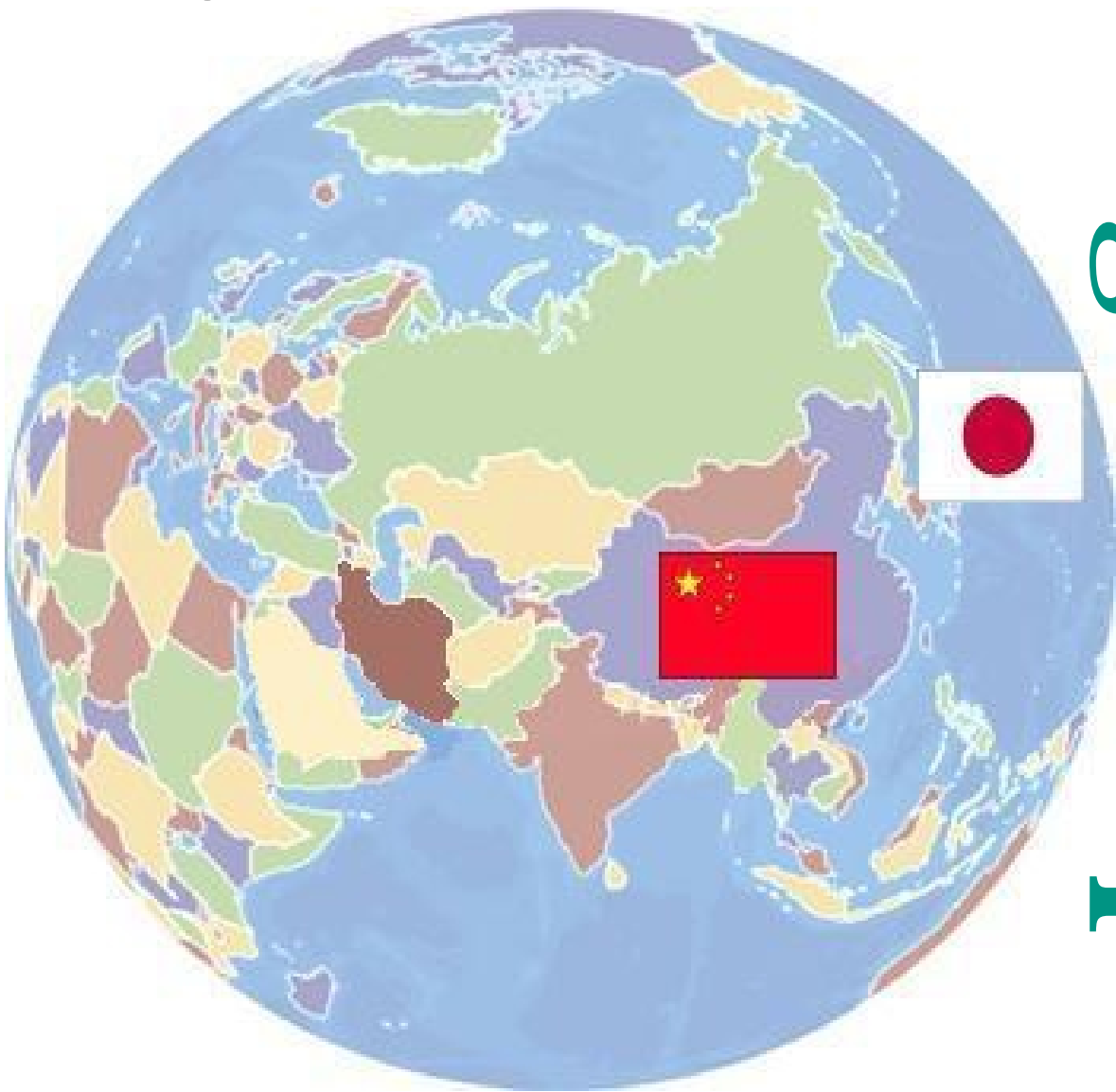


CHINA'S SECURITY STRATEGY TOWARDS JAPAN:

Perceptions, Policies and Prospects

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Abstract

Fifty-six years after WWII, China and Japan are still in the shadow of the past. With a deep distrust of Japan, China is wary of Japan's military capabilities and Tokyo's desire to be a political power. The strengthening of the security alliance between Japan and the United States and their cooperation in developing the Theatre Missile Defence (TMD) systems have caused much concern in China. China's policies towards Japan largely reflect its perceptions although the two do not necessarily mirror each other. China has made efforts in forging a constructive relationship with Japan in the hope of enhancing its comprehensive national power and it will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. However, a series of challenges, including the history issue, military modernisation, territorial dispute, the Taiwan issue, and nationalism, are likely to fuel strategic competition between the two giants in Northeast Asia.

About the Author

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Introduction – Cold War Relations

This paper discusses China's security strategy towards Japan since the end of the Cold War. It first examines Chinese analysts' perceptions of post-Cold War Japan and then analyses China's policies towards Japan during this period. The final section of the paper attempts to explore the prospects of Sino-Japanese relations.

China's perceptions of and policies towards Japan experienced a dramatic evolution during the Cold War. Immediately after the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, Chinese propaganda consistently attacked Japanese militarism and monopoly capitalism. China's concern about an attack by Japan was explicitly expressed in the Sino-Soviet security treaty of 1950.¹ The major cause of the concern, however, was China's fear of the United States rather than the defeated, weak Japan.² In the 1960s, with the split of the Sino-Soviet bloc, the Soviet Union became China's biggest potential threat. Understandably, China was eager to co-exist peacefully with Japan. In fact, although the two nations had become more evenly matched by the late 1960s, neither China nor Japan defined each other as a direct security threat.³ In the 1970s, with the rapprochement between Washington and Beijing, China and Japan entered a period of 'good feelings'. The Sino-Japanese Communiqué of September 1972 formally put an end to the state of war between the two countries. The relationship was further strengthened by the signing of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1978. The treaty was followed by China's military clash with Soviet ally Vietnam in early 1979 and the formal termination by China of its 30-year alliance with the Soviet Union in 1980. A friendly and stronger Japan then could help China in balancing against the Soviet Union. The Chinese leadership therefore encouraged the growth of Japanese military strength even as China's own military power went through a period of retrenchment in the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution.⁴

This, however, does not mean China had full trust in Japan. In 1982, the two nations were in a serious controversy—the Japanese school history textbook controversy. Since then, Beijing's expression of its misgivings about the tempo and scale of Japanese armament became more and more frequent. Then, in 1985, the Yasukuni Shrine problem occurred. In the history textbook controversy, the Chinese government accused the Japanese Education Ministry of falsifying the history of Japanese militarists' aggression against China by changing the words "aggression against North China" to "total advancement to North China".⁵ The Yasukuni Shrine problem was caused by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's visit to Yasukuni Shinto Shrine in Tokyo on 15 August 1985. The shrine enshrines Japan's 2.5 million war dead, including class-A war criminal Hideki Tojo, Japan's wartime prime minister. The Chinese government denounced the visit and a series of student demonstrations took place in many big Chinese cities.⁶

The impact of these controversies should be seen against the background of world politics, which was undergoing fundamental changes. In 1985 Japan replaced the United States as the world's biggest creditor. Japan's emergence as an economic and financial superpower coincided with China's perceptions of a declining United States, a collapsing Soviet Union and the beginning of cooperative relations between Washington and Moscow. China's perception of Japan thus changed from a bulwark against the Soviet Union to a new multidimensional power centre.⁷ Japan's milestone decision of January 1987 to break its self-imposed limit of spending no more than 1 percent of its GDP on defence deepened China's concerns about Japan.⁸

Perceptions Since the End of the Cold War

In the years immediately after the Cold War, China had to redefine its main potential threats and Chinese strategic thinkers were unable to reach an agreement as to which country might be the primary threat. According to Chu Shulong, two major schools of thought appeared in the early 1990s: the Soviet Union/Russian school and the east and southeast school. But Chu noted that Japan was likely to replace the Soviet Union/Russia to become the Chinese leadership's major concern.⁹ David Shambaugh also noted that in a meeting convened in late 1993, most (60%) Chinese strategic planners believed that Japan would become China's major rival and enemy.¹⁰

It seems the year 1996 is especially important in China's redefinition of external threat since the end of the Cold War. It is important for two reasons. First, the Taiwan Strait crisis, which followed Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's June 1995 'private' visit to the United States, highlighted

the possibility of a military clash between China and the United States over Taiwan. To show US determination against Beijing's use of force against Taiwan, the Clinton administration sent two aircraft carriers and their battle groups to waters off the Taiwan Strait in March 1996. Second, just one month after the dangerous escalation of the Taiwan Strait crisis, President Bill Clinton and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hoshimoto held a summit meeting in Tokyo and signed the US-Japan Joint Declaration on Security-Alliance for the 21st Century. The declaration alarmed the Chinese and they have subsequently expressed their serious concerns about Japan's future role in the alliance. The Chinese fear that Japan's redefined role will dramatically strengthen the Japanese military.¹¹

The Taiwan Strait crisis and the joint declaration as well as subsequent revision of the 1978 Guidelines for US-Japan Security Cooperation strengthened China's suspicion of US motives on Taiwan and, in the longer term, US strategy towards a rising China. In this sense, the United States has emerged as a primary concern. However, to most Chinese, the United States is more a challenge, a competitor than a threat. A basic assessment is that "in short and medium terms the United States will not publicly challenge the overall integrity of our territory and sovereignty by using forces".¹² Chinese perception of a powerful yet less threatening United States is determined by historical, cultural, geographical and other factors, which are beyond the examination of this paper.

Chinese perception of Japan is more complicated. While many Chinese analysts believe that the upgraded US-Japan security alliance is a major step for the United States to strategically contain China, they are more concerned about Japan's greater role in the alliance. As noted by Thomas J. Christensen: "Although they [Chinese analysts] harbour suspicion toward the United States, they view Japan with even less trust and, in many cases, with a loathing rarely found in attitudes toward America."¹³

The Chinese concerns are generated by a number of factors. Geopolitics is an obvious one. Unlike the United States, Japan is a neighbour of China. A less direct factor is US policy towards China and the region. Generally speaking, Chinese analysts believe US policy towards China is a double strategy of both engaging and guarding against China (*jiechu jia fangfan*).¹⁴ They are concerned that in an effort to guard against China the United States is asking Japan to assume the role of the sword in Asia. But the two factors most widely discussed among Chinese analysts are the historical legacy and Japan's military capabilities.

