS OF JAPAN'S INFLUENCE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF EAST ASIA

The article analyzes the role of Japan in East Asia, as well as defines the vectors and mechanisms of its influence on the countries of the region. The country of the Rising Sun takes an active part in international development, cooperates with international organizations, acts as an active initiator of various international development programs and is one of the largest donors in the world. It was established that Japan constantly provides economic support to ASEAN countries, in particular in the form of official development assistance, builds infrastructure, contributes to the formation of the economic environment, provides technical assistance, promotes the development of human resources, education and health care. The study clarifies the main principles of Japan's foreign policy regarding international cooperation in their historical development. The author presented the essence of the main doctrines of the Japanese government on supporting the development of SA countries. A comparative analysis of the global initiatives of Tokyo and Beijing and directions of interaction between China and Japan was conducted. The attitude of the ASEAN countries regarding the role of Japan in East Asia is clarified. According to the results of the conducted research, certain conclusions were made regarding the influence of Japan on EA. First, Japan remains a supporter of EA's policy of peace and prosperity, therefore it takes an active position in ensuring peace and stable development of the region. Secondly, the country's leadership considers the region in a broader format, more open to the outside world, therefore supports the idea of Indo-Pacific regionalization. Thirdly, Tokyo gives preference to the economic development of EA and implements various regional development mechanisms, in particular: official aid, direct investment and other forms of support. Fourth, the Japanese leadership is aware of China's power and role in the EA, but adheres to the position of constructive cooperation and avoidance of confrontation. Fifth, Japanese political circles believe that the role of the region in the global processes of globalization will grow, so it is important to take a constructive position regarding interaction with the EA and form a new vision of regional integration.

Keywords: Japan, East Asia, ASEAN, international aid, international cooperation, development.

Identification of the problem. At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century there is a change in the leadership of economic growth in the world economy. This tendency was most clearly manifested in the dynamics of intercontinental development. If during the 19–20 centuries leadership in economic growth belonged to Europe, although it is worth noting that to a large extent this was due to active support from the United States, but in the 21st century was affected by the growth of the role of Asia and primarily this concerns the region of East Asia. If in the case of Europe the USA played an important role, then in the case of East Asia (EA), the growth was caused by activity in the region of Japan and China. Each of these countries consider EA a region of priority interest, as these countries have maintained close relations with the countries of this region throughout the long historical process. The history of relations between these countries also developed

differently and was marked by periods of military confrontation, interventions and capture. For centuries, China and Japan were the largest Asian empires, so relations with neighboring countries were built on the basis of vassal dependence of these countries.

However, after the Second World War, when Japan was defeated and turned into a parliamentary monarchy, and a people's republic was formed in China, the emphasis of the foreign policy programs of these two democratic countries, which they consider themselves to be, changed in relation to their closest neighbors, and in the first eastern Asian countries. Each of the countries is trying to maintain leadership in the region, but at the same time they are using new methods of influencing the development of EA. Today, these countries act as supporters of peaceful development and the formation of partnership relations.

This study analyzed the role of Japan in the development of EA, as Japan achieved good results in the post-war reconstruction of the country and socio-economic development of society, and also provided citizens with decent living conditions. In addition, the country of the rising sun takes an active part in international development, cooperates with international organizations, acts as an active initiator of various international development programs and is one of the largest donors in the world. Japan's experience is a good example for developing countries, which include a large number of East Asian countries, in solving complex problems of overcoming poverty, forming a sustainable economy, creating an effective system of social protection for the population, and achieving high standards of living for citizens.

In order to determine the geopolitical framework of Japan's interaction with the SA countries, the UN geoscheme was considered, which defines the geographical framework of East Asia (EA), namely, it is the eastern region of Asia, defined both geographically and ethnoculturally, which includes China, Japan, Mongolia, Northern Korea, South Korea and Taiwan. In a business and economic sense, the region of East Asia also includes the subregion of South Asia, which includes countries that are part of the ASEAN regional association (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), in particular: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Thus, in this study, the East Asian region is considered as a geographical area where the countries included in the ASEAN+3 format are located, namely the 10 specified ASEAN countries, as well as China, South Korea and Japan.

The work traced the main historical stages of relations between the country of the rising sun and the countries of East Asia.

Recent literature review. The issue of Japan's relations with the countries of East Asia arouses interest in world scientific circles, therefore it is actively studied in research centers and scientific institutions of various countries.

