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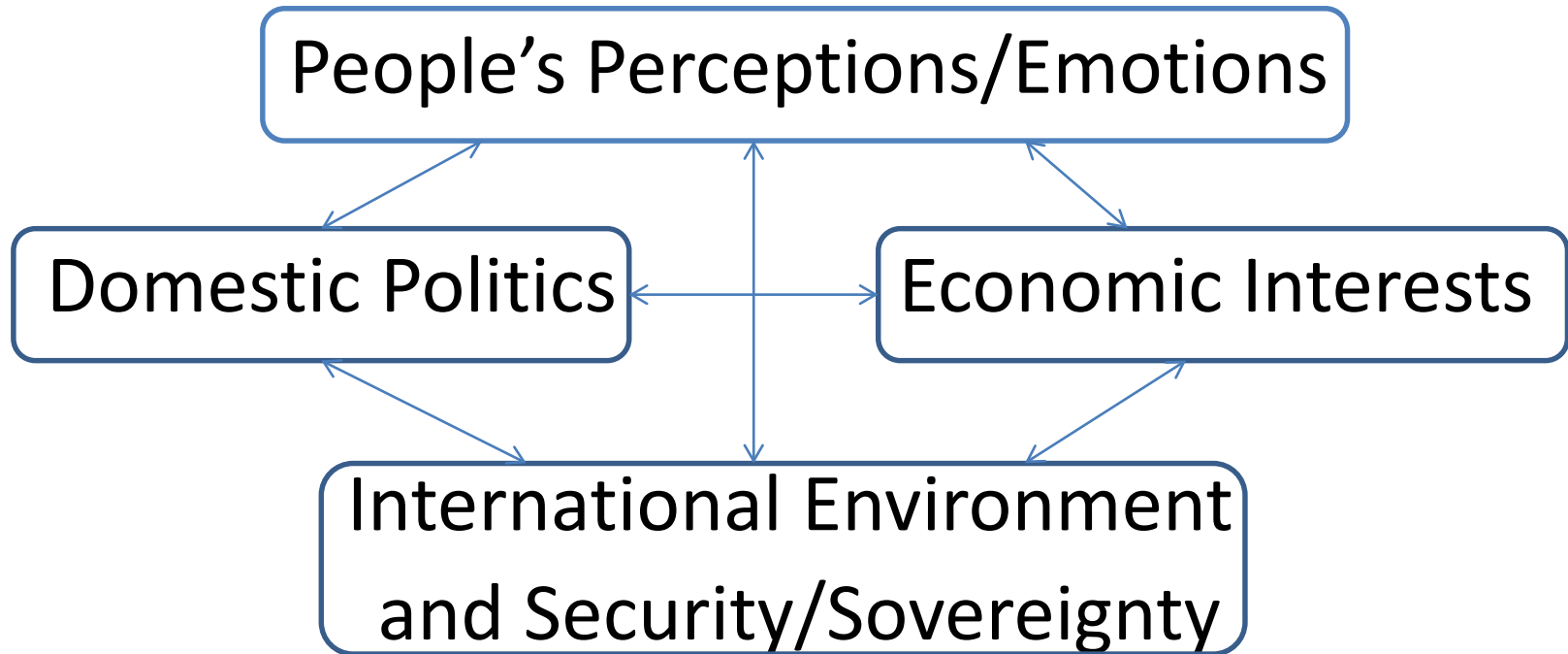
China and Japan

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Analytical Framework

★ Four Major Areas of Factors in J-C Relations



Perceptions/Emotions in Japan, 70-80s

- Deep repentance for the Sino-Japanese War



from Wikimedia Commons



- Cultural affinity; respect for Mao, Zhou; panda boom, Silk Road boom



Picture removed
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Picture of Mao
Zedong

Perceptions/Emotions in Japan, 1990s-

- Sobering effect of June 4th Incident (1989)
- Backwardness → dynamic “World Factory”
- Increasing sense of threat by its assertiveness and incidents
- Historical revisionism emerges (cf. repeated acknowledgment of past invasion and apology by PMs)