The Historical Legacy

Japan's aggression and atrocities committed in China in the first half of the 20th century continue to bedevil Sino-Japanese relations. The Chinese tend to note that Japan has not adequately acknowledged and apologised for its aggression and atrocities. An analyst argued in 1991 that "Japan still owes to the world a serious, exhausting soul-searching over its past record of aggression, with a handful of neo-fascists at home still running wild trumpeting for revival of militarism."¹⁵ Although Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama in 1995 for the first time used the word 'apology' in his statement about Japanese aggression,¹⁶ the Chinese tend to emphasise the facts like the Japanese Diet's failure to pass a resolution apologising for Japan's wartime crimes and the refusal of Japan to offer a full, written apology during Chinese President Jiang Zemin's landmark visit to Japan in November 1998.¹⁷ They find their dissatisfaction has been further justified by the sharp contrast between Japan's attitude towards the past and that of Germany.¹⁸ The Chinese today remain acutely sensitive to any effort, which they believe attempts to deny, cover or beautify historical facts, such as history textbook controversies and official visits to the Yasukuni Shrine.

Closely related to the historical legacy is Chinese fear of Japan's nationalism, which once contributed to a militaristic Japan. Chinese analysts believe that nationalism had always been a rather strong undercurrent in Japan and this undercurrent started to emerge in the early 1980s. It is in the early 1980s that Japan agreed to take responsibility for its air space and sea-lanes out to 1,000 nautical miles beyond its territory.¹⁹ By the late 1980s, some Chinese analysts observed, past Japanese constitutional restraints on military activity had gradually become "dead letters".²⁰ This, they argued, was due to "the nationalist ideological trend running wild".²¹ The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, and Japan's economic difficulties in recent years, as well as the rise of China have further contributed to the growth of Japanese nationalism.²² To the Chinese, the election of Shintaro Ishihara as governor of Tokyo in April 1999 seemed to have confirmed their fear of Japan's growing

nationalism.²³ As a fiery nationalist, Ishihara co-authored *The Japan That Can Say No*. He is well known for urging Japan to stand up to the United States and China.

Still in the shadow of the past, Chinese analysts are concerned about Japan seeking a greater political role in world politics. They note that from Yasuhiro Nakasone in 1983 and Noboru Takeshita in 1988 to Toshiki Kaifu in 1991, Japanese prime ministers have consistently emphasised the desire of Japan playing a greater political role.²⁴ With the collapse of the Soviet Union, that desire has become ever clearer and stronger.²⁵ Japan's strategy of getting out of the United States and returning to Asia is believed one major step towards this direction. The essence of the strategy is believed to be "dominating Asia" economically and politically.²⁶ In the eyes of Chinese analysts, Japan's effort to play a greater political role is an attempt to fill the "power vacuum" created by the withdrawal of the United States and the former Soviet Union from the region.²⁷ What worries the Chinese is that to play a greater political role Japan will have to rely on not only its economic strength but also its military power. Some analysts have long believed that "there are powerful domestic forces in Japan which seek reassertion of Japan's military role".²⁸ To these analysts, there are various signs indicating Japan's determination to be involved in international affairs through military activities. For example, "to make a contribution to the international society" started to appear in Japan's annual Defence White Paper in 1991. The revision of the guidelines for US-Japan defence cooperation is regarded as one of the "new measures" for Japan becoming a political power.²⁹

It should be noted that Beijing often uses the historical legacy to whip up nationalism in an effort to shore up its support and that Chinese media reports on Japan could be biased. For example, in the textbook issue, most Chinese have the impression that the words like "invasion of China" have been changed to "advance into China" in all Japanese history textbooks. They may not be aware that there are a number of official history textbooks (33 according to a Japanese diplomat) currently used in Japanese schools.³⁰ Some of these textbooks are rather straightforward on Japan's invasion of China.

However, to say the Chinese people are simply manipulated by their government underestimates their genuine concerns about Japan. Media reports should not be dismissed as pure propaganda. In fact, the issue would be much simpler if it were simply a propaganda problem. The unfortunate fact is that Japan still has a long way to go in facing up to the past. For instance, although a number of official history textbooks are available in Japan, some of the most widely used textbooks do not use the word "invasion" in referring to the Japanese military actions against China in the 1930s.³¹ Furthermore, the Chinese concern about the education of Japanese youths seems to be justified by some surveys suggesting that half or more Japanese youths still see Japan as a victim rather than an aggressor in World War II.³² It is widely agreed that Japanese youths today know little about the war.³³

Japan's Military Capabilities

The past might not be that important if Japan were not so powerful. As Barry Buzan pointed out: "One has to ask . . . how much of this sensitivity is actually to do with the war and how much of it simply uses the symbolism of the war to reflect more contemporary worries."³⁴ Japan is an economic superpower and its military, Chinese observers believe, is much stronger than it appears.

Chinese analysts tend to stress that Japan's Self-Defence Force (SDF) is the best-equipped military force in Asia and that Japan's defence spending is more than US\$50 billion, the second highest in the world.³⁵ The high proportion of officers in Japan's otherwise small force is seen as giving Japan the ability to expand rapidly in wartime. A military observer claims in China's official newspaper *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) that while people are often astonished at US advanced weapons, they do not know that the weapons of Japan's SDF are by no means inferior to those of the United States and European powers. People have no way to know this because Japan's weapons have never been tested through actual combat or sold overseas. What Japan's military really has "is more than its fame".³⁶

Japan's substantial conventional military capabilities led a Chinese analyst to conclude in the early 1990s that "Japan's military power has gone far beyond the necessity of territorial defence."³⁷ In the mid-1990s, another military observer noted that Japan had "speeded up its pace of becoming a military power".³⁸ So much so that an observer believed in February 2000 that Japan's military

power had surpassed that of Great Britain, an island nation similar to Japan.³⁹ What is more, many Chinese analysts warn that evolution of the regional and international situation, such as North Korea's alleged nuclear capabilities, could compel Japan to develop nuclear weapons.⁴⁰

The changes of Japanese defence concepts have also caused concerns. It was observed before 1996 that Japanese defence concepts had evolved steadily from "homeland defence", which required strictly limiting defence to Japan's soil and passively meeting an enemy attack, to actively preparing for a war in the hope of achieving victory early in a war. The idea of annihilating the enemy on the beaches had been replaced by the idea of annihilating the enemy at sea. Further, the concept of combat in coastal waters had become combat on the high seas.⁴¹ The changes contributed to the first major revision in twenty years of Japan's defence policy in 1995.⁴²

China's concerns about Japan's defence concepts have dramatically increased since the 1996 Clinton-Hashimoto joint declaration on the bilateral security alliance. Chinese perception is that the declaration and the subsequent revision of the Guidelines have shifted Japanese involvement from a defensive to an offensive role, a clear indication of Japan becoming a military power. The Japanese Diet's approval of the revised guidelines in May 1999 meant that for the first time Japan is now legally free to support US armed forces and participate in combat operations outside of Japanese borders, giving Japan an opportunity to ease the constraints on the use of military power.

The revised guidelines require the two countries to cope jointly with "situations in areas surrounding Japan". Officials on both sides have clarified that this is a "situational" rather than a "geographical" concept, that the boundaries of the areas will depend on the nature of the situations. This "situational" definition worries the Chinese. Specifically, Chinese analysts are concerned about the revised guidelines and related measures in four aspects.⁴³ First, in Japan-US-China triangular relations, Japan intends to sacrifice Chinese security interests for Japan-US relations. The reason is that all military alliances must have an imaginary enemy and it seems the Japan-US alliance is taking China as its imaginary enemy. Second, the revised guidelines and related measures do not exclude Taiwan in their scope. There is therefore a hidden danger of strategic conflicts between China and the US-Japan alliance. Third, the revised guidelines are transforming the Japan-US military alliance into an Asian version of NATO. Although Japan's roles will mainly be to provide logistics and rear-area support, Japan is actually "sailing out in a borrowed boat". Therefore, Japan's policies of "homeland defence" and "not to be a military power" no longer exist. Finally, the revised guidelines and related measures have strengthened domestic demands for revising Japan's constitution.⁴⁴ It has become increasingly likely that Japan will further strengthen its military and steer away from "the path of peace".⁴⁵

Japan's agreement in September 1998 to research theatre missile defence (TMD) jointly with the United States is a more immediate concern for the Chinese. Missile defence systems pose a particular threat to China because its armed forces are relatively strong in missiles but weak in other kinds of weapons. Without dismissing the threat to Japan from North Korea, Chinese analysts believe that TMD is also designed to counter China's missile capabilities. "China cannot help being concerned about (Japan's) military intention of 'killing two birds with one stone'", a Chinese analyst said.⁴⁶ In fact, an analyst claims that: "Japan's every major military movement since the end of the Cold War has been conducted under the guise of so-called 'threat'."⁴⁷ The analyst argues that TMD is a weaponry system incorporating both defensive and offensive capabilities. Japan is therefore currently "producing shields for the ultimate goal of making swords".⁴⁸

Japan's 2000 Defence White Paper is viewed in light of these concerns. An article published in *Jiefangjun Bao* (People's Liberation Army Daily or PLA Daily) points out that the latest annual White Paper increased the contents about "being vigilant against Chinese military movements". This, the article claims, is intended to divert other countries' concerns over Japanese military build up to the Chinese military. More importantly, the article believes, the White Paper is trying to find an excuse for Japan's military build-up because the two Koreas are moving quickly towards rapprochement and Japan has found it hard to justify its TMD programme.⁴⁹

China's concern of Japanese military power is underscored by Japan's economic and technological strength. It is believed Japan can quickly acquire a huge, advanced military industry in case of war. This is because Japan has not only industrial bases, but also high-quality manpower and advanced technology. For example, Japan's FSX fighters are believed the best in the world. Japan's

high-tech products are widely used in American high-tech weapons. In terms of nuclear weapons, Japan is able to produce atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs within 3-6 months and 1,000 to 2,000 medium and long-range missiles within one year.⁵⁰

Cases for Caution

The above perceptions represent the mainstream of Chinese analysts. These perceptions, however, need to be treated with caution as these may not necessarily be the net perceptions. A striking feature in Chinese society with regard to Japan is that despite deepened economic integration and increased cultural exchanges between the two countries, there is still a strong anti-Japanese political culture in China. Japan bashing, centring on revitalisation of militarism, is popular in the Chinese media. Chinese concerns are legitimate to a great extent, mainly because of Japan's failure to squarely face the past and its reluctance to constrain the right-wing groups, which deny Japanese war crimes.