In the work of Dr. Kei Koga "Japan and Southeast Asia in the Indo-Pacific Region" of Nanyang Technological University, the author explored the strategic importance of Southeast Asia for Japan, and also carefully presented an analysis of

the initiative of former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe “Free and open to the Asia-Pacific region” (Free and Open Indo-Pacific, FOIP). In this study, the author identified the fundamental values on which Tokyo’s relations with the Asia-Pacific region should be built, including freedom, the rule of law, and the market economy. The researcher also conducted a comparative analysis of this concept with the global initiative of Chinese President Xi Jinping “One Belt, One Road”. In this context, he notes a certain competition between the two leading Asian countries regarding the preservation of their own interests. Sensing the economic potential of China, the scientist expresses the perspective of Japan’s cooperation with the USA, since the countries share the idea of FOIP and have long-standing partnerships [6].

In Yusuyuki Ishida’s article “Japan and ASEAN: Development of Strategic Partnership from Fukuda to the Abe Doctrine”, the author examines the history of Japan’s relations with ASEAN countries. He notes that with the development of ASEAN as a regional institution, the relationship between Japan and ASEAN has developed into a strategic partnership based on friendship and cooperation, the main foundations of which were laid in the so-called “Fukuda Doctrine”. Japan constantly provides economic support to ASEAN countries, in particular in the form of official development assistance, builds infrastructure, contributes to the formation of the economic environment, provides technical assistance, promotes the development of human resources, education and health care. According to Yusuyuki, former Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe further strengthened the strategic partnership in accordance with the five principles of Japanese diplomacy. However, he notes that faced with China’s expansion and competition from major powers, the strategic partnership between Japan and ASEAN needs further multi-level cooperation to build the ASEAN community and ties in Southeast Asia [10].

The issue of Japan’s regional role in East Asia was explored by Quansheng Zhao in the article “Japan’s Leading Role in East Asia: Cooperation and Competition between Japan and China”. Focusing primarily on Japan’s relationship with China as well as the United States, the article first examines the concept of transformational leadership. It then discusses regionalism in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan’s leadership role, and the changing dynamics of power distribution in the region over the past two decades. The task for Japan, according to the author, is that it should develop a joint leadership role with China to integrate the region as it has been done in Europe and North America. In the economic dimension, such cooperation and integration are already well developed, although limitations still remain. The most difficult problems in the relations between the countries remain in the strategic and political dimensions. Japan’s relations with China continue to be influenced by two main factors, namely the historical legacy (memories of the war) and the role of the United States in the region (in particular, regarding the issue of Taiwan) [9].

In Ukraine, the study of Japan’s relations with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region is conducted by O.M. Oliynyk. In particular, in the article “The role of Japan in international development”, the author examines the idea of the former Prime

Minister of Japan Abe of the so-called “free and open Indo-Pacific region”, “Free and Open Indo-Pacific”, FOIP). The idea, according to the study, aims to promote Japan’s economic prosperity by maintaining an order based on the rules of the international order, coexistence, cooperation, and improving connectivity in this vast expanse of waters, islands, and reefs from the Pacific Ocean to East Africa. The idea of a “Free and Open Indo-Pacific region” envisages the free movement of people, goods, capital and knowledge [12].

Setting objectives. In order to reveal the topic of the study, a number of tasks were defined, the clarification of which made it possible to formulate the goals of Tokyo’s policy in the EA, to determine its main vectors and mechanisms of influence on the development of the EA countries. The set of tasks includes, in particular, the following: elucidation of the main principles of Japan’s foreign policy regarding international cooperation; study of the main doctrines of the Japanese government on supporting the development of EA countries; analysis of the main tools and mechanisms for supporting the development of EA; comparison of global initiatives of Tokyo and Beijing; clarifying the attitude of the ASEAN countries regarding the role of Japan in East Asia; directions of interaction between China and Japan.

Presentation of the main research material. After Japan’s defeat in World War II, Japan signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, which allowed the country to maintain its independence and rejoin the international community. According to the Treaty of San Francisco, Japan undertook to compensate the countries of Southeast Asia for the losses it caused during the occupation of these countries. However, due to the fact that after the Second World War, the country remained quite weak, therefore aid to the countries of Southeast Asia was carried out unsystematically and was insignificant. As the economic power of the country grew, the possibilities for providing assistance to the countries of Southeast Asia grew accordingly.

