

What Can Taiwan (and the United States) Expect from Japan?

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In the 1990s and into the new century, increased Japanese sympathy toward Taiwan and antipathy toward mainland China led to a series of moves to improve treatment of Taiwan, including enhanced transportation links, a higher level and frequency of official contacts, posting of a military attaché, and expressions of support for Taiwan's participation in regional and international organizations. Nevertheless, Japan remains firmly wedded to a One China policy that opposes both the use of force by the mainland and a declaration by Taiwan of independence from China. Japan's willingness to cooperate with the United States to defend Taiwan is increasingly in doubt. The sources of Japan's supportive but restrained policy include the decline of traditional ties with Taiwan, the increasing size of the mainland market, and above all a perception of security risks that ultimately diverges sharply from that of Taiwan. Serious cooperation in defense and diplomacy requires shared (or complementary) threats, not just shared adversaries.

KEYWORDS: Japanese foreign policy, Japan-Taiwan relations, Japan-China relations, Sino-Japanese relations

Confrontation over the sovereignty of Taiwan is the most likely trigger for superpower conflict in East Asia and perhaps in the entire world. North Korea may brandish a small stock of missiles and nuclear devices for blackmail or deterrence, but only Taiwan sets today's dominant military power, the United States, against its most likely challenger, China. Though all sides proclaim their preference for peace and stability, political leaders in Taiwan insist on interpreting the "status quo" dynamically, while leaders in China ominously vow that they will pay any price to prevent the permanent alienation of Taiwan from China.¹

Taiwan faces a much larger and more rapidly growing opponent that has succeeded in convincing the United Nations, all major countries, and

most international organizations to accept its claim to sovereignty over Taiwan.² Taiwan's base of diplomatic and political support is narrow and dwindling. Economically, many multinational electronics companies came to rely heavily on operations in Taiwan in the early 1990s, but within a decade the balance began to swing decisively toward the mainland.³ Only the informal but powerful backing of the United States has enabled Taiwan to maintain its international position and allowed its citizens to trade, invest, and travel with tolerable security.⁴ With the help of the United States, Taiwan gained entrance to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), albeit on less than fully equal terms, and the World Trade Organization (WTO), but recent regional groupings such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Plus Three have excluded Taiwan, a trend that arouses concern in Washington.⁵

In Taiwan's search for additional diplomatic and political support, the most important target is Japan, a close neighbor that is also concerned about the rapid rise in Chinese influence and military capacities. In the Asia Pacific region, Japan is second only to the United States in the range and sophistication of its strategic capabilities. Japanese companies maintain intimate economic relations with Taiwan, and many Japanese feel friendship toward Taiwan and admiration for its steady democratization. Taiwan has tried to build on these bonds and concerns. Soon after assuming office, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) administration of President Chen Shui-bian established task forces on improving relations with Japan in the President's Office, Executive Yuan, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In early 2003, President Chen suggested that Japan should enter into trilateral "security alliance relations" with the United States and Taiwan, and should play a more active and constructive role in the maintenance of security in the region.⁶ Taiwan's representative to Japan later suggested that an "invisible alliance" already linked Japan, the United States, and Taiwan.⁷

These calls for friendship, support, and even alliance have not gone unheeded in Japan. Particularly quick to take up the call were right-wing figures with longtime connections to Taiwan and deep antipathy toward the People's Republic of China, and defense hawks such as former ambassador Okazaki Hisahiko, but the Japanese government has become more sympathetic to Taiwan as well, gradually loosening a range of restrictions on contacts with Taiwan. Pro-Taiwan sentiment reached a fevered peak in April 2001, when former president Lee Teng-hui applied for a visa to visit Japan for medical treatment. Though Lee's condition was routine and treatment could have been performed elsewhere, his application came just as the Liberal Democratic Party

(LDP) held intraparty elections to determine the LDP's president, and thus the country's next prime minister. All of the candidates aggressively affirmed their support for Lee's visit and all of the major newspapers editorialized on his behalf. Eventually the Ministry of Foreign Affairs found no choice but to issue a visa on "humanitarian" grounds. Lee's putatively private and nonpolitical visit garnered saturation coverage from the Japanese news media. Mainland officials gnashed their teeth, but to no avail. Taiwan, it seemed, had arrived in Japan.