The strong anti-Japanese political culture, however, tends to magnify the 'Japan threat' and is not conducive to academic debates and balanced views on the future development of Japan. This is especially so given the fact that Chinese security analysts "think more like traditional balance-of-power theorists than do most contemporary Western leaders and policy analysts".⁵¹

It can be argued that most Japanese do not support and, indeed, can hardly conceive a militaristic, imperial Japan in the future. According to an opinion poll of March 1999, 43 percent of Japanese generally opposed a revision of the Guidelines. Of the 37 percent who were in favour of the revision, most believed that it was of a defensive nature and would promote Japan's security.⁵² Although public opinion on one particular issue could change quickly and dramatically, it is fair to say that pacifism is still the dominant force in today's Japan. This, along with political restraint and Japan's economic stake in the regional and global status quo, may well make Japan "incapable of aggression for decades to come".⁵³ In terms of military power, despite an impressive array of weapons, Japan lacks power projection capabilities. On the other hand, it is understandable that the Japanese are nervous about the rapid rise of China. Indeed, as pointed out by Yoichi Funabashi, a rising China "will induce critical, painful, and psychologically difficult strategic adjustments in Japanese foreign policy".⁵⁴ China should be able to facilitate the adjustments.

Such views are not popular in China. But they do exist. In his 1995 book on Japan, Liu Jianguo, a leading Japan specialist, has a paragraph of caution after analysing Japan's 1991 Peace Keeping Operation (PKO) bill.⁵⁵ He emphasises that "many Japanese people are peace-lovers".⁵⁶ Jiang Lifeng of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) is even more specific, arguing that:

The distrust between China and Japan on security matters will not disappear in the near future. But for a fairly long period, Japan is unlikely to be a security threat to China ... The possibility of Japan becoming militaristic as it was before the (Second World) War no longer exists.⁵⁷

These analysts also believe that while Japan will continue to strengthen its military capabilities, it will try to enhance its political power largely through economic activities. Another factor, which might reduce Japan's threat to China and appears recognised by most Chinese analysts is the fact that Japan needs China's support and "understanding" in enhancing its role in the world. "Sino-Japanese relationship is Japan's 'trump card' in its efforts of resisting US pressures", an analyst claims. "Japan will also regard China as a key factor in its UN diplomacy".⁵⁸ Japan's early lifting of post-Tiananmen sanctions against China was regarded as an example of China's importance to Japan.

In the early 1990s, while many analysts claimed that Japan's military power had gone far beyond the necessity of territorial defence, some analysts focused on its defensive nature. One analyst observed that although Japan no longer played the obedient lamb of the United States, its defence capabilities were still very limited relative to those of the United States and Japan still needed security protection from the United States.⁵⁹ Even the military newspaper *Jiefangjun Bao* had not been always alarmist. In early 1991, the newspaper published an article analysing Japan's five-year program for the SDF adopted in December 1990. The article acknowledged Japan's massive arms expansion. Yet it argued that the expansion was mainly to strengthen its defence: air capability "to retaliate against air attacks", to intercept "low altitude penetration" and to provide "air defence over important areas"; naval growth "to strengthen defence of the surrounding waters and defence of the sea transportation

and communication lines inside the 1,000 nautical miles” and ground-force improvements “to stop the enemy from landing”.⁶⁰

China’s perception of the Japanese military has obviously become more sober since the Clinton-Hashimoto joint declaration and the revised guidelines. Yet, Chinese feeling towards the alliance is rather complicated. Even those who believe that Japan’s role is no longer purely defensive may also acknowledge that the adjustments to the security alliance do not constitute a “licence” for Japan becoming a political power.⁶¹ It is believed that US long-term strategy in the region is to prevent the emergence of a great power or “a big-power bloc” that would challenge the United States.⁶² What the United States wants from Japan is a strong assistant who may help strengthen its dominant position in the region. While the United States may want Japan to play a greater political role, it will not allow Japan to become a real political power and play a dominant role in the region. Given the fact that many Japanese have become more assertive and dissatisfied with being a junior partner in Japan-US security ties, some Chinese analysts do acknowledge that it is necessary to revitalise US-Japan security alliance to prevent Japan from becoming too independent in making security policies.⁶³ An analyst believes that the role of US-Japan alliance has always been two-fold: one to protect from external threat and the other to prevent Japan from becoming a military power. The importance of the latter has surpassed the former with the end of the Cold War.⁶⁴ Indeed, it is believed that the potential development of conflicts between Japan and US are inevitable and insurmountable.⁶⁵ The problem for Chinese analysts is that China is being made the imaginary enemy and Japan is taking the opportunity to expand its military. Chinese analysts thus seem to be in a dilemma. On the one hand, they would like to see US protection of Japan continued so that Japan will not feel compelled to rapidly build up its military. On the other hand, they believe China is now being targeted and Japan’s military role is expanding anyway.

As for the possibility of Japan developing nuclear weapons, a prominent Japan specialist asserted in 1991 that Japan would not make “such a bad decision”. Not only had Japan’s nationals “always detested atomic war” because of the experience in World War II, but the country was also vulnerable to nuclear retaliation: “a narrow island country ... void of strategic depth ... only a very brief warning period against missiles ... a high density of factories and population ... some 40 working nuclear reactors.” The analyst concluded that: “Developing nuclear weapons will not enhance Japan’s security but will only end in the country’s survival being threatened by a fatal blow.”⁶⁶ Chinese concerns have increased since the nuclear tests of India and Pakistan in May 1998 and the launch of a North Korean rocket across Japanese territory on 31 August 1998. But optimism on the issue has not died out.

Some Western scholars have noticed that some younger-generation Chinese analysts tend to maintain a more positive view on Japan and believe China should examine its own behaviours. For example, Allen S. Whiting noted in his classic 1989 book *China Eyes Japan* that some junior Japan specialists in China pointed out that the Chinese should learn more about Japan and should not be biased against the Japanese.⁶⁷ Bonnie S. Glaser noted in 1993 that some younger-generation Chinese analysts believed that the world was increasingly interdependent in both economic and security terms and that a Japan with greater political power would not necessarily result in a remilitarised Japan.⁶⁸ More recently, Thomas J. Christensen noted in 1999 that some younger Chinese experts (appearing to be in their forties or younger) with extensive experience abroad did recognise that Chinese military strengthening and provocative actions could result in Japan’s military build-up.⁶⁹

The implication of these observations should not be overestimated. For one thing, the influence of these young analysts is limited and their views may not be widely heard. For another, their number is few and they can hardly represent younger-generation analysts. Generally speaking, there is no fundamental difference between old and younger generations of Chinese analysts. The perceived difference may have less to do with their perceptions than the fact that younger-generation analysts tend to be less restrained when they are talking to Western scholars.

Policies Towards Japan

Basically, China’s policies towards Japan reflect its mainstream perceptions. During the March 1991 National People’s Congress session, Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said that it was “naturally necessary” to maintain vigilance against Japan’s militarism because there was a possibility that a small number of Japanese would try to develop the military forces beyond the needs of self-defence.⁷⁰ Hence China

was especially concerned about Japan's PKO bill. In April 1992 when Jiang Zemin, as the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) General Secretary, was visiting Japan, he repeated China's position that Japan should "exercise caution" about sending forces overseas.⁷¹ On 11 June 1992, just days before the lower house of Japan's Diet passed the bill, a Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the hope that the Japanese government would be "prudent" in considering sending troops abroad. The spokesman said: "Due to historical reasons, Japan's sending troops abroad is a very sensitive issue."⁷²

China's position on the issue reflected the recommendation made by the CASS Study Group on the International Situation. The group was led by a deputy-director of the CASS. It recommended in early 1992:

As for the problem of Japan sending SDF to participate UN peacekeeping operations, we should be vigilant and should not readily soften our position (expose and criticise when necessary) because this problem has virtually gone beyond the area of political power. It is the first step to becoming a military power.⁷³

At the same time, Japanese officials' remarks which deny or play down the atrocity committed by the Japanese in World War II have elicited without exception Chinese government's denunciations. Beijing also resents Japanese politicians' annual visits to the Yasukuni Shrine. In a latest case, in August 2000, Transport Minister Hajime Morita had to cancel a planned trip to China after Beijing told Tokyo that there was a "scheduling problem". It was speculated that the real reason was Morita's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine a few days earlier.⁷⁴

Fifty-six years after the war, Japan's wartime role is still a matter of great sensitivity in Sino-Japanese relations. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad said in 1994 that Japan should not continue to apologise for things that happened half a century earlier.⁷⁵ China's stance is much tougher. In his visit to Japan in November 1998, Jiang Zemin pushed hard for a full, written apology from Japan. Japan's refusal to do that and its reluctance to make a "no compromise" statement on Taiwan left a joint declaration unsigned by either side.

China has been reluctant in supporting Japan to play a greater political role regionally and globally. Beijing's rejection of Japan's suggestion that China should take part in July 2000 Group of Eight (G8) summit held in Okinawa was seen as a clear indication that Beijing was determined to keep Tokyo from playing a dominant diplomatic role in the region.⁷⁶

A far more important indication is China's attitude towards Japan's quest for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council (UNSC). China's position on the issue has been lukewarm at best. Beijing has the fear that this will provide international legitimacy for Tokyo playing a greater global role, perhaps with military forces. In June 1994, Jiang Zemin said that the Chinese "understand and attach importance" to Japan's wish. "China is in favour of expanding the size of UNSC when the time is ripe to reflect the reality of the changing international situation, and the increasing number of UN members," Jiang claimed. But at the same time, he maintained that "the wealth of a country should not be the sole condition taken into consideration, and that the principle of fair regional distribution, and the principle of unanimity in consultation should be fully honoured in approaching this issue."⁷⁷

Jiang's remarks could be regarded as China's opposition to Japan's UNSC bid. First, Japan's UNSC ambition had been largely based on its economic strength. A senior Japanese Foreign Ministry official said in mid-1994 that "the UN question is basically a question of money". Japan would be raising its contribution to the UN budget soon from 12.4% to 15%. "That should give us a right of entry," the official claimed.⁷⁸ Second, both China and Japan are situated in Northeast Asia. Japan's entry would not be in accordance with the principle of fair regional distribution. Third, some countries, such as South Korea, had explicitly expressed their opposition to Japan's UNSC bid. Some other middle-sized countries, such as Italy, were also reserved on the issue.⁷⁹ China's position on the issue has remained largely unchanged ever since.⁸⁰

In the field of security dialogue and military exchanges, the Chinese military was rather active in the 1980s but reserved in the 1990s. In the 1980s, many high-ranking PLA officers visited Japan, including the defence minister, a vice minister, a deputy chief of staff. The Japanese Defence Agency (JDA), however, was much less active. No officials of comparable rank from Tokyo visited China in any capacity. One major reason is that the Japanese believed that the exchanges could help to modernise the PLA and that the Chinese had more to gain from military visits than Japan.⁸¹

After the 1989 Tiananmen Square crackdown, however, Japan became more active. Tokyo took the advantage of Beijing being temporarily isolated by the Western countries and began to directly approach Beijing to “open up a quiet security dialogue”.⁸² In 1992, believing China’s military modernisation was a potential threat, Japan strengthened its efforts of encouraging China to participate in security dialogue and other forms of confidence-building measures.⁸³ The belated first round of security talks was finally held in December 1993.