Doctrine of Yoshida

The then Prime Minister of Japan, Shigeru Yoshida, defined the fundamental position of Japanese foreign and security policy, which was called the “Yoshida Doctrine”. The essence of the doctrine is to focus the country’s resources on economical production supported by well-trained workers, while at the same time accepting the position of the United States in matters of security and international politics. The doctrine was based on two fundamental principles: the priority development of the economy and the conscious refusal of active military construction. Japan’s military-political alliance with the United States provided certain guarantees to Japan against foreign invasion. At the same time, the country could free up significant resources, which it would otherwise have to spend on defense and national security needs, and direct them to solving the problems of peaceful development [1]. This doctrine led to spectacular economic growth and remained the guiding platform for Japan’s economic and foreign policy for decades. In the postwar period, Japanese diplomacy began its activities with the development

of alliance relations between Japan and the United States and with compensatory diplomacy with the countries of Southeast Asia.

In 1957, then Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi proposed the “Three Principles of Japanese Foreign Policy” in the first diplomatic Blue Book, which envisioned Japan’s leadership in Asia and economically oriented diplomacy for Asian development [4]. Gradually, Japan’s compensatory diplomacy gained a systemic character, and the country began to provide significant amounts of compensation to the countries of Southeast Asia (SEA). Over time, compensatory aid received the name Official Development Aid (ODA). The country’s government also began to develop economic cooperation with the SEA countries. The ODA, economic and technological support of the Japanese government stimulated the business development of Japanese companies, as well as economic development and state building in the newly independent countries of the SEA. Initially, the ODA and Japan’s economic relations with the SEA were based on bilateral relations with the SEA countries, and not with ASEAN as an organization. However, in the 1970s, ASEAN began to position itself more actively as a regional institution. In 1971, the foreign ministers of five ASEAN countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand) adopted declarations on the creation of the Zone of Peace Freedom and Neutrality (ZOPFAN), which meant a common ASEAN foreign policy with the aim of getting closer to the socialist countries of North Vietnam and China. In 1976 on The first ASEAN summit was held in Bali, at which the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) was adopted, which approved the rules and norms of interaction in the SEA region.

The doctrine of Fukuda

In 1977, then Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda became 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, he announced the historic “Fukuda Doctrine” and launched the so-called “heart-to-heart” diplomacy, which became a pillar of Japan-ASEAN relations. The “Fukuda Doctrine” defined three main principles of Tokyo’s diplomatic policy regarding SEA:

- 1) Japan will maintain peace and rejects the role of military force.
- 2) Japan will make every effort to strengthen mutual relations based on mutual understanding according to the principle of “heart to heart”, trust, and established equal partnership.
- 3) Japan will cooperate positively with ASEAN, with the aim of strengthening relations with the countries of Indochina, and will contribute to the building of peace and prosperity in the entire Southeast Asian region.

The “Fukuda Doctrine” greatly contributed to the formation of ASEAN’s favorable and friendly attitude towards Japan. The new policy of the country of the rising sun stimulated the development of the country’s cooperation with ASEAN and played a leading role in ASEAN’s relations with foreign countries. In 1978, a meeting of the foreign ministers of Japan and ASEAN was held, at which Tokyo

initiated cooperative relations with ASEAN as the first dialogue partner. However, Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia in 1978 and the intervention of external powers made it difficult for Japan to link ASEAN with Indochina in the 1980s.

The ASEAN Trade, Investment and Tourism Promotion Center (ASEAN Center – Japan) was established on May 25, 1981 to promote trade, investment and tourism by the governments of Japan and ASEAN. The center focused its activities on organizing exhibitions of ASEAN products, holding seminars and working meetings, sending and inviting missions, supporting the publishing and information service, etc.

In January 1992, ASEAN leaders at their fourth ASEAN summit in Singapore proposed to introduce a new regional security dialogue mechanism among the countries of the Asia-Pacific region (APR), within the framework of existing agreements between ASEAN leaders. The platform for such a mechanism was the ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference (ASEAN PMC), which annually gathers the ministers of foreign affairs of the ASEAN countries and its six dialogue partners with the Asia-Pacific region – Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, South Korea and the United States, to discuss primarily bilateral and regional economic issues. At the ASEAN post-ministerial conference held in Singapore on July 23-25, 1993, a decision was made to establish the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). The founding meeting of the ARF was held in Bangkok on July 25, 1994. The goals of the ARF were outlined in the first statement of the Chairman of the ARF (1994), namely:

- promote constructive dialogue and consultation on policy and security issues of common interest and concern;
- strengthen confidence-building and preventive diplomacy efforts in the Asia-Pacific region.

