

**Middle Kingdom and Empire
of the Rising Sun**

Sino-Japanese Relations,

Past and Present

JUNETEUFEL DREYER

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

Part One

1. Getting to the Present	3
Introduction	3
The Establishment of the Chinese World Order	4
The Establishment of the Japanese State	6
Early Sino-Japanese Contacts	7
China Gains Influence over Japan	8
The Taika Reforms	9
Eighth-Century Reforms	11
Nativist Elements Return	12
Not Quite Separate, Whether or Not Equal	14
The Ming, the Fall of the Ashikaga, and the Reunification of Japan	19
Sino-Japanese Relations in the Early Tokugawa Era	21
The Sakoku Period	24
Arai Hakuseki's Proposed Reforms	25
Fall of the Ming Dynasty	28
Kokugaku	29
Conclusions	32
2. China, Japan, and the Coming of the West, 1835-1945	33
The West Intrudes	33
The Macartney Mission	34

The Opium War and the Unequal Treaties	35
The Tongzhi Restoration, 1862-1874	36
Matthew Perry Arrives in Japan	38
The Meiji Restoration, 1868-1912	40
Sino-Japanese Relations During the Restorations	41
Sino-Japanese Tensions Build	43
Japan Ponders Its Relationship with China and Korea	44
The Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895	45
The Effect of Defeat on China	50
Sino-Japanese Relations after the 1895 War	52
Sino-Japanese Diplomacy, 1898-1911	55
The Russo-Japanese War	57
A New Balance of Power	59
The Siberian Intervention	64
Shidehara Diplomacy	65
Sino-Japanese Relations in the Post-Sun Yat-sen Era	66
The Mukden Incident	68
Expansion in North China	70
A Chinese Communist-KMT Alliance against Japan	71
The Marco Polo Bridge Incident, 1937	72
Wang Jingwei	75
The Second Sino-Japanese War	77
The Chinese Civil War	79
Conclusions	80
3. Wary Engagement, 1945-1969	82
Finding a Place in the Post-War Balance of Power	82
The New Japanese Government Regards China	82
The New Chinese Government Regards Japan	86
Negotiations for a Post-World War II Settlement	87
Sino-Japanese Relations during the Korean War	88
The Bandung Era	95
The Nuclear Issue	98
Resurgence on the Left	99
Irritants Continue	100
The Communist Monolith Splinters	106
The French Connection	111
Intra-Left Disputes	112

China Becomes a Nuclear Power	114
Sato Takes the Helm	115
Chinese Foreign Relations during the Cultural Revolution	119
The LDP Reassesses Its China Policy	121
U.S. Concerns	124
4. The Tortuous Path to Normalization, 1969-1972	127
Sato Tries to Engage China	127
The Soviet Connection	130
Chinese Reaction	131
The Okinawa Reversion Agreement	132
Business as Usual	132
Denouement of the Normalization Issue	148
5. The Golden Age of Sino-Japanese Relations, 1972-1989	156
Negotiating the Details	156
The Peace and Friendship Treaty	159
Friendship and Friction	166
The Euphoria Ends	166
The Diaoyu/Senkaku Issue and the Yasukuni Shrine	167
Great Power Politics	169
The Textbook Issue	171
Strains Accumulate	172
Hu Yaobang Reestablishes Amicable Relations	173
The Kokaryo/Guanghua Dormitory Case	176
The Demise of Hu Yaobang	177
Insensitive Remarks by Japanese Officials	179
The Tiananmen Demonstrations and Sino-Japanese Relations	182
Aftermath of the Tiananmen Demonstrations	184
6. Tarnished Gold, 1990-2006	188
Returning to the Status Quo Ante	188
Familiar Tensions Return	191
Maritime Issues	193
The Asian Currency Crisis	195
Jiang Zemin Visits Japan	196
Trade Difficulties	200
The Koizumi Era	201
Mutual Distrust Grows	203

Voices of Moderation in China	205
New Frictions Are Added to Old Irritants	207
The Japanese View	209
Anti-Japanese Riots in China	211
Rivalry for Energy Resources	213
7. Contradictions Deepen, 2006-2015	215
Efforts to Mend Bilateral Relations	215
Fukuda Takes the Helm	223
Aso as Prime Minister	226
Hatoyama	231
The Diaoyu/Senkaku Issue Redux	233
Japan's Triple Disaster and New Pressures from China	235
The Islands Controversy Intensifies	236
Chinese Domestic Factors	239
Abe Returns to the Prime Ministership	240
Efforts to Manage Tensions	244
Part Two	
8. Economic Rivalry	249
Economic Relations before Normalization	249
Economic Consequences of Normalization	255
Japanese Concerns Grow: Rivalry Rekindled	261
Trade Imbalances	262
Japan as Number One	263
Effect of the Tiananmen Incident	267
The Chinese Economy Recovers	268
And the Japanese Economy Falters	268
The Search for an Explanation	271
Official Development Assistance to China Is Terminated	272
Koizumi's Attempts at Restructuring Fall Short	273
Current Economic Relations	274
9. Mutual Military Apprehensions	281
The Demilitarization of Japan	281
The Korean War	283
China Rearms . . . and Regresses	285
Cautious Security Steps in Japan	287

The Sword Reemerges in Japan	288
China Complains	292
Tiananmen Square Incident and Its Aftermath	294
Effect of the Gulf War	295
North Korean Missile Tests	296
Crisis in the Taiwan Strait	297
New Japanese Defense Legislation	300
The North Korean Military Issue Resurfaces	302
Dueling Defense White Papers	304
New Powers for the SDF	305
Effect of the War Against Terrorism	305
The Third National Defense Program Outline	308
Beijing Responds	312
Abe's Defense Program	313
The Debate on Amending the Constitution	315
The Nuclear Debate Rekindled	316
Conclusions	318
10. Taiwan between Two Powers	320
Multicultural Influences and the Qing/Manchu Annexation	320
Taiwan under Japanese Rule	324
The Kuomintang Assumes Control	329
The De-Recognition of the ROC and Sino-Japanese Relations	335
Restoration of Japanese Influence in Taiwan	337
Taiwan Politics Poised between China and Japan	339
Conclusions	352
Part Three	
11. Conclusions	357
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	381
<i>Notes</i>	383
<i>Bibliography</i>	431
<i>Index</i>	445