

Contents

<i>List of tables</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
<i>Security in the post-Cold War era</i>	1
<i>Methodology and questions to be addressed</i>	2
<i>The complex nature of engagement policy</i>	5
<i>Restraint and deference</i>	6
<i>The dynamics of engagement</i>	7
<i>Summary of chapters</i>	10
1 Japanese–Chinese relations under Cold War conditions	12
<i>Introduction</i>	12
<i>An overview of Japanese–Chinese history</i>	12
<i>The role of the past</i>	14
<i>Deference to China</i>	18
<i>The impact of the alliance with the US</i>	19
<i>Normalization of relations, 1972</i>	21
<i>The anti-hegemony phase of the 1970s</i>	23
<i>The resurgence of Chinese security concerns</i>	26
<i>Japan as a civilian power engaging China</i>	28
<i>Tiananmen 1989 as a test of engagement</i>	29
<i>Conclusions</i>	32
2 The rise of traditional and non-traditional security concerns	33
<i>Introduction</i>	33
PART 1: THE BACKGROUND TO CHINA'S SECURITY POLICIES	33
<i>China and the post-Cold War environment</i>	33
<i>Japan's place in China's 'multipolar world'</i>	36
<i>China's military modernization</i>	40

PART 2: JAPAN'S EMERGING TRADITIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS ABOUT CHINA 43

- China's military modernization* 43
- China's nuclear deterrent and testing* 44
- Territorial disputes* 48
- The 1995–6 crisis in the Taiwan Strait* 64

PART 3: NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY CONCERNS 70

- Introduction* 70
- Competition for access to natural resources* 71
- The environmental impact of China's economic growth* 72
- Crime and refugees* 72
- Challenging Japan's identity as an economic power?* 74

PART 4: INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC CHANGES AND JAPAN'S CHINA DEBATE 76

- International and domestic changes* 76
- The debate about the 'China threat' theory* 80
- Conclusions* 83

3 Between power balancing and enmeshment policies

84

Introduction 84

PART 1: MILITARY AND POLITICAL POWER BALANCING 85

- Japan's military force structure and China* 85
- The National Defence Programme Outline of 1995* 88
- The Nye Initiative: don't mention the C-word!* 89
- The 1996 Joint Japan–US Declaration* 91
- The background to Japan–US cooperation on TMD* 93
- The Japanese–Chinese debate on Japan's new security policy* 94
- Political power balancing of China* 101

PART 2: POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENMESHMENT 110

A. Bilateral and multilateral security dialogues 110

- Introduction* 110
- Bilateral security dialogue and military exchanges* 112
- Multilateral security dialogue and exchanges* 121
- The evaluation of security dialogues* 131

B. Economic enmeshment 133

- Introduction* 133
- Trade* 134
- Investment* 135
- ODA* 136
- Multilateral economic involvement* 137

Japan and China's export- and FDI-led strategy 138

Conclusions 139

4 The dynamics of engagement **140**

Introduction 140

Open issues of political and economic enmeshment 140

Rivalry and competition 147

Triangular dynamics: challenges arising from the US context 157

Japan's deference and restraint 170

Conclusions 172

Conclusions **174**

Challenges 178

Scenarios 180

Policy recommendations 182

Notes 187

Index 237