At the 27th ASEAN Ministerial Meeting (1994), it was stated that “the ARF can become an effective consultative Asia-Pacific forum for promoting open dialogue on political and security cooperation in the region. In this context, ASEAN should work with its ARF partners to create a more predictable and constructive pattern of relations in the Asia-Pacific region”.

In response to the radical political and economic changes in the world in the early 90s of the 20th century within ASEAN, with the aim of strengthening economic cooperation between its member countries, the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) was established in 1992. Since then, ASEAN has experienced significant economic growth, capitalizing on its huge market with a total population of over 600 million people and a large number of young workers. ASEAN managed to overcome the Asian financial crisis of 1997, as well as focus on further regional cooperation and development. As a result, this region became a center of growth and became open to the world, which in turn attracted considerable attention around the world.

Japan's participation in international development

In May 2007, then-Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced the idea of “Cool Earth 50”, which calls for immediate worldwide action on climate change. In

announcing the initiative, Japan proposed a long-term goal of halving greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 as a shared goal for the entire world.

To implement this idea, Japan has announced that it will provide extensive support to developing countries that seek to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and achieve economic growth. Such assistance will be provided taking into account the different circumstances of developing countries, using Japanese technology and experience in mitigation and adaptation, and promoting the use of clean energy [3]. In this way, Japan has declared itself as a responsible country that cares about the development problems of other countries and is ready to contribute to international development.

The basis of Japan's development cooperation policy is the Development Cooperation Charter (adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers in February 2015). Japan defines its development cooperation policy as a peace-loving nation that actively contributes to the peace, stability and prosperity of the international community and safeguards Japan's national interests through this approach. The Charter establishes the basic principles of Japan's development cooperation policy and defines official development assistance as the most important foreign policy instrument for the implementation of this policy. It should be used more strategically and effectively. At a time when development issues are becoming increasingly diverse and complex, requiring development cooperation not only from states but also from various actors, including private companies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), official development assistance (ODA) will play a role catalyst for the unification of these various forces [8].

Official development assistance

Official Development Assistance (ODA) is defined by the OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) as public assistance that promotes and specifically targets the economic development and welfare of developing countries. The DAC adopted ODA as the "gold standard" of foreign aid as early as 1969, and it remains the main source of financing for development aid. ODA goes to the countries and territories included in the list of ODA determined by the DAC.

ODA goes to the countries and territories included in the list of countries that provide it, and is determined by the DAC. Official assistance is provided by official institutions, including state and local governments or their executive agencies, in the form of concessional financing (ie, grants and soft loans), with the primary objective of promoting the economic development and welfare of countries. Aid may be provided bilaterally, from donor to recipient, or channeled through multilateral development agencies such as the UN or the World Bank. A long-standing UN goal is that developed countries should allocate 0.7% of their gross national income to ODA. This indicator is measured as a percentage of gross national income at constant prices in millions of US dollars, using 2015 as the base year.

ODA also includes technical cooperation using know-how, technologies and experience for the development of human resources that will be participants in the development of society and the economy of developing countries and regions. Grants

also include contributions to specific projects implemented by international organizations [5].

The Japanese government has defined the conceptual principles of international cooperation, including the following:

1. Promoting peace and prosperity through cooperation for non-military purposes.
2. Promotion of human safety.
3. Cooperation aimed at self-sufficient development through supporting the efforts of individual countries, as well as dialogue and cooperation based on Japanese experience and expertise [3].

On the basis of the defined conceptual principles of international cooperation, the Japanese government also determined the priorities of international cooperation, which include the following:

(1) “Quality growth” and poverty eradication through growth.

Achieving economic growth is essential to reducing poverty, but it is essential that this growth be “quality growth” that has the following three characteristics: (i) “inclusiveness”, meaning that the fruits of growth are shared within society as a whole, leaving no one behind; (ii) “sustainability”, meaning that growth is sustainable over generations in terms of environmental harmony, sustainable socio-economic growth and addressing global warming; (iii) “resilience”, meaning the ability to withstand economic crises, natural disasters and other shocks. Seeking to eradicate poverty by realizing this quality growth, Japan also provides assistance to provide the foundation and driving force for people-centered economic growth and development that supports the basic foundations of human life [8].