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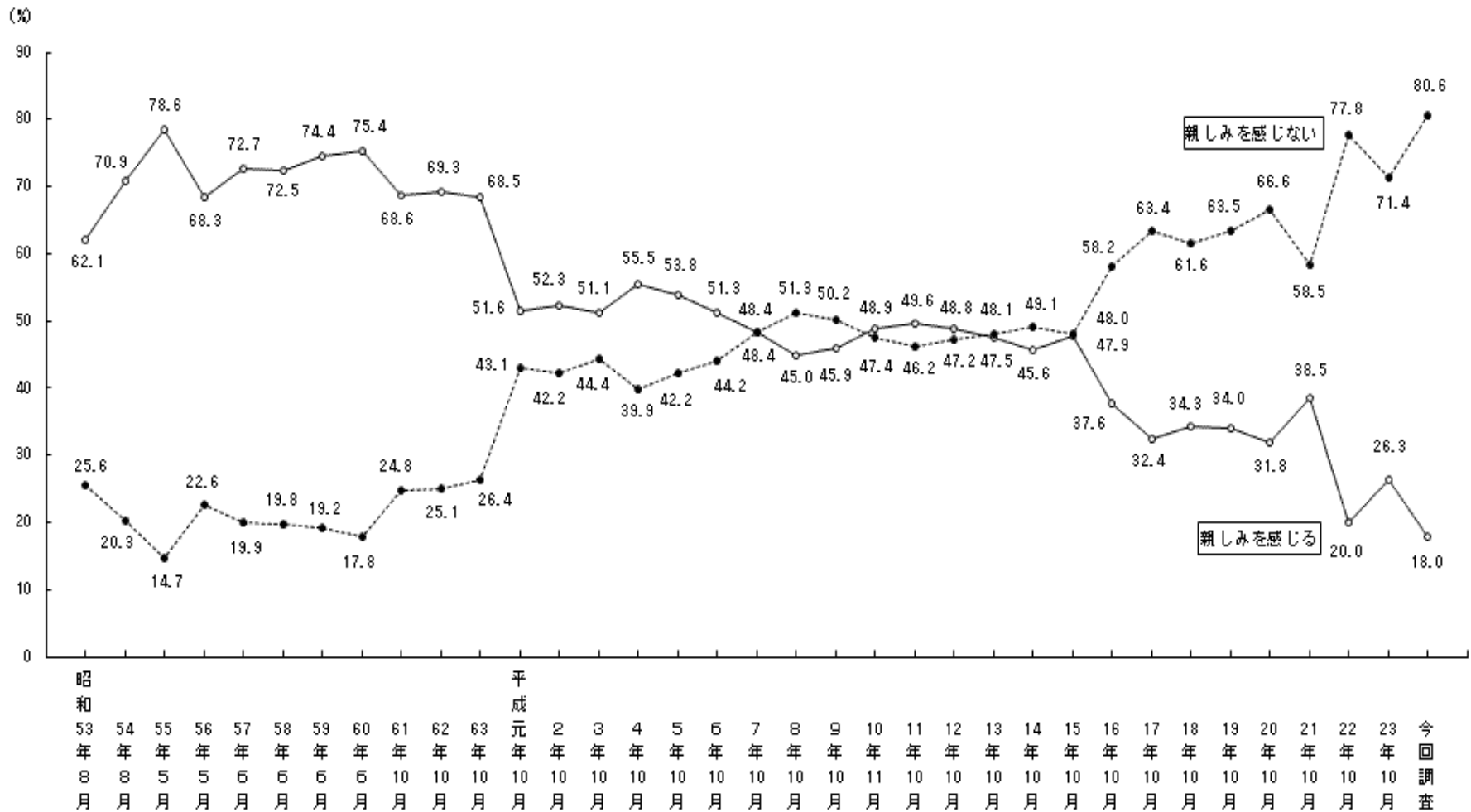
Picture of the June 4th Incident of 1989

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of the Chinese factory

Feeling of Closeness towards China

図10 中国に対する親近感



*

Source: Public Opinion Poll about the Diplomacy (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, Oct. 2012)
<http://survey.gov-online.go.jp/h24/h24-gaiko/index.html>

Perceptions/Emotions in China, 70-80s

- Japan was the model of modernisation
- Anti-Japanese sentiments

suppressed by the separation of militarists and masses

- Some worry about a rising Japan (→ history card)



Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of Deng Xiaoping on the Shinkansen "Hikari"
Oct. 26, 1978

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of Doraemon at "哆啦A梦資料館"

Perceptions/Emotions in China, 90s-

- Glamour of Japan fades after the bursting of the economic bubble
- Patriotic education → anti-Japanese sentiment ↑
- Impression improves through internet & tourism, but still resentful about history and territory

Picture removed due to
copyright restrictions.