Yet over the next year or two, limits to Japan's sympathies became apparent. In late 2002, Lee's application for a new visa to speak to a group of business students at Keio University was rejected under mysterious circumstances.⁸ The press dropped the topic after the briefest of flurries. The public, so enthusiastic the previous year, showed no interest. Broader policy trends remained generally sympathetic, but cool and cautious. Attacks on the foreign ministry, long assailed by right-wing critics as a nest of wimpy China specialists unwilling to stand up to the threats and bluster from the communist leadership in Beijing, yielded only modest results. The foreign ministry was shaken first by a series of financial scandals and then by recurrent clashes between career officials and the intrepid and popular but occasionally scattered (and equally pro-China) minister Tanaka Makiko. Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichiro eventually replaced her (at an unexpectedly high cost to his own popularity), and convened an advisory commission to recommend changes in the structure and policy of the foreign ministry, including policy toward China. While the ensuing report, issued just after rejection of Lee's second visa application, affirmed Taiwan's democratic development and occasionally criticized China, it limited itself to calls for strengthening the functions of Japan's quasi-embassy in Taiwan and for including Taiwan in a list of countries with which Japan should hammer out free trade agreements (FTAs).⁹

A year later, when President Chen announced his plan to hold a referendum protesting China's military buildup at the same time as the upcoming presidential election, the Japanese government took the highly unusual step of dispatching its representative Uchida Katsuhisa to express Japan's concern. Though Uchida reportedly was personally supportive of Taiwan, his mission drew from former president Lee the vulgar rebuke that Japan "has no balls."¹⁰ In meetings with China's foreign minister and vice foreign minister just before and after Taiwan's presidential election/referendum, Japanese foreign minister Kawaguchi Yoriko balanced a statement that it was important for China to respond to Taiwan's election coolly and rationally with reassurances that "Japan

has no intention of adopting either a 'two Chinas' policy or a 'one China, one Taiwan' policy" and that Japan would firmly abide by the Joint Communiqué issued when Japan and China normalized diplomatic relations and would not support Taiwanese independence.¹¹ Thus Japan repeatedly expressed its willingness and intention to upgrade relations with Taiwan, even in the face of protests from China, but only within the confines of the status quo: not challenging the One China policy, and discouraging Taiwan from doing so.

What accounts for Japan's positive but constrained attitude? Events of the late 1990s produced a flurry of overviews explaining Japan's policy toward Taiwan with reference to its security relationship with the United States.¹² Daojiong Zha emphasized that despite the sympathies in Japan stirred by the changes in Taiwan, the United States and Japan had firmly maintained a One China policy, leaving Taiwan little more than an "irritant" in Sino-Japanese relations.¹³ Soeya Yoshihide largely concurred, arguing that Japan lacked an active, independent strategy toward Taiwan and that it mostly cautiously followed the United States. Writing on the eve of President Bush's (disputed) victory in the 2000 U.S. presidential election, Soeya concluded that "it is fair to say that no responsible policy maker either in Tokyo or Washington believes that a serious contingency calling for the invocation of the revised guidelines is imminent. It is against this backdrop that the director-general of the Defense Agency, Kyuma Fumio, stated on 29 July 1997 that there should be no need to prepare for a Taiwan crisis in actual joint military planning based on review of the guidelines. . . . The Taiwan factor in Japan's security considerations in the post-Cold War era has not yet convinced Japan about the explicit function of the U.S.-Japan alliance towards China, and it is desirable to discourage any development of the Taiwan issue in this direction."¹⁴ Qingxin Ken Wang drew the opposite conclusion from a similar premise: "Japan's new security commitment under the revised security guidelines has placed Tokyo in a very difficult dilemma between preserving its alliance with the United States and maintaining stable relations with China. While Tokyo's best hope is to see a peaceful resolution of cross-strait conflicts, Tokyo may have to provide logistical support for American military intervention in the event of armed conflicts in the Taiwan Strait even at the risk of triggering a military confrontation with China."¹⁵

Surprisingly, virtually nothing has appeared assessing the impact on Japanese policy toward Taiwan of the major changes since 2000: the victory of political leaders antagonistic to China in Taiwan (Chen Shui-bian), the United States (George W. Bush), and Japan (Koizumi

Jun'ichiro) on the one hand, and on the other the resurgence of Chinese economic growth and the emergence of a formidably sophisticated Chinese foreign policy.¹⁶ Analyses of the actual specifics of Japan's policy toward Taiwan are also rare.