(2) Exchange of common human values and implementation of a peaceful and safe society.

In this context, Japan’s position is that sustainable development through “quality growth” will not be achieved unless the rights of individuals are guaranteed, when people can engage in economic and social activities with a sense of security, and society is managed fairly and stably. In order to strengthen the foundations of such development, Japan provides assistance for the purpose of spreading universal human values, as well as realizing a peaceful, stable and secure society.

In particular, while working to spread universal human values, Japan supports the establishment of the rule of law, the exercise of good governance, promotes and strengthens democratization, and respect for basic human rights, including women’s rights. Moreover, while working to realize a peaceful, stable, and secure society, Japan provides assistance for peacebuilding, law enforcement capacity building, counterterrorism, and maritime, space, and cyberspace engagement. In critical situations, the Japanese government provides emergency humanitarian aid [8].

(3) Building a sustainable and sustainable international community by making efforts to solve global challenges.

Transboundary challenges facing humanity include environmental issues, climate change, water challenges, major natural disasters, infectious diseases, food and energy issues. These problems significantly affect the international community as a whole, especially the poor and other vulnerable people. Therefore, Tokyo believes that solving these problems requires the combined efforts of the international community to build a stable and sustainable society by implementing the goals of sustainable development. Japan is truly at the forefront of the international community's efforts to address these global challenges [8].

Based on the above priority issues, in addition to cooperation in the field of development that meets the needs and characteristics of each country, Japan also participates in the development of regions, strengthening regional ties, etc. In addition, Tokyo extends necessary cooperation to countries based on their actual development needs and availability. These include countries that, despite progress in development, are burdened with a variety of development challenges, as well as small island countries that face particular vulnerabilities despite having reached a certain level of per capita income.

In 2019, Japan's ODA volume increased by 14,7% compared to 2018, of which 85,4% went to project financing and investment, 9,8% went to technical cooperation, and 4,8% went to grants. The regional distribution of ODR is as follows: Asia – 76,8%, Africa – 8,9%, Middle East – 6,5%, Latin America – 3,3%, Pacific region – 0,6%, Europe – 0,5 %, other regions – 3,4%. The presented data indicate that Asia is the priority region for the provision of ODR by Japan. Although Africa ranks second in the sphere of Japan's priority interests, the amount of ODA that Japan provides to African countries is significantly inferior to the amount of aid to Asian countries [5, p. 16–17].

Abe's doctrine

At the 21st Future of Asia International Conference held on May 21, 2015, Prime Minister Abe announced the Partnership for Quality Infrastructure to meet the huge demand for infrastructure development in Asia. Japan, in cooperation with the Asian Development Bank (ADB), agreed to provide about 110 billion dollars. US for investment in quality infrastructure in Asia over the next five years.

In August 2016, the Abe government initiated the idea of the so-called “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” (“Free and Open Indo-Pacific”, FOIP). This idea aims to promote Japan's economic prosperity by maintaining an order based on the rules of the international order, coexistence, cooperation, and improving connectivity in this vast expanse of waters, islands, and reefs from the Pacific Ocean to East Africa. The idea of a “free and open Indo-Pacific region” involves the free movement of people, goods, capital and knowledge.

The Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) initiative is implemented in two directions. One of them is the deepening of ASEAN integration. An important role in

the implementation of the initiative is played by JICA, which actively supports ASEAN in its efforts to strengthen ties between member states, cooperates with them, especially new ASEAN member states, and provides support for infrastructure development, investment climate, and improvement of the business environment and development legal systems. In the context of this cooperation, JICA implements joint projects with ASEAN countries to improve basic education, governance, health care, agriculture and water supply in order to reduce the widening of development gaps within and among member states. The second direction is the development of maritime infrastructure and the strengthening of maritime law. Priority issues in the implementation of the FOIP idea are the following: (1) quality of growth; (2) measures against climate change; (3) human resources; (4) implementation of common values and creation of a peaceful, stable and safe society. In 2019, the total amount of JICA financing of projects in ASEAN countries was 350 million dollars the USA, and the Pacific Ocean region 130,2 million dollars [5, p. 24].