Picture of the Chinese TV
drama “抗日奇侠”



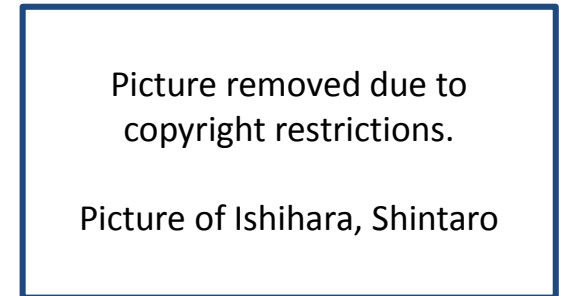
Image by Keith Pomakis, from Wikimedia Commons (2015/4/9)
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kinkakuji_2004-09-21.jpg

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Domestic Politics in Japan

- Strong pro-Taiwan camp in the LDP

↔ Strong pro-PRC sentiment
in society/media



- Japanese politics in flux since 1993 (with an exception of Koizumi days, 2001-06)
- Some are vocally critical of China, but China policy has been basically stable (E.g. rightist Abe restored relationship in 2006)

Domestic Politics in China

- Leftist critique of moderates during the CR
- Disruption of the relationship by anti-Deng forces;
Hu Yaobang's "mistake"



- Generational change and ideological shift in the CCP → more dependent on nationalism
- Hu & Wen's pro-Japan policy gets hampered (interaction between politics & diplomacy)

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang
Sept. 9, 1982 Beijing

Economic Interests - Japan

- Well aware of China market's potential
- Resources → cheap labour force
- Grateful that China gave up war reparations
- Large provision of ODA to support reforms



- Further engagement after 1992; supports China's WTO bid
- China becomes largest partner
- No more new yen loan projects

Economic Interests - China

- Large scale import of plants & equipment, and its sudden cancellation (distrust of foreigners)
- Gained much from Japan's money, technology, know-how and experience



- Decline in Japan's relative importance
- Cold shoulder to Japan's 1997 AMF initiative (competition and cooperation in the region)
- Still needs crucial components/parts & investment

Intern'l Environment/Security - Japan

- China policy implemented in the context of omnidirectional diplomacy



- Seeks both multilateral framework (ARF) and alliance with the US
- **Sympathy for a democratised Taiwan**
- Seeks J-C relation's role in region & world
- **Increasingly worried about China's maritime assertiveness**

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

A Chinese marine surveillance ship, foreground, runs side by side with a Japan Coast Guard vessel in waters off Kubashima island, one of the five Senkaku islands, on Sept. 14, 2012.

http://ajw.asahi.com/article/special/isles_di_spute/AJ201210040049

Intern'l Environment/Security - China

- Lures Japan into a united front against the USSR, but shifts to rapprochement with it from 1982
- At first had no interest in the Senkaku Islands
- Somewhat wary about the rise of Japan



- Moves to secure maritime interests, incl. Senkaku
- Wary of Taiwan's diplomatic advancement, Japan becoming a "normal state" & UNSC P-member
- All-out countermeasures adopted against Japan over the Senkaku's in 2010 and 2012

Resilience and Fragility Co-Existing in Japan-China Relations

Resilience

- Economic interdependence; cultural and social affinity through increased exchange; non-traditional security cooperation

Fragility

- History; security; Senkaku/Diaoyu; people's perceptions and emotions; rise in nationalism

China's Countermeasures against the Purchase of Islands

- Approval of demonstrations (partly mobilised, partly turning violent)
- Sending government patrol ships and aircraft to the Senkaku's
- Expressing understanding to the boycott of Japanese products; halting tourist groups' visits to Japan
- Postponing cultural exchange programmes

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of 2012 China anti-Japanese demonstrations.