A partial exception is Yoshihisa Amae, who focuses on Japan's relations with Taiwan rather than with the United States, and covers events through the controversy over former president Lee's application to visit Taiwan in 2001. Amae optimistically suggests that Chen's victory marked an end both to the Chinese civil war and to Taiwan's "post-colonial" period, and that Japanese politicians, free of the old constraints and the inbred caution that infect the bureaucracy, and buoyed by societal support for Taiwan, will push forward improvements in formal relations. Like Soeya, however, he cautions that Taiwan cannot automatically count on Japan to support the United States in a possible clash with China over Taiwan.¹⁷

Disagreements in the literature and developments since 2000 suggest that, as important as Japan's relations with the United States are, they do not automatically explain Japan's relations with Taiwan. Normative appeals to democracy, so important in affecting U.S. policy toward Taiwan, are not without effect, but so far they have clearly not been as powerful as considerations of interest or links of culture and history. While Japan, like Taiwan, feels unease about the rise of China and even shares some of Taiwan's ideal preferences, Japan's perceptions of threat, and thus its conception of national interest and strategy, remain quite different from those of both Taiwan and the United States.

If, as Michael Green argues, Japan is becoming a "reluctant realist," it will gradually develop its own approach to security policy, particularly in Asia. To some extent this can already be seen, as in the more active approach toward negotiations with North Korea taken by Prime Minister Koizumi. The stance of Japan toward Taiwan and the rest of Asia subtly diverges from that of the United States, and that divergence is likely to grow. Japan wants protection against a rising China, but it also wants more care to avoid unnecessary conflicts than the United States and Taiwan have been willing to provide.¹⁸

Upgrading Within the Status Quo: The 1972 Arrangements and Beyond

In 1972, galvanized by the visits of Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon to China, new Japanese prime minister Tanaka took the initiative in

switching formal diplomatic relations from Taiwan to the People's Republic of China. As in negotiations with the United States, the PRC was most insistent about treatment of Taiwan. Even more clearly than the U.S. government, the Japanese government accepted that Taiwan was a domestic Chinese matter, making prominent reference to the Yalta Declaration and Potsdam Proclamation issued during World War II, which ordered Japan to return Taiwan to the Republic of China (ROC): "The Government of the People's Republic of China reiterates that Taiwan is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China. The Government of Japan fully understands and respects this stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China, and it firmly maintains its stand under Article 8 of the Potsdam Proclamation."¹⁹ The Treaty of Peace and Friendship of August 12, 1978, reaffirmed the 1972 Joint Communiqué between Japan and the PRC. A third major document, the Joint Declaration issued after Jiang Zemin's tense visit of November 1998,²⁰ referred back to the Joint Communiqué no less than four times, and recommitted Japan to a One China policy: "The Japanese side continues to maintain its stand on the Taiwan issue which was set forth in the Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China and reiterates its understanding that there is one China. Japan will continue to maintain its exchanges of private and regional nature with Taiwan."²¹

As these documents make clear, Japan has not simply acknowledged the Chinese claim to sovereignty over Taiwan, but has repeatedly affirmed it.²² Like Ronald Reagan, however, Japanese have sometimes attempted to deny or obfuscate domestically the commitments they have made to China in international negotiations.²³ Japanese historians and diplomats sometimes revive the old contention that the international status of Taiwan remains undetermined because at the San Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951, Japan merely renounced any claim to Taiwan (and territories taken from other countries), rather than specifically transferring sovereignty to the ROC, PRC, or any other entity.²⁴ As with President Nixon's opening to China in 1972, however, the preconditions Japan accepted for normalization clearly contradict this attempt at hairsplitting, as do later agreements with China.²⁵