**Project financing
in ASEAN, 2019**

countries	million dollars	%
Philippines	818,8	25,6
Indonesia	697,1	21,8
Myanmar	696,2	21,7
Vietnam	412,1	12,9
Thailand	295,8	9,2
Cambodia	183,8	5,7
Laos	45,8	1,4
Malaysia	39,3	1,2
East Timor	15,5	0,5

**Project financing
in the Pacific Ocean region, 2019**

countries	million dollars	%
Papua New Guinea	87,8	67,4
Solomon Islands	11,6	8,9
Samoa	10,4	8,0
Fiji	6,4	4,9
Vanuatu	6,0	4,6
Palau	2,2	1,7
Federated States of Micronesia	2,0	1,5
Tonga	1,6	1,2
Marshall Islands	1,0	0,8
Other 5 countries	1,3	1,0

Source: developed by the author based on JICA 2020. Annual report [5].

Japan and China

Japan played a significant role in the rise of the Celestial Empire and its integration into the world economy. In 1990, Japan was the first industrialized country to lift economic sanctions imposed on China after the Tiananmen incident [11]. Similarly, Japan was the first industrialized nation to offer its support in July 1999 for China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) [7].

For most of the 1990s, Japan-China relations deteriorated, a trend that cast a shadow over regional and global affairs in the post-Cold War era. Both sides have

attempted to reverse the downturn, exemplified by visits by heads of state, namely Chinese President Jiang Zemin's visit to Japan in November 1998 and Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi's visit to China in July 1999 (Lawrence 1999). Despite some positive results, these visits highlighted the difficulties each side faces in resolving their relationship.

In the 21st century, interests between the two Asian countries intersected in the Asia-Pacific region. Each of the countries considers this region a zone of its own interests, proving its right to regional leadership by referring to the historical past. Each of the countries in different periods of time dominated the region, planting at the same time its culture, traditions and models of public administration.

One of the most important initiatives of the XXI century became the Chinese project "One Belt, One Road". In September and October 2013, the President of the People's Republic of China, Xi Jinping, during his visits to the countries of Central and Southeast Asia, put forward an initiative to jointly create the Silk Road Economic Belt, connecting China with Europe by land, with routes connecting the respective country, and the maritime Silk Road of the XXI century – a maritime development initiative focused on the ports of Southeast Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, East Africa, and the Mediterranean ("One Belt, One Road" Initiative), which has received a lot of attention from the international community. Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Li Keqiang emphasized at the China-ASEAN exhibition that it is necessary to form a maritime Silk Road with the participation of ASEAN countries and create strategic strongholds for the development of internal regions.

It is noteworthy that the Japanese FOIP initiative was proposed not as a response to China's One Belt One Road initiative, with the aim of preempting Beijing's efforts and maintaining Japanese leadership in the Asia-Pacific region, but as a project aimed at developing joint participation in development of the region. Speaking in the Japanese parliament on January 22, 2018, Prime Minister Abe introduced the concept of FOIP as a complement to China's Belt and Road initiative, and also announced the need for cooperation with China in the implementation of FOIP initiatives.

Thus, at the beginning of the 21st century, there is a transformation of leadership in the Asia-Pacific region in the economic sphere. The Japanese government recognized China's achievements in reforming the country and its right to leadership in the Asia-Pacific region. However, Tokyo did not stand in the way of Beijing's efforts to build a prosperous region and a joint Asia-Pacific community. The leadership of the country of the "rising sun" saw growth and development in the intentions of the Celestial Empire, therefore it supported the position of the "middle state" and proposed a complementary project.

A more thorough analysis of the Chinese OBOR initiative and the Japanese FOIP shows certain differences in the vision of the parties regarding the future of the APR. In particular, Chinese reformers believe that the APR is a self-sufficient region that has all the conditions for the formation of a regional community and the formation of

regional associations. In turn, the Japanese FOIP designers have a broader vision of the future of the APR. They believe that since the APR has close historical relations with southern India, due to the connection of the Pacific and Indian oceans, then, in their opinion, it is worth creating a more open regional format of interaction and coexistence, in particular FOIP, which will also include the United States. In this format, Tokyo's aspirations to create a balance of interests in the ART, where there will be no single leader, and the joint leadership of the world's three largest economies – China, the United States and Japan, will contribute to the formation of a balanced consensus of interests and the formation of an agreed platform for development and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, at the current stage, it is still premature to assert the coherence and kinship of the actions of Tokyo and Beijing regarding participation in regional development. So far, the parties are mainly acting according to their own plans and projects, which sometimes leads to competition for the right to implement infrastructure projects in one or another country. The question of interaction in the security sphere, which periodically arises when the interests of the parties intersect in the area of sensitive issues, remains not fully clarified, in particular, it concerns the South China Sea or when clarifying the right of ownership of the Paracel Islands.