Symbolically important as they were, China was not enthusiastic in holding the talks with Japan. The Japanese government had intended to have uniformed members of each country’s defence establishment join the security talks. But due to China’s objections, the talks ended up with only diplomats present. After the first round of talks, China made some efforts in increasing security dialogues and military exchanges with Japan. In March 1994, officials of the defence ministries met in Beijing for the first talks on security between the two ministries. It was followed by the second round of talks in January 1995 when China invited the Chairman of the Joint Staff Council of the SDF to visit China for talk.

The next three years, however, revealed the fragility of security relations between Beijing and Tokyo. A series of events made it impossible for the two nations to make meaningful progress in this aspect. China conducted nuclear tests in May and July 1995. The issue was followed by the Taiwan Strait crisis in which China staged military exercises and tested its missiles in waters close to Taiwan. Although the exercises and tests were aimed at intimating Taiwan, they shocked the Japanese. Then came the upgrade of security ties between Tokyo and Washington and Japan’s decision to join the TMD research. Beijing’s position on US-Japan security alliance and Japan’s participation in the TMD research clearly reflects China’s mainstream perceptions. It repeatedly voiced concerns over Japan becoming a military power and protested against the inclusion of Taiwan in US-Japan security cooperation and the TMD program. Qian Qichen stated in September 1997 that “If the (US-Japan security) treaty is a bilateral treaty, there is no need to make a new agreement, so China can only think that this is a new kind of treaty.” He harshly criticised the revised guidelines, saying: “The more one tries to hide, the more one is exposed.”⁸⁴

China has been more active on security talks and military exchanges since 1998. Chinese Minister of Defence Chi Haotian visited Japan in February 1998, the first visit to Japan by a Chinese defence minister since 1984. Kyuma Fumio, head of the JDA, paid a reciprocal visit in May 1998, the first visit to China by a JDA chief in 11 years. Bilateral military exchanges reached a new high in April 2000 when General Fu Quanyou, Chief of General Staff of the PLA, visited Japan, the first official visit to Japan by a top Chinese uniformed officer since 1986. General Yuji Fujinawa, Chairman of Japan’s SDF Joint Staff Council, returned the favour with a visit to Beijing in June 2000. The revitalised military exchanges, however, do not signal a significant perception or policy change on the Chinese side. The exchanges should be seen in the context of China’s more active attitude towards defence-related talks with other countries, including South Korea, Russia and the United States. In 1999, approximately 33 senior-level delegations from the PLA visited nearly 50 foreign countries, while 89 groups of foreign army leaders were received in China.⁸⁵

The increased military exchanges also reflect Beijing’s pragmatism and flexibility in its policies towards Tokyo. Although the Chinese government has been firm in warning of a revitalisation of Japanese militarism, it has been careful not to let the history issue derail the bilateral relationship. When the Gulf War triggered the Japanese debate over peacekeeping, China expressed fears that this would be a harbinger of Japanese militarism. Yet when a watered-down PKO bill was finally passed in June 1992, Chinese criticism was somewhat muted.⁸⁶ Jiang Zemin’s 1998 visit to Japan was marred by the unsigned joint declaration. China’s ‘miscalculation’ should be seen against the background that Japan offered a written apology to South Korea when President Kim Dae-Jung was visiting Japan in the previous month.⁸⁷ More tellingly, Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji trod lightly on history issue when he was visiting Japan in mid-October 2000. In the case of the cancellation of Morita’s planned trip to Beijing, what needs to be noted is that it was not supposed to be an important trip. Morita was to promote Japan’s bid to build a high-speed rail link between Beijing and Shanghai.

Another example is Beijing’s much restrained reactions towards the Diaoyu (Senkaku) Islands dispute. The dispute attracted much public attention inside and outside China after a Japanese rightist group built a lighthouse on the disputed territory in July 1996. Tens of thousands of overseas Chinese

in North America and people in Taiwan and Hong Kong protested the Japanese act. While Beijing was firm in claiming sovereignty over the islands, it was careful not to whip up Chinese nationalism against Japan. Tong Zeng, perhaps the most prominent anti-Japan campaigner in China, was sacked because of his activism.⁸⁸ Beijing's restraint partly lay in its realisation that nationalism is a double-edged sword and demonstrations against Japan could turn into anti-government protests. Equally important, Beijing was determined not to let the issue overshadow the big picture of Sino-Japanese relations.⁸⁹

In this sense, China's policies towards Japan do not necessarily mirror mainstream perceptions. The difference is partly because the mainstream perceptions may not be net perceptions. It is also because of the big gap existing between Chinese analysts and policy-makers.⁹⁰ But more importantly, policies towards Japan cannot be separated from China's overall security strategy which is determined largely by Chinese leaders' worldview, the hierarchy of national interests, regional security environment and domestic politics.

Chinese leaders' worldview since the end of the Cold War has been less ideology-oriented. However, this does not mean that ideological conflicts no longer exist. 'Westernisation' is still regarded a major threat to the CCP and the Chinese government. Pressure on human rights from the West, especially that from Washington, is regarded as part of the subversive 'peaceful change' strategy to alter China's political system and hence a threat. This worldview has provided strong incentives for Beijing to strengthen its relations with Tokyo. The fact that Japan lifted sanctions not long after the Tiananmen Square crackdown shows that Japan poses little political threat to the CCP and the Chinese government. Japan also stopped co-sponsoring UN resolutions authored by the United States condemning China's record on human rights in 1996. Therefore, Japan is a card which China could play against the United States.

China's hierarchy of national interests has been characterised by Beijing's emphasis on enhancing "comprehensive national power" in which a powerful modern economy is essential.⁹¹ Indeed, to enhance comprehensive national power has been China's "national strategy" (*guojia zhanlue*) since the 1980s.⁹² Yan Xuetong states in his influential book on China's national interest: "Economic development is the highest goal in making external strategies."⁹³ Japan plays a vital role in China's economic reform and development. In 1993, Japan became China's largest trading partner while China emerged as Japan's second largest after the United States. In 1999, two-way trade between Japan and China reached US\$66.17 billion and is fast growing.⁹⁴ Japan used to be the third largest and now is still the fourth largest investor in China after Hong Kong, Taiwan and the United States. It remains the most important provider of official economic assistance. Tokyo has extended more than US\$23 billion in economic assistance to China during the past 20 years.⁹⁵

In terms of the regional security environment, China is aware that in the unsettled post-Cold War world, the rise of China has made some of its Asian neighbours nervous. These countries would like to have a strong force balancing against China. The subdued Southeast Asian reaction towards upgraded US-Japan security alliance is a clear sign. It should also be noted that as "one of the outstanding achievements of post-war Japanese diplomacy",⁹⁶ Japan has strengthened its relations with members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). More importantly, hard-line policies towards Japan could frighten Japan and thus strengthen Japan's willingness to assist the United States in its strategic deployment against China. A good relationship with Japan is therefore essential for China to alleviate its Asian neighbours' concerns and to create a favourable regional security environment.

Another important reason for China cultivating its ties with Japan lies in its domestic politics. Despite a strong anti-Japanese sentiment in the Chinese public, China's domestic politics generally encourages a good relationship with Japan. Although few Chinese leaders are as enthusiastic as late CCP General-Secretary Hu Yaobang in promoting Sino-Japanese friendship, there is basically a consensus among the leaders that China should maintain a positive and stable relationship with Japan. After all, Japan is so important to China's economic development and to have sustained economic growth is essential to China's stability which is the "highest priority" of the Chinese leadership.⁹⁷ In addition, as mentioned earlier, Chinese leaders maintain a benign view on Japan's political threat to the CCP and the Chinese government.

Prospects of Sino-Japanese Security Relations

China is likely to continue its current policies towards Japan in the foreseeable future. On the one hand, China will keep a wary eye on Japan's military power and its ambition to become a political power. On the other hand, it will continue to focus on its national strategy of enhancing comprehensive national power in which Japan plays an essential role. It is widely believed in China that to develop economy and enhance national power remains to be China's "permanent solution to all internal and external problems".⁹⁸ Economic relations will remain the central pillar of the bilateral relationship although more economic disputes are likely to arise with increased economic interactions and a more competitive Chinese economy. China will also maintain a positive relationship with Japan in order not to compel Japan to further deepen its security ties with the United States and to speed up the strengthening of its military. Beijing and Tokyo will make efforts to have constructive dialogues and will cooperate in setting up confidence-building measures (CBMs). However, the future relationship still faces a number of serious challenges.

The historical legacy will remain a major challenge to political leaders in both Tokyo and Beijing. In Japan, with the war memory fading away and domestic politics moving towards the right, it has become increasingly difficult for Japanese leaders to face the past. As late as April 2000, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori was still reluctant to acknowledge that Japan committed aggression against its neighbours.⁹⁹ As noted by Nicholas D. Kristof, "the danger remains that Japan will recover its nerve before it fully confronts the past."¹⁰⁰ This is what China has been trying to prevent from happening.