Nor does the claim hold water that the San Francisco arrangements, as part of a multilateral treaty, have superior legal and moral standing to the policies or bilateral treaties of individual countries, since this claim is based on the untenable premise that the San Francisco Peace Treaty represented an international consensus transcending

the position of the United States. In fact, the San Francisco arrangements were nothing other than the extension of U.S. foreign policy, which at the time was primarily concerned to contain communism. The United States dictated arrangements to its allies, while excluding China, the ROC, and the Soviet Union from the conference in order to ensure that its preferred terms would prevail. The United States also made acceptance of the San Francisco terms a precondition of independence for Japan, which would have preferred to establish relations with the PRC.²⁶ John Foster Dulles, the prime architect of the “undetermined status” argument, explicitly overrode the interpretation of the State Department’s Office of the Legal Adviser, while in internal documents, U.S. analysts forthrightly spoke of the undetermined status contention as a “legal argument (advanced for political reasons).”²⁷ Power balancing and policy toward China, not international law, determined U.S. interpretations of Taiwan’s status before 1972, just as they did after Nixon normalized relations on the basis of “One China.”

Startled by Nixon’s sudden opening to China, Japan hurriedly normalized relations with China more than five years before the United States did, and on terms that more explicitly accepted China’s sovereignty over Taiwan. Sensitive to any Japanese attempts at obfuscation or denial, China has insisted on repeated and explicit affirmation of Japan’s One China policy. Almost every high-level communiqué issued after meetings between the two countries includes a reaffirmation by Japan of its intention to abide firmly by the 1972 Joint Communiqué. Often, as in the comments by Foreign Minister Kawaguchi noted above, Japan explicitly refers to its One China policy and promises not to support Taiwanese independence.

In line with these terms, Japan committed to maintaining only informal, mostly economic, relations with Taiwan. It banned higher-level officials from meeting with Taiwanese officials and scrupulously avoided any display on Japanese soil of symbols of sovereignty of the Republic of China. Taiwan’s national flag-carrier, China Airlines, flew into Tokyo’s domestic airport at Haneda via a subsidiary rather than into the international airport at Narita. Formal relations remained under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which maintained a resolutely low profile and refrained from any actions that might offend the mainland. Even apparently innocuous contacts, such as visits to Taiwan by professors at Japanese national universities, required screening and permission from Japanese ministries.²⁸ Contacts between the LDP and the Kuomintang (KMT) remained intimate, but on a strictly private

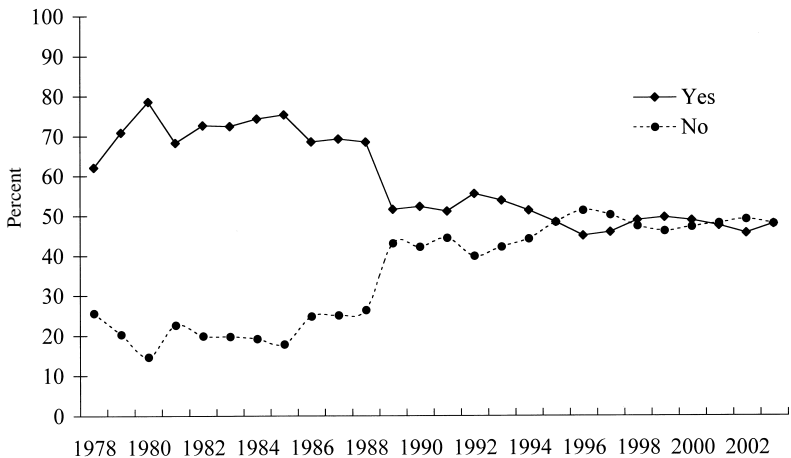
level. Beijing refused to allow Japanese newspapers with Taiwan branches to establish branches in China, so only the right-wing *Sankei*, smallest of the major news dailies, forsook the mainland for a branch in Taipei. To the average Japanese citizen, Taiwan faded into the distance.

By the mid-1980s, the constrictive arrangements worked out in 1972 came under increasing pressure. First, the generation of politicians whose feelings of guilt and reticence toward China stemmed from personal experience of Japan's extended campaign of aggression on the Asian mainland gradually retired or died off, to be replaced by younger people tired of apologizing for acts they had not committed to a communist regime that taught its subjects to hate and distrust Japan and that pulled the history club out of the diplomatic pouch whenever it might prove convenient. The June 4, 1989, Tiananmen crackdown against student protesters dramatically accelerated the downturn in public opinion toward China (see Figure 1). Public sentiment in Japan only bottomed out in the late 1990s, and remained far less supportive than it had been when Tanaka normalized relations and put into place the 1972 arrangements, though feelings of closeness toward China outnumbered those toward Southeast Asia and many other regions. The proportion believing that relations between Japan and China were good, perhaps a more useful measure, recovered somewhat after 1996, but trailed well behind evaluations of relations with Southeast Asia and especially South Korea (see Figure 2).