The current format of interaction between Japan and China indicates the intentions of the parties to resolve disputed issues through dialogue and compliance with the norms of international law. An example of such interaction is the seminar held within the framework of the memorandum "On Business Cooperation in Third Countries" on April 2, 2019 by the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, jointly convened by the Japanese - Chinese seminar on business cooperation in Thailand under the auspices of the Eastern Economic Corridor of Thailand. In his speech, Director General of the Trade and Economic Cooperation Bureau of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry of Japan, Masaki Ishikawa, emphasized the importance of cooperation between companies from different countries, such as China, Thailand and Japan, to meet the huge demand for infrastructure development in Asia. He also emphasized that cooperation in accordance with international standards of openness, transparency, efficiency and financial stability is beneficial for all parties. In her turn, Yu Hanyan, deputy director of the research department of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, noted that in order to promote cooperation in this format in the future, it is necessary to focus on three aspects of such cooperation: 1) improving the conditions of cooperation, 2) promoting the exchange of information and 3) strengthening the role of organizations that facilitate trade.

The development of bilateral relations between China and Japan shows that, despite all the problematic issues in the history of bilateral relations between the countries, which are related to the tragic pages of the historical past, it can bring

benefits to both sides in terms of the awareness of the benefits of such cooperation and the ability of the leaders of the countries to postpone controversial questions and find promising ones [2].

Conclusions

Based on the results of the research, the goal was clarified, the goals were determined, and the vectors and mechanisms of Japan's influence on the development of East Asia, including ASEAN, were analyzed. With the development of ASEAN as a regional association, the relationship between Japan and ASEAN has developed into a strategic partnership based on friendship and cooperation. Gradually, this partnership evolved in accordance with Japan's diplomatic approach, which would be called the so-called Fukuda Doctrine of 1977, the essence of which is a heart-to-heart partnership. In the course of research, it was established that Japan stably supports economic cooperation with ASEAN. According to the results of the research, it was found that in order to implement the specified goal, the country's leadership uses various mechanisms to support cooperation, in particular the following: Official Development Aid (ODA), various initiatives and funds for the development of ASEAN and the CA community, including the development economic infrastructure, competitive investment environment, human resource development, technical assistance, education and health care.

Since 1989, Japan has become the world's largest donor country for providing official financial assistance, but in 2002 it was replaced by the United States. During the period from 1960 to 2017, ASEAN countries as a whole received 28% of the total amount of ODA provided by Japan.

Based on the results of the analysis, it was established that the main form of cooperation between Japan and ASEAN is a partnership based on the following principles: partnership for the sake of peace and stability; partnership for prosperity; partnership for the sake of quality of life; heart-to-heart partnership.

According to the results of scientific intelligence, it was proved that the partnership "heart to heart" became the basis of Japanese diplomacy, which is based on the following fundamental principles:

- 1) devotion to peace and rejection of the role of military force;
- 2) strengthening mutual relations of confidence and trust, based on the understanding of the "heart to heart" principle as an equal partnership;
- 3) by maintaining a positive approach to cooperation with ASEAN, contribute to the strengthening of relations with the countries of Indochina and the building of peace and prosperity in the entire region of Southeast Asia.

Through "partnership" diplomacy, Japan has become a "dialogue partner" of ASEAN and participates in regular high-level meetings with its leaders. The "diplomatic" efforts have borne fruit, with ASEAN countries attracting nearly half of Japan's foreign direct investment (FDI). Since 2015, Japan has introduced a partnership for the development of ASEAN regional infrastructure, the so-called "Partnership for Quality Infrastructure" (PQI) in 2015. To date, PQIs have led

infrastructure investment into an upward trend and contributed to the formation of a positive image of Japanese investment.

