Soft Power in Japan–China Relations

State, sub-state and non-state relations

Utpal Vyas

Routledge Contemporary Asia Series

Soft Power in Japan–China Relations

State, sub-state and non-state relations

Utpal Vyas

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2011
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Typeset in Times New Roman by
HWA Text and Data Management, London
Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 978-0-415-55170-0 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-203-83579-1 (ebk)

Soft Power in Japan–China Relations

Soft power has tended to be overlooked in the field of international relations, often dismissed as lacking relevance or robustness as a theoretical concept. This book seeks to expand upon the idea of 'soft power' in international relations and to investigate how it actually functions by looking at three case studies in Japan–China relations during the post-war period. These cases involve the action of Japan's soft power in China due to the activities of agents at three levels in society: the state level (an agency of the central government), the sub-state level (a local government), and at the non-state level (a non-governmental organisation).

In addition, a major theme of the book is to examine the role of important international actors whose roles are not covered sufficiently in international relations discourse. Utpal Vyas demonstrates ways in which soft power is a useful analytical tool to understand relations between China and Japan in recent times. The case studies help to reveal the complexities of interaction between China and Japan beyond the usual state-level analyses and offer a valuable resource for the study of Sino–Japanese relations and IR in general.

This book will be of interest to academics and postgraduate students in Japanese studies, Chinese studies and International Relations.

Utpal Vyas is Assistant Professor at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan.

Routledge Contemporary Asia Series

1 Taiwan and Post-Communist Europe
Shopping for allies
Czeslaw Tubilewicz

2 The Asia–Europe Meeting
The theory and practice of interregionalism
Alfredo C. Robles, Jr

3 Islamic Legitimacy in a Plural Asia
Edited by Anthony Reid and Michael Gilsenan

4 Asian-European Relations
Building blocks for global governance?
Edited by Jürgen Rüland, Gunter Schubert, Günter Schucher and Cornelia Storz

5 Taiwan's Environmental Struggle
Toward a green silicon island
Jack F. Williams and Ch'ang-yi David Chang

6 Taiwan's Relations with Mainland China
A tail wagging two dogs
Su Chi

7 The Politics of Civic Space in Asia
Building urban communities
Edited by Amrita Daniere and Mike Douglass

8 Trade and Contemporary Society Along the Silk Road
An ethno-history of Ladakh
Jacqueline Fewkes

9 Lessons from the Asian Financial Crisis
Edited by Richard Carney

10 Kim Jong Il's Leadership of North Korea
Jae-Cheon Lim

11 Education as a Political Tool in Asia
Edited by Marie Lall and Edward Vickers

12 Human Genetic Biobanks in Asia
Politics of trust and scientific advancement
Edited by Margaret Sleeboom-Faulkner

13 East Asian Regionalism from a Legal Perspective
Current features and a vision for the future
Edited by Tamio Nakamura

14 Dissent and Cultural Resistance in Asia's Cities
Edited by Melissa Butcher and Selvaraj Velayutham

15 Preventing Corruption in Asia
Institutional design and policy capacity
Edited by Ting Gong and Stephen Ma

16 Expansion of Trade and FDI in Asia
Strategic and policy challenges
Edited by Julien Chaisse and Philippe Gugler

17 Business Innovation in Asia
Knowledge and technology networks from Japan
Dennis McNamara

18 Regional Minorities and Development in Asia
Edited by Huhua Cao and Elizabeth Morrell

19 Regionalism in China–Vietnam Relations
Institution-building in the Greater Mekong subregion
Oliver Hensengerth

20 From Orientalism to Postcolonialism
Asia--Europe and the lineages of difference
Edited by Sucheta Mazumdar, Kaiwar Vasant and Thierry Labica

21 Politics and Change in Singapore and Hong Kong
Containing contention
Stephan Ortmann

22 Inter-Ethnic Dynamics in Asia
Considering the other through ethnonyms, territories and rituals
Edited by Christian Culas and François Robinne

23 Asia and Latin America
Political, economic and multilateral relations
Edited by Jörn Dosch and Olaf Jacob

24 Japan and Africa
Globalization and foreign aid in the 21st Century
Edited by Howard P. Lehman

25 De-Westernizing Communication Research
Altering questions and changing frameworks
Edited by Georgette Wang

26 Asian Cities, Migrant Labor and Contested Spaces
Edited by Tai-Chee Wong and Jonathan Rigg

27 Diaspora Literature and Visual Culture
Asia in Flight
Sheng-mei Ma

28 Alterities in Asia
Reflections on identity and regionalism
Edited by Leong Yew

29 Soft Power in Japan-China Relations
State, sub-state and non-state relations
Utpal Vyas

Acknowledgements

It is a huge and humbling task to acclimatise oneself to the historical processes, events and fundamental ideas which have led to our current globalised political environment, and attempting to do this has been a fascinating and eye-opening experience. It is even more difficult to try and organise and express one's own thoughts and ideas about these on paper (or on a computer screen), and many people have assisted me directly or indirectly in this process. The research behind this book has been carried out over a number of years, during my PhD research and afterwards; hence there are too many people to thank everyone for their time and support, but I would like to mention some in particular.