Second, the surprisingly strong performance of Taiwan's economy, coupled with a greater willingness by Japanese firms, battered by the long downturn of the 1990s, to outsource production to Taiwanese companies, allowed Taiwan to compete effectively with the mainland. During the 1990s, Taiwan's importance as a destination for Japanese exports actually increased. As late as 2000, Taiwan was Japan's second largest export market. Then, in just three short years the mainland market shot past that of Taiwan (see Figure 3). Similarly, through the 1990s Taiwan remained a major source of imports into Japan, peaking at number four in 2000. By 2003, though, Taiwan slipped to number eight. In contrast, the mainland surged past the United States to become the leading source of Japanese imports (see Figure 4).

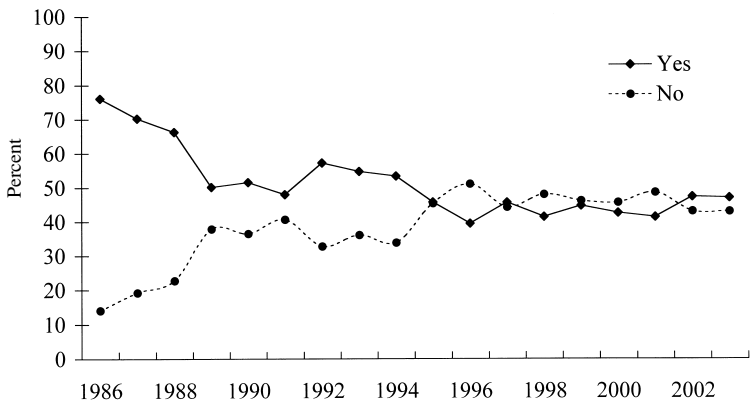
A similar trajectory marked many other areas, such as tourism, foreign students in Japan, and overseas study of the Japanese language. As late as 1998, Taiwanese tourists to Japan, for example, outnumbered those of any other country and more than triple the number from China; by 2002 Taiwan slipped behind Korea, and though it still led the main-

Figure 1 “Do you feel close to China?”



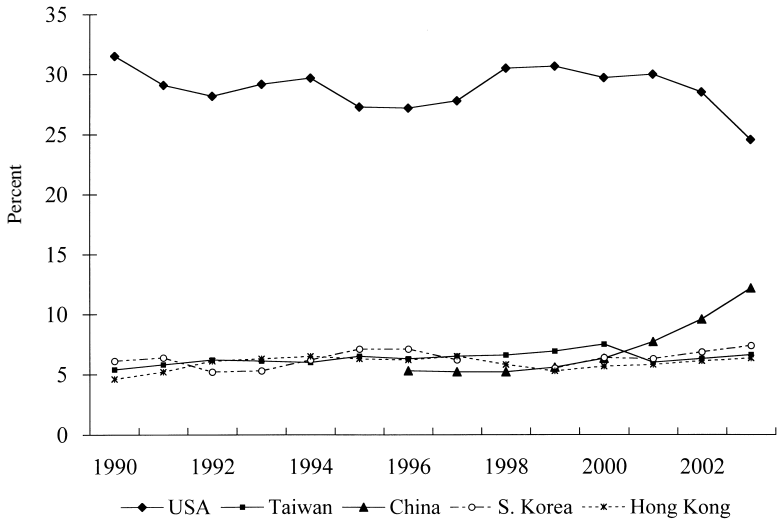
Source: Naikakufu Daijin Kanbou Seifu Kouhoushitsu, “Gaikou ni kansuru yoron chousa (Heisei 15 nen 10 gatsu): Chuugoku ni taisuru shinkinkan” [Cabinet Secretariat Information Office, Public Opinion Polls on Diplomacy (October 2003): Feelings of Closeness to China], rev. January 2004. <http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/h15/h15-gaikou/images/zu05.gif>.

Figure 2 “Are relations between Japan and China good?”