The work also examines Japan's relations with China in the context of its influence on SA. It was established that both countries consider SA as a region of priority interests. After China became an economically powerful country, the country's leadership is strengthening the policy of openness to the outside world, and this primarily concerns EA. A comparative analysis of the foreign policies of China and Japan revealed differences in the goals of these countries in the specified region. Although both countries have a positive attitude to the integration processes observed in the region, there are also differences regarding the goals and directions of integration. The Chinese administration believes that the SA is a self-sufficient region, so the integration configuration should be formed within the SA. In that role in world processes, given that the region has access not only to the Pacific Ocean, but also to the Indian Ocean. In this context, the Japanese leadership is a supporter of the format of Indo-Pacific regionalism, in which the USA, the countries of Oceania and South Asia are also involved. The study showed that despite the differences between the countries regarding the goals and views of SA development, China and Japan support constructive cooperation in the field of infrastructure investment, assistance, implementation of joint projects and are interested in building a region of peace and prosperity.

Scientific research has shown that disagreements about the role of ASEAN in regional integration also exist among the ASEAN states themselves. Not all countries share the concept of the Indo-Pacific format, as they have different visions regarding the role of individual countries in regional development and different visions regarding the perspective of the region's development. The position of countries in this matter is also influenced by historical memory. In particular, both the USA and Japan at one time acted as occupiers both for individual countries and even for the region as a whole. The consequences of the occupation of the bottom are visible. It is worth noting that most countries remain supporters of regional integration within the EA framework.

The results of the conducted research allow us to draw certain conclusions about the influence of Japan on EA. First, Japan remains a supporter of the SA peace and prosperity policy, therefore it takes an active position in ensuring peace and stable development of the region. Secondly, the country's leadership considers the region in a broader format, more open to the outside world, therefore supports the idea of Indo-Pacific regionalization. Thirdly, Tokyo gives preference to the economic development of EA and implements various regional development mechanisms, in particular: official aid, direct investment and other forms of support. Fourth, the Japanese leadership is aware of China's power and role in the EA, but adheres to the position of constructive cooperation and avoidance of confrontation. Fifth, Japanese political circles believe that the role of the region in the global processes of

globalization will grow, so it is important to take a constructive position regarding interaction with the EA and form a new vision of regional integration.

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Олійник О.М. Вектори та механізми впливу Японії на розвиток країн Східної Азії.

У статті аналізується роль Японії у Східній Азії, а також визначаються вектори та механізми її впливу на країни регіону. Країна сонця, що сходить, бере активну участь у міжнародному розвитку, співпрацює з міжнародними організаціями, виступає активним ініціатором різних міжнародних програм розвитку і є одним з найбільших донорів у світі. Встановлено, що Японія постійно надає економічну підтримку країнам АСЕАН, зокрема у вигляді офіційної допомоги розвитку, будує інфраструктуру, сприяє формуванню економічного середовища, надає технічну допомогу, сприяє розвитку людських ресурсів, освіти та охорони здоров'я. У дослідженні уточнюються основні засади зовнішньої політики Японії щодо міжнародного співробітництва у її історичному розвитку. Автор представив суть основних доктрин японського уряду щодо підтримки розвитку країн Східної Азії. Проведено порівняльний аналіз глобальних ініціатив Токіо та Пекіна та напрямів взаємодії Китаю та Японії. З'ясовано ставлення країн АСЕАН щодо ролі Японії у Східній Азії. За результатами проведених досліджень було зроблено певні висновки щодо впливу Японії на Східну Азію. По-перше, Японія залишається прихильником політики світу та процвітання Східної Азії, тому займає активну позицію у забезпеченні миру та стабільного розвитку регіону. По-друге, керівництво країни розглядає регіон у більш широкому форматі, більш відкритому до зовнішнього світу, тому підтримує ідею регіоналізації Індो-Тихоокеанського регіону. По-третє, Токіо віддає перевагу економічному розвитку Східної Азії та реалізує різні механізми регіонального розвитку, зокрема: офіційну допомогу, прямі інвестиції та інші форми підтримки. По-четверте, японське керівництво усвідомлює міць і роль Китаю у Східній Азії, але дотримується позиції конструктивної співпраці та уникнення конфронтації. По-п'яте, японські політичні кола вважають, що роль регіону у глобальних процесах глобалізації зростатиме, тому важливо зайняти конструктивну позицію щодо взаємодії з Східною Азією та сформувати нове бачення регіональної інтеграції.

Ключові слова: Японія, Східна Азія, АСЕАН, міжнародна допомога, міжнародне співробітництво, розвиток.