First I would like to thank my PhD supervisor, Professor Glenn Hook, at the School of East Asian Studies, University of Sheffield, for help and guidance at crucial points, and always timely and incisive comments. I would also like to thank Dr Peter Matanle and Professor Hugo Dobson for their solid advice. In Japan, my gratitude must go to Professor Tsukimura Tarō for providing me with the opportunity to conduct field research in Japan for 18 months during my PhD, for sponsoring my postdoctoral fellowship at Kobe University subsequently, and for many helpful comments on chapter drafts. Thanks also to Professor Tosh Minohara for acting as a sponsor to me at Kobe University, and to the many other academics and postgraduates whom I met in Kobe for their advice and support. My thanks also go to the officials at the Japan Foundation (in Tokyo and Beijing), Kobe City Hall, the Japan–China Friendship Association (Tokyo) and JETRO (Hong Kong) for generously giving me their time for interviews.

I would not have been able to carry out the research without financial help from the University of Sheffield in the UK and from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology during my PhD. During my postdoctoral studies, I was supported generously by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science.

My fellow PhD contemporaries at Sheffield also helped me greatly with their support and encouragement, and in particular I would like to thank Ishiguro Kuniko and Bhubhindar Singh for our numerous lively discussions.

My family have helped me throughout, especially my wife Reiko and in more recent years my son (in his own way) have provided me with unending encouragement and support.

Revised parts of Chapter 5 and Chapter 3 were previously published in the *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* in August 2008, and a revised part of Chapter 7 has been accepted for publication in *Japan Forum*.

Note on text

All Japanese and Chinese names are written with the family name first. Long vowels in Japanese words are represented with a macron, except in place names well-known in English, such as Tokyo, Osaka and Kobe.

All translations from Japanese or Chinese to English are the author's unless otherwise stated.

British English spellings are used throughout, except for direct quotations, names and titles, where the spelling is kept as in the original text.

Abbreviations and acronyms

AAPA	American Association of Port Authorities
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AUICK	Asian Urban Information Centre of Kobe
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCTV	China Central Television
CIA	United States Central Intelligence Agency
CJFA	China–Japan Friendship Association
CLAIR	Council of Local Authorities for International Relations
CNN	Cable News Network
CPC	Communist Party of China
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DPJ	Democratic Party of Japan
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EU	European Union
FTA	free trade agreement
G7	Group of Seven
GDP	gross domestic product
GHQ	General Headquarters (of Allied occupiers of Japan after the Second World War)
HIA	Hyogo International Association
ICANN	Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPE	International Political Economy
JANIC	Japan NGO Centre for International Cooperation
JCFA	Japan–China Friendship Association
JET	Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme
JETRO	Japan External Trade Organisation
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JIRCAS	Japan International Research Centre for Agricultural Sciences
JLTP	Japanese Language Test of Proficiency

KBS	Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (International Culture Promotion Association)
KEI	Kyushu Economy International
KICC	Kobe International Centre for Co-operation and Communication
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
Mercosur	Mercado Comun del Sur (Southern Common Market)
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
MIC	Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications
MOF	Ministry of Finance
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NHK	Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)
NPO	non-profit organisation
ODA	overseas development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OJCFA	Osaka Japan–China Friendship Association
PFT	Peace and Friendship Treaty
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
RIETI	Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
SJCFF	Sasakawa Japan–China Friendship Fund
SPF	Sasakawa Peace Foundation
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US/USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Contents

Figures

1 Introduction

International relations and the era of globalisation

International relations and the shape of the global system have changed dramatically since the end of the Second World War. In the decades after the war, ideological, economic and technological innovations have variously caused changes to the dynamics which exist between different countries, cultures and societies.

After the dust had settled from the war, it was clear that the USA was by far the pre-eminent nation in the international system. With its military, industrial and natural resources, it emerged from the war as a hegemon. However, the subsequent economic growth of other countries in Europe and East Asia led to its economic dominance gradually being eroded. Technological innovation in other countries, not least in the USSR with its nuclear weapons, space and missile programmes, also reduced the dominance of the USA in the military sphere. Since the collapse of the communist and socialist alternatives, which culminated in the break-up of the USSR in 1991, broadly liberal values such as democracy and free trade have spread around the world, paradoxically contributing to the decline of the relative economic and ideological dominance of the USA.

This cascade of events has caused scholars studying the international system to repeatedly try to produce overall theories of international relations to better enable them to predict and explain change in the global system, and how countries influence it. These theories have inevitably been products of the prevailing international environment (see Cox 1981, 1986), and so have changed according to circumstances. Academics' ideas about the nature of power in international relations have, therefore, also changed according to these events; notably, scholars have again been rethinking their ideas on power since the end of the Cold War, particularly with the increasing pace of the phenomenon of globalisation.