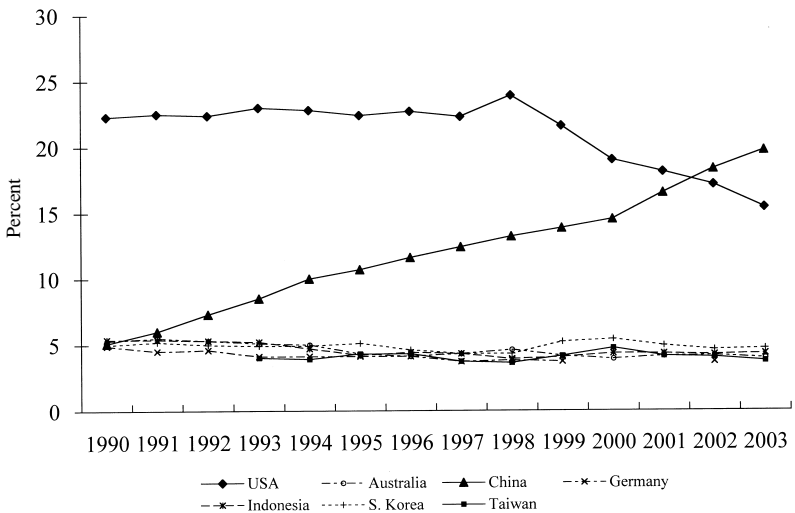
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Figure 3 Leading Destinations for Japanese Exports



Source: Nihon no yushutsu aite koku-chiiki rankingu (joui juu kakkoku) [Ranking of top ten destination countries and regions for Japanese exports], Japan External Trade Agency (JETRO), <http://www.jetro.go.jp/jpn/stats/trade/excel/rank.xls>.

Figure 4 Leading Sources of Japanese Imports



Source: Nihon no yushutsu aite koku-chiiki rankingu (joui juu kakkoku) [Ranking of top ten source countries and regions for Japanese imports], Japan External Trade Agency (JETRO), <http://www.jetro.go.jp/jpn/stats/trade/excel/rank.xls>.

land, the gap substantially narrowed.²⁹ More than might have been expected in 1972, Taiwan retained or even increased its significance to Japan, only falling decisively behind its much larger competitor in the early years of the new century.

In contrast to the drastic decline in positive feelings toward China following the Tiananmen incident, Japanese opinions of Taiwan steadily improved from the liberalization of the early 1980s to the formation of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party in 1986 and the full reelection of the legislature in 1992, though direct comparison with attitudes toward China is impossible because, tellingly, the cabinet surveys on diplomacy ignore Taiwan. Japanese were especially impressed by the first direct presidential election in 1996, which legitimated Taiwan's hyper-pro-Japanese and increasingly proindependence president Lee Teng-hui, and the succeeding election of the DPP's Chen Shui-bian in 2000, representing the first alternation of partisan control in Taiwan's history.

Changes in U.S. policy also deeply affected Japanese attitudes toward Taiwan. Though the Guidelines for U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation were initially sparked by Japan's slow response to the first Gulf War in 1991–1992 and the North Korean nuclear crisis of 1994, by the time they were signed in 1997, China's opposition and the missile exercises it carried out during the 1996 presidential race in Taiwan made the possible application of the guidelines to the Taiwan Strait a crucial issue.³⁰ The United States and Japan insisted, somewhat incongruously, that “situations in areas surrounding Japan” was not a geographic concept, but the aggressive cast of U.S. policy regarding Taiwan and the expectation of support from Japan were increasingly clear.

Finally, changes in Taiwan's diplomatic activities in Japan in the late 1990s and especially after the DPP took power in 2000 also played a role in changing perceptions of the Japanese public and policymakers. The DPP government was more active and aggressive than the KMT had been and enjoyed a stronger link with the local Taiwanese community, which was older and more uniform in its anti-Chinese sentiments than the Taiwan community in the United States. The Taiwanese in Japan had largely been alienated from the KMT government and they enthusiastically supported the new DPP administration. As national policy advisers to the president, the DPP government appointed Huang Zhaotang (Ng Chiao-tong), Huang Wenxiong, and Jin Meiling (Kim Birei), longtime residents of Japan, passionate advocates of the independence of Taiwan, and prolific authors of books exhorting

Japanese readers to rediscover their greatness and stand up to evil China.