A cynical view is that Japan is simply waiting for the passing away of the World War II generation. Some do not believe Asia's resentment of Japan will die with the war generation.¹⁰¹ They may be right. Yet, coupled with the change of balance of power in the region, the disappearance of the war generation will have a strong impact on the policies of some Asian countries. When the Japanese Diet passed the bill sanctioning the Rising Sun (*Hinomaru*) flag as national flag and the "Kimigayo" hymn as national anthem, the reactions of Asian countries were largely mild.¹⁰² Most Asian countries that suffered from Japanese invasion and occupation are now less vocal in criticising Japanese government's attitude towards the past and some even welcome a more assertive Japan with a rising China in their mind.¹⁰³

It is sometimes argued that since Tokyo's reluctance to squarely face the past is useful to China as proof that Japan should not be allowed to play a greater political role, China therefore does not have interest in getting a decisive apology from Japan. This argument cannot be convincingly justified before Japan has proved its genuine willingness and sincerity in dealing with the history issue. As argued by Kristof: "An apology will not instantly wash away the residue of hatred and resentment toward Japan that has accumulated over the decades. But a genuine expression of regret would be a good first step, and a thorough attempt to educate young Japanese about the past would be a second."¹⁰⁴ Japan's *ad hoc* attempts to face the past have done little in improving its international image.

On the other hand, China's persistent criticism of Japan's attitude towards the past may exacerbate Japan's intransigence and further strengthen Japanese nationalism and resentment against 'apology diplomacy' as demonstrated in Jiang's 1998 visit. The result could be an even deeper mutual distrust between the two giants in Northeast Asia.¹⁰⁵ This concern underlined Zhu Rongji's efforts to tone down his stance on the history issue in his visit to Japan in October 2000. To sidestep the past, however, is not the way to build long-lasting mutual trust.

Beijing will continue its effort to slow down Japan's long march towards a political power status. This does not mean China will show no flexibility on the issue. An analyst argues that while China needs to "rely on the United States to constrain Japan" (*jiemei xianri*) on certain issues, in a longer term it is more important to "rope in Japan to constrain the United States" (*lari xianmei*). China therefore should "conditionally" support Japan's political ambition.¹⁰⁶ While this reflects different perceptions of China's primary concerns, Japan will nonetheless remain an important factor in China's strategy against the United States.

Equally important, the Chinese have long realised: "That Japan becomes a political power and seeks to play a political role commensurate with its economic standing is an inevitable trend in its post-war historical development."¹⁰⁷ The CASS Study Group on the International Situation suggested that China should deal with the problems of Japan becoming a political power "case by case" (*juti*

duidai).¹⁰⁸ Thus, on the issue of Japan becoming a permanent member of the UNSC, although China is “bound to lose”¹⁰⁹ and is likely to remain noncommittal, it will leave the choice open and would just step aside and let Japan enter in the event that Japan has won strong international support.

China will try to avoid an arms race and tension with Japan as, according to Gerald Segal, it recognises it is in no position to win.¹¹⁰ However, the scenario that China competes with Japan in deep mutual distrust, if not a classic ‘security dilemma’, is not impossible. It is widely accepted among Chinese analysts that Japan will further strengthen its military and more importantly, Japan will sooner or later amend its Peace Constitution to accommodate its military activities overseas. China may not see Japan posing immediate military threat, but may nevertheless feel pressured to speed up its military modernisation.

China has already been modernising its military for some years. In the first half of the 1990s, some analysts noticed that although Beijing said it wanted to keep a safe and stable environment for economic growth, the PLA still seemed to have been charged with methodically building itself to be the strongest in the region.¹¹¹ It is now well known that the use of high-tech modern weaponry during the Gulf War had a great psychological impact on China and has prompted it to modernise its weapons system. There are multiple reasons for China to enhance its military capabilities. As noted by Bonnie S. Glaser:

Beijing views a strong military equipped with advanced weaponry as important to boost China’s national prestige, enhance Beijing’s political role and influence, and counter a possible dramatic increase in Japan’s political and military power in the region. In addition, China’s military build-up is aimed at providing the basis for coercive diplomacy, deterring threats against Chinese interests, and maintaining the capability to use force to protect its interests.¹¹²

China’s determination to modernise its military has only been strengthened since 1996 when the Taiwan Strait crisis highlighted China’s possible conflict with the United States and when Washington and Tokyo decided to strengthen their security ties.

China’s military modernisation has evoked Japan’s concern for some time. Some Japanese politicians and mass media argued in the early 1990s that an arms race and new unstable factors had appeared. They claimed that China was undertaking a military build-up and territorial expansion, forming a new threat in Asia. *Yomiuri Shimbun* stated that China’s military reinforcement constituted “a threat to the international community” and urged China to “exercise restraint”.¹¹³ As noted by a Chinese analyst, China’s efforts of modernising its navy and air force and the 1992 publication of *Territorial Waters Law* had been taken as evidences of China’s efforts “to fill the vacuum left by the military withdrawal from Asia of the US and Soviet/Russia”.¹¹⁴ The analyst also noted that some Japanese had warned that: China’s 21st century naval hegemony strategy will threaten Japan’s life-line for international trade.¹¹⁵ Japan’s concerns over the ‘China threat’ has been on the rise ever since. The 1996 Japanese Defence White Paper stated for the first time that: “attention must be paid to trends in the Chinese military”.¹¹⁶

Partly because of the ‘China threat’, the call for a more assertive Japan has become popular in Japan. A Japanese scholar complained in 1992: “Time and again the diplomats have paid more attention than necessary to Chinese conditions and requests, placing top priority on the diplomacy of friendship in order to avoid upsetting Beijing.”¹¹⁷ Another Japanese scholar believed that Japan had suffered diplomatic failures because it acted on the “mistaken premise” that the Chinese would behave rationally and in a friendly fashion as the Japanese did.¹¹⁸

There are increasing signs of Japan’s assertiveness against China. In September 1994, when Beijing threatened to oppose Japan’s UNSC bid to protest the attendance of Taiwan’s deputy premier at the Asian Games in Hiroshima, Tokyo went ahead with the plan.¹¹⁹ Japan’s reaction towards China’s nuclear tests in May and July 1995 is a clearer indication of Japan’s assertiveness. In response to the tests, Japan announced that it would reduce grant aid to China for fiscal year 1995. The decision marked Japan’s first unilateral suspension of aid to China since relations were normalised in 1972 and was regarded as a “watershed” in the bilateral relationship.¹²⁰ Because of its past history and the Chinese government’s decision to renounce war reparations from Japan when the two countries normalised their relations, Japan has been handling its aid to China in a special way. But that special treatment is now under challenge. The Japanese government’s decision in late August 2000 to postpone plans to extend 17.2 billion yen (about US\$158 million) in low-interest loans to China is a latest

example. The government met strong opposition against the loans from members of ruling Liberal Democratic Party who demanded that the government must first express dissatisfaction with suspected Chinese spy ships roaming in Japan's exclusive economic zone and near Japanese territorial waters.¹²¹

As noted earlier, for the Chinese, Japan's cry of the 'China threat' is simply an excuse for military build-up and signals that Japan will take China as a major target for strategic defence. They believe that a more assertive, independent Japan is inevitable and they are in the process of getting used to it. The process will not be that smooth and is likely to be complicated by some potential conflicts, including strategic competition in the region, the dispute over the Diaoyu Islands, China's movements in the South China Sea, the Taiwan issue and, nationalism.

With Japan becoming more assertive and politically active, strategic competition between Beijing and Tokyo is likely to intensify. While the possibility of China having a dominant influence in the Korean Peninsula in the future worries Tokyo, Beijing is wary of Japan's increasing influence in Southeast Asia, especially Vietnam. In terms of the Diaoyu Islands dispute, as witnessed in the past few years, the issue may trouble Sino-Japanese relations from time to time in the future although Beijing will continue its efforts to defuse the tensions. As for the issue of the South China Sea, it is simply natural that Japan will not sit by if it believes its vital interests there are in serious danger. It should be noted, however, that Japan is sensitive to China's position on the issue and is likely to continue its current approach of encouraging multilateral dialogue.¹²²

A greater concern is perhaps the Taiwan issue, not because Beijing may use force against Taiwan in the near future but because of the extreme sensitivity of the issue. Japan's reluctance to make a clear statement like Clinton's 1998 pledge of "three no's" - no support for Taiwan independence, no "two Chinas" or "one Taiwan, one China", and no Taiwan's membership in international organisations that require statehood - and its refusal to explicitly exclude Taiwan from the scope of the Guidelines are worrying signs for the Chinese. With regard to the Guidelines, Japan is likely to maintain its ambiguity on Taiwan in the hope of "creating a situation in which problems cannot possibly be resolved by force", thus deterring Beijing from launching military attacks against Taiwan.¹²³

What makes all this potentially explosive is nationalism in both China and Japan. Nationalism has been on the rise in Asia since the end of the Cold War. As noted by Hisahiko Okazaki: "In Europe, it may be true that the age of nationalism has passed ... but in Asia the age of nationalism is now."¹²⁴ While Chinese analysts are concerned about rising nationalism in Japan, comparatively speaking, the issues are more likely to be influenced by nationalism in China. Japanese emotional attachment to most of these issues is far weaker than that of the Chinese.

As for the establishment of CBMs, the process would be slow and volatile. To integrate China into the international community is one of Japan's key strategic goals.¹²⁵ Liu Jiangyong noted the following at the 20th anniversary of the 1978 Treaty of Peace and Friendship: "Tokyo held that the two capitals [Tokyo and Beijing] should not confine their ties to good neighbourly friendship, but should also strive to build a 'Japan-China relationship in a global context'."¹²⁶ Tokyo therefore will be more active in holding security talks with China and in promoting military exchanges. It will also encourage China to participate in multilateral talks. China, on the other hand, will find it beneficial to be more active in promoting CBMs. However, the effectiveness of the existing and future CBMs in dealing with the security relations of the two giants in Northeast Asia may remain limited in the near future. Although "a growth industry",¹²⁷ multilateralism is relatively new to the Asia-Pacific and confidence-building mechanism is traditionally weak in East Asia.¹²⁸ Despite the fact that China has been slowly overcoming its traditional reluctance to engage in regional security cooperation over the past decade, it is still much reserved with regard to the sharing of military information and transparency.¹²⁹ Chinese analysts argue that while demanding transparency from other countries, Japan itself remains lukewarm on the issue.¹³⁰ More importantly, compared with China's relations with other major powers, the Sino-Japanese relationship is reserved and lacks maturity.¹³¹

Conclusion

Fifty-six years after Japan's surrender in 1945, China now faces new challenges in its security relations with its former enemy. This former enemy rose from the ashes of the war, grew into an economic superpower and is now increasingly assertive and determined "to test the limits of politically possible".¹³² With the end of the Cold War and the disappearance of their common enemy - the

Soviet Union, Japan's newly found assertiveness and determination are worrisome to the Chinese.