This chapter will firstly summarise the background of this study, by discussing the context of the global system and international structure in which this study's conception of power is based. Subsequently, the topics on which the book particularly focuses will be considered, namely soft power, Japan–China relations, and the coverage of non-state actors in international relations. The research questions and hypotheses which the book strives to address will then be

detailed, and an explanation of the three-level agent structure used as a theoretical basis will be given. Finally, the structure of the book will be outlined.

The changing face of power in international relations

The term 'power' in international relations has, for the most part, been a realist concept; the word suggests a rather negative image of an anarchic, zero-sum world where might is right, and only the strong win (Morgenthau 1952, Waltz 1979, Mearsheimer 1990, 1994, Grieco 1997). The intricacies of state interactions have usually been analysed in Machiavellian terms of which country will be able to control the other's actions in the end, whether through direct force or through more indirect coercion. In fact, many politicians and leaders still seem to think in these terms, as can be seen through the direct military action taken by countries such as the USA and UK in Afghanistan and then Iraq in recent years, or by the rapid build-up of arms and military technology which is taking place in others, such as China and India (GlobalSecurity.org 2010).

However, globalisation has accelerated in the past few decades and in particular since the ending of the Cold War. This process of increasing trade, exchange of information and movement of people across national borders has been driven by technological changes and the advance of the idea of economic liberalism, and trailing behind it democracy, into many parts of the world (Doyle 1986, Doyle and Ikenberry 1997, Keohane and Nye 2001). The liberalisation of markets and the need for stable global institutions to oversee these processes has led to the liberalist alternative to realism gaining credence in international relations theory.

To many scholars, however, realism deals with one simplistic extreme, of a cold, cynical competition for survival, while liberalism is rooted in the opposite extreme ideal of altruistic co-operation. The post-Cold War world seems to present a complex situation which cannot be described by choosing just one school of thought, if this was ever possible. Theories which try to account for current circumstances, and which build upon some of the ideas of the liberalists and realists (as well as bringing in concepts from other social sciences such as sociology and psychology) have appeared, using labels such as 'constructivism' and 'critical theories' to describe their models of the global system (Hopf 1998, Wendt 1999, Linklater 1998, Cox 1996). These theories try to take into account various competing identities, interests, ideas and norms which interact to result in changes in the international system. Not only do they deconstruct over-simplistic theories of the past, but they also break down the units which were thought to represent the most important building blocks of the global system, namely states.

Constructivist scholars emphasise the fact that states consist of numerous actors and agents (even more so than liberalist scholars) – all interacting with each other according to their various interests and identities. Not only do central governments play a role in the global system, but other actors such as sub-state local governments, small and medium sized companies as well as large multinational corporations and various forms of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have also increasingly been active on the international scene. Sub-state

local governments have used the newly developing ideas of globalisation to form links with similar local governments, as well as with other organisations, in different countries.

Other non-governmental bodies have become 'transnational' (Nye and Keohane 1971) that is to say, not only do they have operations in many countries, but borders between countries have also become to a large extent irrelevant to them. A transnational company such as Microsoft can have its headquarters in Washington State, a research centre in Beijing, back office processing in Bangalore and offices in over one hundred countries around the world, all working together without regard for national borders. Equally, transnational NGOs (such as Amnesty International or Greenpeace) are spread out around the globe in order to collect funds and carry out activities in a way so as not to depend on any one country, and in a way that pays little heed to national boundaries, as long as the boundaries are kept reasonably open by states.

In addition to these large transnational organisations, smaller groups and even individuals have begun to play a greater role in the global system. Technological advances in communications and travel have reduced the cost of communicating and even travelling between countries to such an extent that individuals can now play their own roles in international relations. Groups and individuals can exchange vast amounts of information across the internet instantaneously, using computers, mobile phones, and an array of other devices which are becoming connectable to the global information network. Meanwhile, millions of people are also moving physically between countries for tourism and work. While many of these processes have been occurring throughout human history, a crucial point which has only become apparent in the last few decades is the dramatic increase in the speed and scale of these processes in contemporary times.

The increasing relevance of soft power in the global system

It is within this context that the concept of 'soft power' was developed by Joseph Nye in 1990 (Nye 1990a, 1990b). Nye postulated the idea of soft power, whereby countries' attractive resources enabled them to set the political agenda, and so 'co-opt' other countries. In a further exposition of the concept, Nye (2004) gives as examples of US soft power the effects of Hollywood films, US ideals of freedom and democracy and other aspects of the country's culture.

Nye gives many examples of soft power resources (mainly from the US perspective), and talks at length about the role of the USA in the global system in terms of its soft power. However, he does not give a clear explanation of how he thinks soft power actually functions in international relations. It seems to be assumed that if a country has soft power resources, this alone will be sufficient to help its relations with other countries.

The idea of soft power has been slow to catch on among mainstream academics and politicians. However, there are now several studies which examine the idea. Chong (2004) utilises soft power ideas in his analysis of the 'Asian values debate' with regard to Singapore's foreign policy, but he too does not provide a mechanism