In the face of these escalating challenges, the Japanese government undertook a series of measures, beginning in the early 1990s and peaking around 2001–2002, to upgrade relations with Taiwan.³¹ Many of these moves echoed or paralleled revisions in U.S. policy toward Taiwan,³² but others were unique to Japan:

1. Status and convenience. The Japanese government gradually improved the quality of visas available to visitors from Taiwan. In 1998, Japan began offering on-the-spot transits for up to seventy-two hours, and stamped five-year, multiple-entry visas covering stays of up to ninety days directly in Republic of China passports; over the next few years, Japan continued to grant incremental relaxations. In 2001, the Japanese government began offering Taiwan's "unofficial" representatives identity documents similar to those presented to diplomats from other countries. The issuing agency changed from "China Section, Ministry of Foreign Affairs" to simply "Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

2. Transportation links. After Japan switched diplomatic relations to the mainland, aviation rights became a sensitive issue. In February 2002, the two governments inked a new agreement expanding the number of flights by Taiwan's carriers China Airlines and Eva Air, and moved them from Tokyo's domestic airport at Haneda to the international airport at Narita, greatly easing international connections for passengers from Taiwan. The next year the Japanese government agreed to grant Taiwan's carriers regularly scheduled routes to second-tier Japanese cities such as Fukuoka and Sendai.

3. General expressions of concern for Taiwan. Whereas Japan carefully avoided the subject of Taiwan in the decades following normalization of relations with the PRC, after the late 1990s it became more open in its expressions of concern and support. Within just three months in 2002, for example, Chief Cabinet Secretary Fukuda Yasuo urged Taiwan and the PRC to resume negotiations, which had been stalled by the mainland's insistence that Taiwan must first accept the One China principle; Prime Minister Koizumi, in a speech to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, called upon both sides to settle their differences peacefully and abjure from any use of force; and Director-General Ishiba Shigeru of the Self-Defense Agency asserted that it was impossible to discuss security problems in Northeast Asia without addressing the issue of Taiwan. In each case, the statements

were directed more at the PRC, with which Japan maintained normal diplomatic relations and with which it had signed a peace treaty, than at Taiwan.

4. Support for Taiwan's participation in regional and international organizations. Political leaders in Japan, and on occasion government officials, began to express open support for Taiwan's participation in regional and international organizations. In May 2002, during a public meeting in Shanghai, Secretary-General of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) Kan Naoto boldly urged the Chinese government to support Taiwan's admission into the United Nations and other international organizations, a call he repeated a few months later at an intraparty debate for contenders for the DPJ's chairmanship. Less than a week after Kan's first statement, Chief Cabinet Secretary Fukuda told a press conference that the Japanese government supported Taiwan's participation as an observer to the World Health Organization. Japan maintained a supportive stance when the SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) epidemic swept through China and the rest of Asia in 2003, and in 2004 cast an affirmative vote, along with the United States, for WTO observer status for Taiwan.

5. High-level official contacts. Perhaps no part of the 1972 arrangements engendered more resentment in both Japan and Taiwan than the ban imposed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in line with its understanding of Japan's commitments to China, on contacts between middle or higher-level officials and their counterparts in Taiwan. In the early 1990s, Japan began to relax its definition of "formal." In 1992, the Japanese government allowed Taiwan to change the name of its quasi-embassy in Japan from the vague and innocuous Association for East Asian Affairs to the slightly higher-profile Taipei Economic and Cultural Representative Office in Japan. After Taiwan's entry into APEC, the Japanese foreign ministry allowed upper-level officials of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI, then known as the Ministry of International Trade and Industry [MITI]) to visit Taiwan for international economic meetings.

The pace of change accelerated in 2001–2002, leading to a series of contacts that could hardly be characterized as "informal." In the summer of 2001, Sato Tsutomu, an LDP parliamentary vice minister from the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, visited Taiwan, followed in January 2002 by Furuya Keiji, senior vice minister of METI (and LDP Diet member). In August, for the first time in thirty years, the Japanese foreign ministry invited officials from Taiwan's foreign min-

istry to visit Japan for meetings with officials involved in diplomacy and defense. At the end of that month, Mizuno Ken'ichi, a young upper-house LDP representative, made headlines by resigning his position as parliamentary secretary for foreign affairs to protest the foreign ministry's unwillingness to allow him to travel to Taiwan during his term, or even to debate openly the policy of limiting official contacts.³³