Factors in China's All-out Response (1)

Domestic politics, perceptions & emotions

- Tug-of-war b/n Hardliners & Moderates
- Aggressive anti-Japanese press campaign, leading to sharp rise in people's antagonism
- Fertile soil for antagonism to grow: intensifying social dissatisfaction and anxiety
- Intense power struggle on the eve of the Party Congress

Factors in China's All-out Response (2)

International environment & security

- US re-balancing to Asia (cf. China's perception of the world after 2008 World Financial Crisis; increased friction in the South China Sea)

Economic Interests

- China's judgment that Japan's damage would be larger than China's

The Advent of Xi Jinping: More Nationalism to Come?

29 November visit to the State Museum

“China Dream: Achieve the Great Revival of the Chinese Nation”

- Chinese Dream taken over by *China Dream*: now Xi’s pet phrase (in fact the title of a chauvinistic book advocating a military build-up to become the champion state)

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of Xi Jinping visiting the State Museum

29, November 2012

http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2012-11/29/c_113852724.htm

Handling of the Senkaku Issue Directly Impacts on China's Future Course

- For Japan to concede would mean rewarding an attempt to change the status quo by force. Once Japan concedes, China likely will escalate their action in the South China Sea.
- If Japan conceded under physical pressure, the hardliners, chauvinists and conservatives would sing in triumph. The moderates, internationalists and reformists would be marginalized further.
This is not good for us, it is very bad for China.

What Should be Done? (1): Short Term

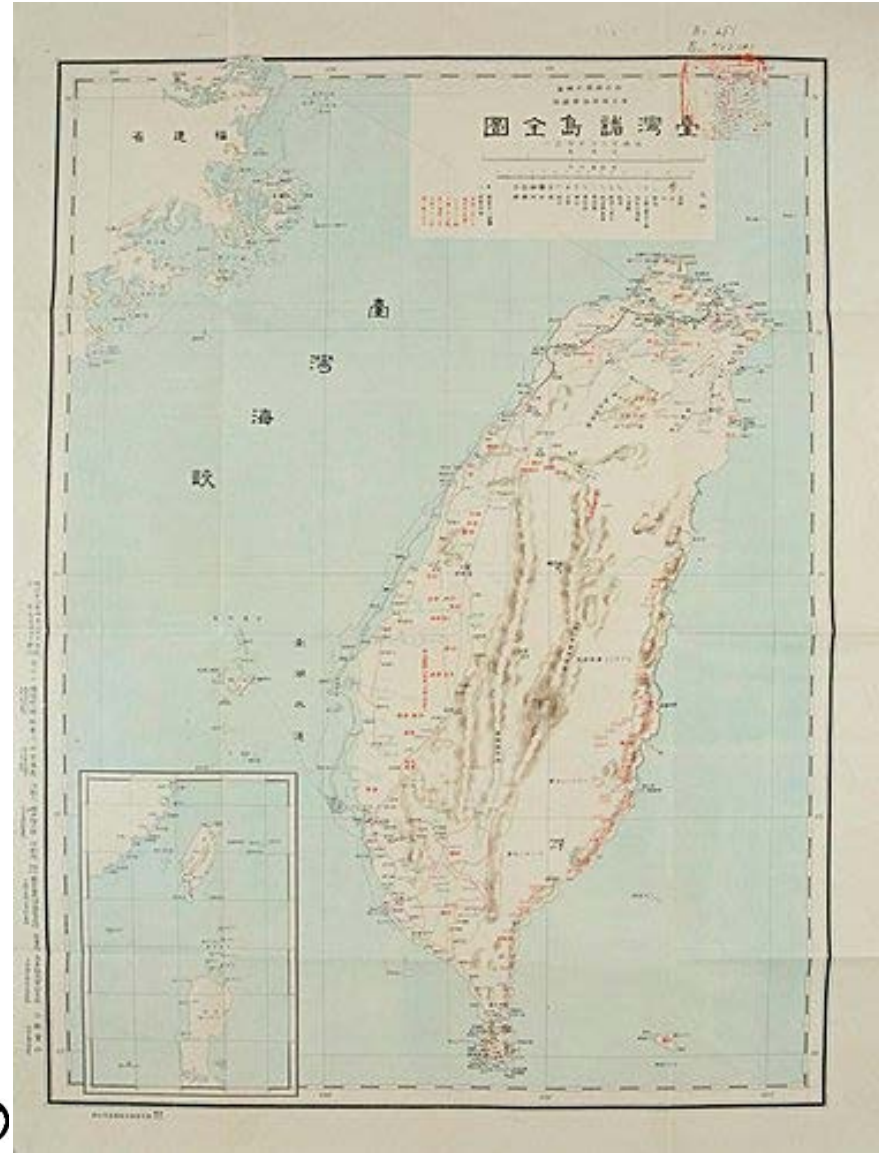
- Neither side can retreat from the position that the territory indisputably belongs to it; on this basis, Japan & China should agree to disagree
- (NB Senkaku Islands were clearly not included in the territory ceded to Japan by the Shimonoseki Treaty in 1895.)
- China: stop sending the vessels
- Japan: maintain the situation that has existed since 1972