The concerns of the Chinese are rooted in their deep distrust of the Japanese. Chinese perceptions of Japan are overshadowed by the historical legacy and their concerns are compounded by Japanese military capabilities, which are perceived as increasingly threatening. The Chinese have rightful reasons to be concerned in that the Japanese government has not adequately addressed the history issue. The perceptions, however, could be politicised and should be treated with caution.

Foreign policies are largely determined by perceptions. China's policy towards Japan is no exception. With its distrust in Japan, China has been reluctant in supporting Japan playing a greater political role, as demonstrated in the case of Japan becoming a permanent member of the UNSC. Militarily, China has been wary of the changing role of Japan's military. Yet at the same time, Japan poses little political threat to the CCP and is essential to China's national strategy of enhancing comprehensive national power. Chinese leaders therefore support a positive relationship with Japan.

China will continue to make efforts in forging a constructive relationship with Japan. However, a series of challenges will test the wills and skills of both leaderships. Most of these challenges have resulted from distrust in each other and the distrust is largely rooted in the historical legacy. It remains politically risky for Japanese leaders to come forward and squarely face the past. For the Chinese government, a dilemma is that while a firm stance on the issue serves it well domestically, it may backfire in Japan.

Perceiving the growth of each other's strategic strength as a zero-sum game, Beijing and Tokyo will remain wary of each other's military developments. China will continue its military modernisation and Japan is set to strengthen its military capabilities. Both sides will try to avoid the scenario of a 'security dilemma'. But the danger remains. While a dramatic speed-up of China's military modernisation or a military deployment deemed aggressive by Tokyo will alarm the Japanese, Japan's acquiring of weaponry and technology deemed of an offensive nature by the Chinese or a drastic expansion of the Japanese military's role will cause much concern in Beijing. In addition, territorial disputes over the Diaoyu Islands, conflicts of interests in the South China Sea, Taiwan and nationalism may all fuel strategic competition from time to time.

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End Notes

¹ R. L. Jain, *China and Japan: 1949-1976* (London: Martin Robertson, 1977), pp. 5-6.

² In 1957, China declared that it would be willing to modify the provisions of the Sino-Soviet Alliance of 1950 directed against Japan in the event of Japan abrogating the Japan-US Security Treaty and securing the removal of American bases and forces from its soil. Jain, p.22.

³ Akira Iriye, "Chinese-Japanese Relations: 1945-90", *The China Quarterly*, No. 124 (December 1990), pp. 627-628.

⁴ In 1979 China spent Rmb 22 billion, or 17.5 percent of its total budget, on defence expenditures. By 1987, this ratio had been reduced to 8.2 percent of the total budget. See Eberhard Sandschneider, "The Chinese Army after Tiananmen", *The Pacific Review*, 3:2 (1990), p. 118.

⁵ For more information, see Hidenori Ijiri, "Sino-Japanese Controversy Since the 1972 Diplomatic Normalisation", *The China Quarterly*, No. 124 (December 1990), pp. 644-648. See also Allen S. Whiting, *China Eyes Japan* (Berkeley et al.: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 46-51. The textbook controversy came back in 1986 (see Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*, pp. 55-60). Some Japanese scholars believe the issue was "falsely reported" or "exaggerated". See Ijiri, p. 644. See also Tatsumi Okabe, "A Proposal for Lasting Security in East Asia", *Japan Review of International Affairs*, 6:3 (Fall 1992), p. 230.

⁶ For more information, see Ijiri, pp. 645-651. See also Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*, pp. 55-60.

⁷ Robert A. Manning, "Burdens of the Past, Dilemmas of the Future: Sino-Japanese Relations in the Emerging International System", *The Washington Quarterly*, 17:1 (1993), p. 48.

⁸ The Nakasone cabinet approved a defence budget amounting to 1.004 percent of GDP, overturning a 12-year-old cabinet decision not to exceed 1 percent.

⁹ Chu Shulong, "The PRC Girds for Limited, High-Tech War", *Orbis*, 38:2 (Spring 1994), pp. 180-183.

¹⁰ David Shambaugh, "The Insecurity of Security: The PLA's Evolving Doctrine and Threat Perceptions Towards 2000", *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies*, 13:1 (Spring 1994), p. 6.

¹¹ Liu Jiangyong, "The United States and Japan Rebuild Their Post-Cold War Alliance", *Shijie Zhishi* (World Knowledge), No. 9, 1996, pp. 2-5; Jin Xide, "The Turning Point of the US-Japan Alliance", *Liaowang* (Outlook), No. 18, 1996, p. 43.

¹² Chu Shulong and Wang Zaibang, "Some Thoughts on Several Major Issues about International Situation and Our External Strategy", *Xiandai Guoji Guangxi* (Contemporary International Relations), No. 8, 1999, p. 5.

¹³ Thomas J. Christensen, "Chinese Realpolitik", *Foreign Affairs*, 75:5 (September-October 1996), p. 41.

¹⁴ Chu and Wang, p. 4. Chinese analysts have observed that current US strategy of guarding against China is different from the containment strategy of the 1950s and 1960s in that current strategy is a long-term strategy of building "firewalls" whereas the old one was to encircle China with direct military actions. See Guo Zhenyuan, "The Second Clinton Administration's China Policy", *Heping yu Fazhan* (Peace and Development), No. 3, 1997, pp. 44-47; Chu and Wang, p. 5.

¹⁵ Chen Zhuang, "Japan: A Bumpy Road to 'Big Power Diplomacy'", *Contemporary International Relations* (published by China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, No. 9, May 1991), pp. 7-8.

¹⁶ In his statement, Murayama said that Japan "through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. In the hope of that no such mistake be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humility, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology." See Seiichiro Takagi, "China as an 'Economic Superpower': Its Foreign Relations in 1993", *Japan Review of International Affairs*, 8:2 (Spring 1994), p. 109; Itaru Umezu, "Japan Has Faced Its Past", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 10 August 2000, p. 30.

¹⁷ In 1995, Murayama tried in vain to get a forthright apology from the Diet. Drafters of the resolution replaced the word "apology" with "*hansei*" (remorse) and "aggressive acts" with "aggressive-like acts." Legislators also ascribed the acts in question to all countries, not just Japan. Even so, only 230 members of the 511-seat chamber voted for the measure. In China, the resolution has done more harm than good. See Nicholas D. Kristof, "The Problem of Memory", *Foreign Affairs*, 77:6 (November-December 1998), p. 40; Wang Guotai, "A 'Resolution' Which Does Not Distinguish between Right and Wrong", *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily), 27 July 1995.

¹⁸ Liu Jiangyong, "Why Can't Japan Face up to Its Aggressive History?", *Liaowang*, No. 33, 1995, pp. 39-40; Lin Zhibo, "Why Can't Japan Sincerely Self-Examine Its Aggressive War: A Comparison of Germany and Japan", *Kangri Zhanzheng Yanjiu* (The Anti-Japanese War Studies), No. 3, 1995, pp. 190-94.

¹⁹ The idea of Japan guarding the sea-lanes in the radius of 1,000 nautical miles from the Japanese coast was proposed by Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki. It was Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, however, who really pushed the idea forward. See G. V. C. Naidu, "Japan and the Asia-Pacific Region", *Strategic Analysis*, 16:11 (February 1992), p. 1308.

²⁰ As cited in Jonathan D. Pollack, "The Sino-Japanese and East Asian Security: Patterns and Implications", *The China Quarterly*, No. 124 (December 1990), p. 720.

²¹ Pollack, p. 720

²² Zhu Chunlin and Wang Fang, "Guarding against the Rise of Rightist Forces in Japan", *Zhongguo Guoqing Guoli* (China's National Situation and Power), No. 4, 1999, pp. 6-7.

²³ Jin Xide, "The Potential Impacts of Ishihara Being Elected Governor of Tokyo", *Dangdai Yatai* (Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies), No. 5, 1999, pp. 11-13.

²⁴ Yang Shaoxian, "Facing the 21st Century: Japan's Internationalisation and Dilemmas", *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi* (World Economy and Politics), No. 3, 1999, p. 30.

²⁵ Liu Jianguyong, *Kua Shiji de Riben* (Japan Over The Century-End), (Beijing: Shishi Chubanshe, 1995), pp. 342-50.

²⁶ Ding Yingshun, "A Change in Japan's Diplomacy: The Aim of 'Returning to Asia'", *Riben Wenti Yanjiu* (Study of Japanese Affairs), No. 1, 1996, pp. 27-30; Xu Shigang, "An Analysis of Japan's Strategy of 'Getting out of the US and Returning to Asia'", *Riben Yanjiu* (Japanese Studies), No. 4, 1996, pp. 48-53.

²⁷ Yang Shaoxian, p. 30; Shi Junwei, p. 43.

²⁸ As cited in Robert Delfs, "China Sees Danger from Japan, Soviet Union: A Two-Front Threat", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 13 December 1990, p. 30.

²⁹ Guo Yajie and Xiang Dongmei, "Hashimoto Government's New Measures for Becoming A Political Power", *Dangdai Shijie yu Shehui Zhuyi* (Contemporary World and Socialism), No. 1, 1998, pp. 52-53. See also Li Genan, "A Big Change in Japan's Stance on Asian Security Measures", *Waiguo Wenti Yanjiu* (Foreign Affairs Studies), February 1993, p. 26; Ren Yi, "Japan Wants to be a Political Power", *Waijiao Xueyuan Xuebao* (Journal of Institute of Foreign Affairs), February 1992, pp. 44-47; Zhou Jihua, "Some Thoughts about the International Environment and Security in Asia-Pacific", *Riben Xuekan* (Journal of Japanese Studies), March 1993, pp. 1-10.

³⁰ Umezu, p. 30.

³¹ Of the two most widely used middle school history textbooks for academic year 1997, the one used by 41 percent of middle schools used the word "advance" and the one used by 19 percent of middle schools used the word "invasion." Of the two most widely used high school history textbooks for academic year 1998, the one used by 38 percent of high schools used neither "invasion" nor "advance", but "expansion" and "escalate"; the one used by 7 percent of high schools used the word "invasion." See "Japanese Textbook Treatment of the Nanking Massacre", *Japan Echo*, 25:4 (August 1998), p. 60.