A Complete Map of Taiwan Islands published in 1895:

SENKAKU NOT INCLUDED

“All the islands belonging to Taiwan are clearly acknowledged in the maps and charts that are already published.”

(Remark by the Japanese Representative)



What Should be Done? (2): Long Term

- Reinforce the resilience, overcome the fragility in Japan-China relations

Resilience: economic interdependence, social and cultural exchange, cooperation in non-traditional security

Fragility: history, security, Senkaku Islands, chauvinism

- Implement public diplomacy, reach out to the ordinary people in China

What Should be Done? (2): Long Term

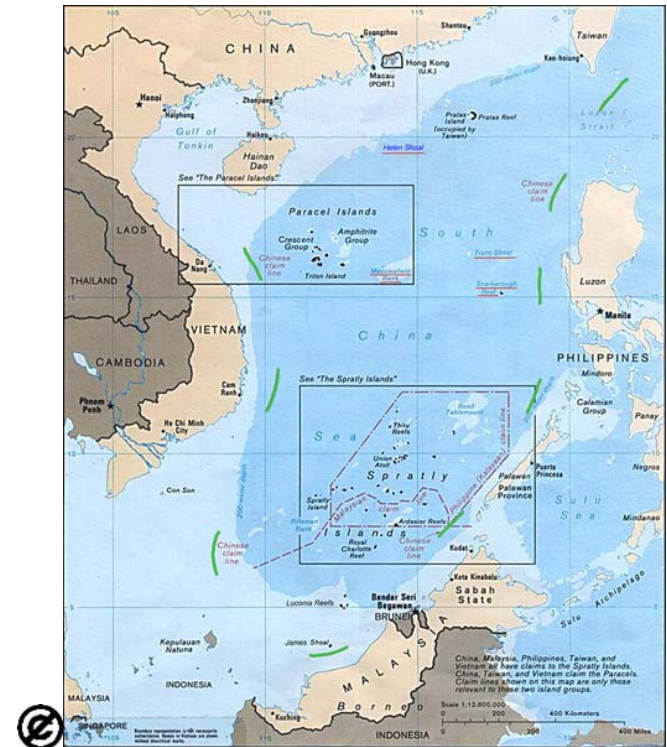
- Japan, US and China must talk how to achieve long term strategic coexistence

China's maritime advancement is a long-term endeavor that'd continue to cause frictions

Picture removed due to copyright restrictions.

Picture of Xi and Obama
8, June 2013

http://news.xinhuanet.com/photo/2013-06/09/c_124835913.htm



From Wikipedia

Conclusion

- Japan & China must reinforce the resilience and overcome the fragility in their relations
- China is at a crossroads: for stable development and soft-landing, **reform** is needed, **nationalism** is “opium”
- The handling of the Senkaku Issue is not merely an issue in Japan-China relations. It constitutes a critical factor in deciding the future course of China, which affects us all
- **Japan, US and China must talk and find a way to achieve long term strategic coexistence**