³² Charles Smith, "Japan—The Textbook Truth", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 August, 1994, p. 26; *Sina Daily News* (Chinese), 16 August 2000 (<http://dailynews.sina.com.cn>).

³³ "Youths' Awareness of War Fades", *Asahi Shimbun* (Web version), 16 August 2000.

³⁴ As cited by Naidu, p. 1301.

³⁵ "Understanding Japan's 2000 White Paper on Defense", *Jiefangjun Bao* (PLA Daily), 3 August 2000. Japan's defence expenditures rose from the equivalent of US\$29.3 billion in 1985 to US\$50.2 billion a decade later. Sonni Efron, "U.S., Japan to Unveil New Defense Plans", *Los Angeles Times*, 21 September 1997, p. A-14.

³⁶ "The TMD System is Stirring up Trouble in East Asia", *Renmin Ribao*, 27 August 1999, p. 2, carried in *FBIS-CHI* (Web version, Article Id: FTS19990903000003).

³⁷ Li Genan, p. 26.

³⁸ Liu Zhenying, "Japan Has Speeded up Its Pace of Becoming A Military Power", *Guoji Zhanwang* (International Outlook), No. 12, 1996, p. 15. See also Tong Xin, "Japan's Tendency towards A Military Power", *Liaowang*, No. 38, 1996, pp. 44-45.

³⁹ Li Zhiwei, "The Expanding Japanese Military Forces", *Guangming Daily*, 23 February 2000.

⁴⁰ The North Korea nuclear threat led Japan to publicly not to rule out the possibility of becoming a nuclear power at the G-7 summit of July 1993. The Chinese may find other reasons for being concerned. Early in 1957, Japanese Prime Minister Nakasuke Kishi stated, "Depending on future developments in nuclear weaponry, I do not think the Constitution bans nuclear weapons if they are of a defensive character." [As cited by Manning, pp. 50-51.] This view

was reaffirmed in Japan's 1970 White Paper on Defence which stated: "We may regard it possible legally [sic] to possess small nuclear weapons, if they are of the minimum amount necessary for defence and they do not pose a threat of aggression to other countries." [As cited by Savita Datt, "Japan: On the Nuclear Option Threshold", *Strategic Analysis*, 16:3 (June 1993), p. 286.] Reportedly former Prime Minister Miyazawa said "Japan cannot rule out the possibility of possessing [nuclear] weapons." [Jeremy Hall, "Will Japan Go Nuclear?", *New Zealand International Review*, 22:6 (November-December 1997), p. 13.] Jeremy Hall also notes that Japan is the only nation still seeking to develop a nuclear industry based on plutonium despite the fact that it is more economical to use enriched uranium. Japan currently possesses a large amount of plutonium. In October 1999, Shingo Nishimura, Japan's defence vice-minister, suggested in an interview that Japan should scrap its decades-old ban on nuclear weapons. Although Nishimura was forced to resign, the Chinese may not forget the event easily.

⁴¹ Lu Baosheng, "Be Vigilant: Japanese Militarism Is Resurrecting", *Renmin Luntan* (People's Forum), No. 2, 1997, p.p. 36-37. See also Pollack, p. 720.

⁴² Wang Chunyin, "A Major Readjustment in Japan's Defence Policy", *Wanguo Wenti Yanjiu*, No. 2, 1996, pp. 4-5.

⁴³ The measures include the Law Concerning Measures to Ensure the Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan (the Law Ensuring Peace and Security in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan for short), which went into force on 25 August 1999; the Agreement to Amend the Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement, which went into force on 25 September 1999; and the Amendment to Article 100-8 of the Self-Defence Forces Law, which went into force on 28 May 1999.

⁴⁴ Article 9 of *The Constitution of Japan* (often known as Peace Constitution) states: "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes." <http://home.ntt.com/japan/constitution/english-Constitution.html>

⁴⁵ For the points in this paragraph, see, for example, Zhongguo Tongxun She, "PRC Research Fellow Views Japan's Military Strategy", 7 September 1999, carried in *FBIS-CHI* (Web version, Article Id: FTS19990908000951); Zhu Feng, "Measures Related to the Guidelines of Japan-US Security Cooperation and Japan's Policy Direction", *Dangdai Yatai*, No. 9, 1999, pp. 8-16; Zhu Feng, "Areas Surrounding Japan": Contradictions and Problems", *Xiandai Guoji Guangxi*, No. 8, 1999, pp. 23-26; Yang Bojiang, "Closer Alliance with Washington: Tokyo's Strategic Springboard for the New Century", *Contemporary International Relations*, 9:6 (June 1999), pp. 9-20; Lu Zhongwei, "What Are the Intentions of 'Revised Guidelines'?", *Renmin Ribao*, 30 April 1999; Zhong Weihe, "Track Change of Japan's National Strategy", *Guangming Daily*, 30 April 1999; Tang Tianri, "Be Vigilant against the Changes of Japanese Defence Policy", *Liaowang*, No. 3, 1999, p. 56; Su Hao, "Summary of the Academic Conference on the Adjustments of US-Japan Security Alliance and Asia-Pacific Security", *Meiguo Yanjiu* (American Studies), No. 1, 1998, pp. 143-47; Yang Bojiang, "What Does 'The Joint Declaration of Japan-US Security Cooperation' Mean?", *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, No. 6, 1996, pp. 2-6.

⁴⁶ Gao Haikuan, "The Adjustments of Relations among Big Powers and Security Situation in the Asia-Pacific", *Dangdai Yatai*, No. 1, 1999, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Meng Xiangqing, "Strategic Movements with Evil Intentions: Background and Intentions of Japan's Participation in the TMD", *Shijie Zhishi*, No. 7, 1999, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Meng, p. 19.

⁴⁹ "Understanding Japan's 2000 White Paper on Defence", *Jiefangjun Bao*, 3 August 2000.

⁵⁰ Lu Baosheng, p. 37.

⁵¹ Christensen, "Chinese Realpolitik", p. 37.

⁵² LatelineNews, "Japanese Oppose Revised Japan-US Defence Plan—Poll", 19 March 1999. <http://lateline.muzy.net>

⁵³ Kristof, p. 43.

- ⁵⁴ Yoichi Funabashi, "Tokyo's Depression Diplomacy", *Foreign Affairs*, 77:6 (November-December 1998), p. 32.
- ⁵⁵ The lower house of Japan's Diet forcibly passed the "UN Peacekeeping Operations Bill" on 15 June 1992. The bill permits up to 2,000 members of the SDF to be dispatched overseas for UN-sponsored peacekeeping operations.
- ⁵⁶ Liu Jianguyong, *Kua Shiji de Riben* (Japan Over The Century-End), p. 400.
- ⁵⁷ Jiang Lifeng, "The Present and Future of the Sino-Japanese Relations", *Riben Yanjiu*, No. 3, 1998, p. 14.
- ⁵⁸ Xu Zhixian, "The Prospects of A New Type of Sino-Japanese Relations in the 21st Century", *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, No. 9, 1998, p. 4.
- ⁵⁹ Zi Jian, "Two Problems in U.S. - Japan Relations", *Shijie Zhishi*, No. 13, July 1990, pp. 10-11, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 6 August 1990, pp. 1-3.
- ⁶⁰ Xi Zhihao, "Japan's New Five-Year Arms Expansion Plan", *Jiefangjun Bao*, 28 January 1991, p. 4, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 11 February, 1991, pp. 16-17.
- ⁶¹ Ma Yu-an, "Japan's Geodiplomatic Strategy for Becoming A Political Power", *Shijie Jingji yu Zhengzhi*, No. 9, 1997, pp. 53-57.
- ⁶² Wang Zhongchun, "21st Century China: Calmly Coping with the Changing World", *Ta Kung Pao*, 18 January 2000, carried in *FBIS-CHI* (Web version, Article Id: FTS20000214000061).
- ⁶³ Ma Yu-an, pp. 53-57; Yu Juliang, "Examining 'US-Japan Joint Declaration on Security' at Its First Anniversary", *Guofang Daxue Xuebao* (Journal of National Defence University), No. 6, 1997, pp. 54-58.
- ⁶⁴ Xi Lanwan, "A Major Readjustment in US Security Strategy towards Japan", *Xiandai Guoji Guanxi*, No. 6, 1996, p. 8.
- ⁶⁵ Xu Wansheng, "Japan-US alliance Relations after the Cold War: Three Major Developmental Tendencies", *Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies*, No. 10, 2000, carried in *Northeast Asia Peace and Security Network Daily Report*, 7 November 2000. <http://www.nautilus.org/napsnet/>
- ⁶⁶ All citations are from Zhou Jihua, "The Trend of Japanese Defence Policy", *Shijie Zhishi*, 16 January 1991, p. 13, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 1 March 1991, p. 18.
- ⁶⁷ Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*, p. 13.
- ⁶⁸ Bonnie S. Glaser, "China's Security Perceptions: Interests and Ambitions", *Asian Survey*, XXXIII:3, (March 1993), p. 257.
- ⁶⁹ Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia", *International Security* (23:4, Spring 1999), p. 49, carried in *Expanded Academic* (Ejournal).
- ⁷⁰ Chu, "The PRC Girds for Limited, High-Tech War", p. 183.
- ⁷¹ Keichi Kawanshi, "Chinese Party Leader's Visit Stirs Bitterness", *The Nikkei Weekly*, 25 April 1992, p. 7.
- ⁷² Xinhua, "Foreign Ministry Holds Weekly Press Conference", 11 June 1992, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 11 June 1992, p. 1.
- ⁷³ The CASS Study Group on International Situation, "The Analysis of Some Problems in International Situation and the Tentative Countermeasures" (abridged), *Yanhai Jingmao* (Coastal Economy and Trade), February 1992, p.6.
- ⁷⁴ "China Withdraws Morita's Welcome", *The Japan Times* (Web version), 18 August 2000.

- ⁷⁵ Kazuma Yoshido, "Forging Future of Asia", *The Daily Yomiuri*, 31 August 1994, p. 3, carried in Reuters Business Briefing, 31 August 1994.
- ⁷⁶ Reuters, "China G8 Rejection Seen Slap at Japan PM Diplomacy", carried in LatelineNews, 23 February 2000.
- ⁷⁷ Xinhua, "Xinhua Reports on Interview", 10 June 1994, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 13 June 1994, p. 2.
- ⁷⁸ Charles Smith, "Japan—War and Remembrance", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 25 August 1994, p. 22.
- ⁷⁹ Li Shongcheng and Wang Zaibang, "World Outlook 1995", *Contemporary International Relations* 5:1 (January 1995), p. 2.
- ⁸⁰ In September 1997, when asked about a permanent seat for Japan on the UNSC, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen repeated that "China has all along been cautious over the expansion of the U.N. Security Council and must consider the entry of developing countries and a geographical balance." LatelineNews, "China Mark 25-Year Tie with Japan", 30 September 1997; LatelineNews, "China Noncommittal on Japan's UNSC Bid", 15 March 2000.
- ⁸¹ Whiting, *China Eyes Japan*, p. 133.
- ⁸² Tai Ming Cheung, "The Interaction Between Economies and Security for China's External Relations", unpublished paper, May 1993, p. 14.
- ⁸³ The Japanese Blue Book on Foreign Policy 1992 stated that China would continue to carry forward its military modernisation and would import fighter aircraft from Russia. This "has caused some ASEAN countries to worry about China's military expansion" and maintain a close watch on China's future intentions. In this regard, Japan suggested that China and Japan should also develop a bilateral dialogue. See Liu Jiangyong, "On the Establishment of Asian Pacific Multilateral Security Dialogue Mechanism", *Contemporary International Relations*, 4:2 (February 1994), p. 9.
- ⁸⁴ LatelineNews, "China Mark 25-Year Tie with Japan", 30 September 1997.
- ⁸⁵ Xinhua, "Review of PRC 1999 Military Diplomacy", 5 January 2000, carried in *FBIS-CHI* (Web version, Article Id: FTS20000105000165).
- ⁸⁶ Manning, pp. 53-54.
- ⁸⁷ In a joint declaration issued by Keizo Obuchi and Kim Dae-Jung, Obuchi "expressed deep remorse and extended a heartfelt apology to the people of South Korea, having humbly accepted the historical fact that Japan inflicted heavy damage and pain on the people of South Korea through its colonial rule" during the period of 1910-1945. It was the first written apology ever issued to an individual country by Japan for its actions before and during World War II. A Japanese foreign ministry official initially said Jiang would be able to get the same kind of apology in a joint declaration. It is believed Japan's domestic politics prevented Obuchi to deliver the same apology to China. See Reuters, "China To Get Same War Apology From Japan As South Korea", carried in LatelineNews, 9 October 1998; Kyodo, "China Wants War Apology from Japan in Joint Statement", carried in LatelineNews, 3 November 1999; Reuters, "Japan Attitude on Past Reflects Political Disarray", carried in LatelineNews, 26 November 1998; Anonymous, "Ghosts from China and Japan", *The Economist*, 354:8155 (29 January 2000), p. 44.
- ⁸⁸ Reuters, "Anti-Japan Activist Sacked in China—Rights Group", carried in LatelineNews, 19 October 1998.
- ⁸⁹ For a detailed analysis of the issue, see Erica Strecker Downs and Phillip C. Saunders, "Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism", *International Security* 23:3 (Winter 1998), p.114, carried in Expanded Academic. See also Zheng Yongnian, *Discovering Chinese Nationalism in China: Modernization, Identity, and International Relations* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 131-136.
- ⁹⁰ Yu Bin, "The Study of Chinese Foreign Policy: Problems and Prospect", *World Politics*, 46:2 (January 1994), p. 254.

⁹¹ A Chinese official explanation about “comprehensive national power” (CNP) refers it to “the totality of a country’s economic, military and political power in a given period. It signals the country’s comprehensive development level and its position in the international system. In the content of the CNP, economic power, including labour power, material resources and financial power, is the determinant and foundation of a country’s political and military power.” As quoted in Zheng, pp. 114-15.

⁹² Zheng, pp. 111-138.

⁹³ Yan Xuetong, *Zhongguo Guojia Liyi Fenxi* (An Analysis of China’s National Interests), (Tianjin: Tianjin Renmin Chubanshe, 1996), p. 309.

⁹⁴ Xinhua, “China-Japan Trade Expected to Rise: Report”, 27 February 2000, carried in Expanded Academic.

⁹⁵ John Pomfret, “Rocky Road for China-Japan Talks”, *Washington Post*, 29 August 2000, p. A14 (Web version).

⁹⁶ Yoichi Funabashi quotes Gerald L. Curtis in Funabashi, p. 29.

⁹⁷ Richard L. Grant, “China and Its Asian Neighbours: Looking Towards the Twenty-First Century”, *The Washington Quarterly*, 17:1 (1993), p. 62. Many Chinese strategic thinkers also believe that economic and scientific challenges, instead of military invasion, are China’s main threat. See Chen Qimao, “New Approaches in China’s Foreign Policy: The Post Cold War Era”, *Asian Survey*, 33:3 (March 1993), p.240.

⁹⁸ Chu and Wang, p. 6; Yan Xuetong, “International Environment and Thoughts on Diplomacy”, *Xiandai Guoji Guangxi*, No. 8, 1999, p. 10.

⁹⁹ Mori said on 24 April in the Japanese parliament: “Regarding the war, I am of the opinion that there are various views due to different historical backgrounds. Whether Japan launched a war of aggression, it takes people’s judgment on history.” He revised his vague explanation one month later. See Frank Ching, “Japan Still Avoids Its Past”, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 22 June 2000, p. 36; Xinhua, “Japan’s Past War Against China Was Aggressive: Mori”, 23 May 2000, carried in Expanded Academic.

¹⁰⁰ Kristof, p. 47.

¹⁰¹ Kristof, p. 38.

¹⁰² Both the “Hinomaru” flag and the “Kimigayo” hymn are proudly touted by nationalists but condemned by left-wingers and liberals because of their connection with Japan’s militarist and imperial past.

¹⁰³ Rusdi Mustapha, et al., “So Why Isn’t the Rest of Asia Worried about Japan?”, *Time International*, 154:6 (16 August 1999), p. 18, carried in Expanded Academic.

¹⁰⁴ Kristof, p. 45.

¹⁰⁵ For mutual distrust between the Chinese and the Japanese public, see Christopher B. Johnstone, “Japan’s China Policy: Implications for U.S.-Japan Relations”, *Asian Survey*, 38:11 (November 1998), pp. 1068-69.

¹⁰⁶ Wang Shaopu, “Japan Policy in China’s External Strategy”, *Shanghai Shehui Kexueyuan Xuesu Jikan* (Academic Quarterly of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences), No. 4, 1999, pp. 83-92.

¹⁰⁷ Du Gong, “Earnestly Work for the Brighter Future of Sino-Japanese Friendly Relations”, *Guoji Wenti Yanjiu* (International Studies), No. 3, July 1992, pp. 1-4, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 4 August 1992. p. 11.

¹⁰⁸ The CASS Study Group on International Situation, p. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Russell C. M. Ong, “Japan and China: Security Interests in the post-Cold War Era”, *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, 16:1-2 (Spring-Summer 1997), p. 44, carried in Expanded Academic.

- ¹¹⁰ Gerald Segal, "Opening and Dividing China", *World Today*, 48:5 (May 1992), p. 79.
- ¹¹¹ Larry M. Wortzel, "China Pursues Traditional Great-Power Status", *Orbis*, 38:2 (Spring 1994), pp. 174-175.
- ¹¹² Glaser, p. 271.
- ¹¹³ "Journal Views 3 Issues in PRC-Japanese Ties", *Tangtai* (published in Hong Kong, 15 April 1993) pp. 90-91, carried in *FBIS-CHI*, 4 May 1993, p. 9.
- ¹¹⁴ Li Genan, p. 25.
- ¹¹⁵ Li Genan, p. 25.
- ¹¹⁶ As quoted in Sharif M. Shuja, "China after Deng Xiaoping: Implications for Japan", *East Asia: An International Quarterly*, 17:1 (Spring 1999), p. 69, carried in Expanded Academic. The White Paper called attention to China's naval and air force modernisation efforts, expanded maritime activities, and nuclear weapons enhancement projects.
- ¹¹⁷ Nakajima Mineo, "Dealing with Beijing: Beyond the 'Diplomacy of Friendship'", *Japan Echo*, 19:4 (Winter 1992), p. 22.
- ¹¹⁸ Eto Shinkichi and Kobori Keiichiro, "Two Sides to the China Trip Debate", *Japan Echo*, 19:4 (Winter 1992), p. 15.
- ¹¹⁹ Satoshi Isaka, "Japan Fends off Chinese Threat over UN Seat", *The Nikkei Weekly*, 3 October 1994, carried in Reuters Business Briefing, 3 October 1994.
- ¹²⁰ William J. Long, "Nonproliferation as a Goal of Japanese Foreign Assistance", *Asian Survey*, 39:2 (March-April 1999), pp. 333-34.
- ¹²¹ The loan package was later approved after Beijing softened its position on the issue of its naval activities. Chester Dawson, "Friends Indeed", *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 19 October 2000, p. 21.
- ¹²² Lam Peng Er, "Japan and Spratlys Dispute: Aspirations and Limitations", *Asian Survey*, 36:10 (October 1996), pp. 995-1010.
- ¹²³ Hisahiko Okazaki, "A National Strategy for the Twenty-first Century", *Japan Echo*, 26:5 (October 1999), p. 38.
- ¹²⁴ Okazaki, p. 35.
- ¹²⁵ Johnstone, pp.1067-85.
- ¹²⁶ Liu Jianguyong, "International Partnerships Facing Challenges", *Contemporary International Relations*, 9:4 (April 1999), p. 4.
- ¹²⁷ Ralph A. Cossa, "Multilateralism, Regional Security, and the Prospects for Track II in East Asia", *NBR Analysis*, 7:5 (December 1996), p. 25.
- ¹²⁸ Amitav Acharya, "Multilateralism: Is There An Asia-Pacific Way?", *NBR Analysis*, 8:2 (May 1997), pp. 1-18; *CSSA*, pp. 25-38.
- ¹²⁹ It should be noted that China is not encouraged by the deliberate ambiguity and lack of transparency of the revised US-Japan security cooperation guidelines.
- ¹³⁰ He Fang, "New Developments of the China-US-Japan Triangular Relationship", *Fazhan Luntan* (Development Forum), No. 5, 1998, p. 59.