In October, for the first time since Japan and Taiwan broke off formal diplomatic relations, senior government officials (Watanuki Tamisuke, Speaker of the Lower House, and Ogi Chikage, minister of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport) attended and addressed a party given by Taiwan's de facto embassy to honor "Double-10" (October 10), the national day of the Republic of China. The next month, the foreign ministry formally removed the ban on high-level meetings with Taiwanese officials. Days later, METI and the foreign ministry dispatched officials at or above the section-chief level to a bilateral meeting on economics held in Taipei. Finally, in January 2003, the Japanese government posted Nagano Youichi, a major-general who had just "retired" from the Self-Defense Agency the previous month, to a position as Japan's de facto military attaché in Taipei.³⁴

Contacts between politicians also reached new highs. The PRC expressed unhappiness when Aso Taro, head of the LDP's Policy Affairs Research Council, led a large, cross-party delegation to meet President Chen and other top Taiwan leaders in the spring of 2002, the first time one of the LDP's top three leaders had visited Taiwan since 1972. That fall, high-ranking LDP leader Nakagawa Shouichi led a group of Diet members, including the newly prominent resignee Mizuno, to meet President Chen and other Taiwanese officials. Nakagawa, a former agriculture minister who became METI minister in 2003, was well known as the head of cross-party grouping of Diet members organized to lobby for more patriotic textbooks.³⁵

If Japan's treatment of Taiwan under the 1972 arrangements was unusually cautious and self-restrained, by 2002 Japan was actively pushing the boundaries of the promises it had repeatedly given to China not to engage in formal relations with Taiwan. But if Japan bent the One China principle, it showed no intention of breaking it.

Links and Their Limits: History, Culture, Norms, and Especially Security

In addition to geographic propinquity and trade, Japan's feelings of closeness to Taiwan stem from culture and history, the influence of

which is fading; shared norms of democratic governance; and partially overlapping security concerns. Each is powerful but limited.

In a region and world not known for an abundance of affection for Japan, Taiwan is virtually unique in its enthusiastic embrace of Japan and its people and its nearly complete willingness to let bygones be bygones. More than most Japanese recognize, these feelings are in part instrumental: Taiwan needs friends and allies even more than Japan does, and as the smaller and less developed party, Taiwan is generally willing to fawn on Japan and its representatives. Still, genuinely pro-Japanese feelings are widespread, especially among the older generation. Taiwanese were deeply impressed by the ability of their Japanese overlords to combine social stability and energetic development during the colonial period (1895–1945), just as the mainland fell into its most confused and dispirited state. Japan's rule was hardly egalitarian: the economic policy of the colonial administration blatantly favored local Japanese settlers, who dominated the modern economy and whose children occupied 90 percent of the spots at Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University, and by the end of the war the colonial government shipped away fully half of Taiwan's vital rice crop to support Japan's war effort.³⁶ But for Taiwan's local elite and their children, particularly those who, like Lee Teng-hui, made it to Japan, the Japanese empire proved surprisingly open to colonial subjects who mastered the language and identified with the imperial center.³⁷

Taiwanese like Lee absorbed a sense of Japanese nationalism that ever since the arrival of the West in the sixteenth century had increasingly defined itself in opposition to the imposing but often splintered Chinese empire. From the late nineteenth century, Japan actively sought to aggrandize itself by denigrating and weakening China, its rulers, and its peoples.³⁸ As a trading island, Taiwan became noticeably more prosperous than the mainland by the mid-nineteenth century, and after 1895 pulled further ahead as Japan protected and developed Taiwan while attacking and dividing the mainland. For Taiwanese, identification with Japan bequeathed a higher and more secure status than that of other Han peoples. The oppressiveness of Kuomintang rule after Taiwan retroceded to China in 1945 only confirmed the prejudices of the colonial period. Initial administrator Chen Yi's attack on the locals as infected by a Japanese "slave mentality," despite Taiwan's higher level of education, more extensive experience with local elections, and initial openness to reunification with the mainland (and despite Chen's own training in Japan), further exacerbated underlying tensions, as did Chen's ban on the use of Japanese in newspapers. The uprising and massacre of February 28, 1947, and the "white terror" of the next few

years then transmogrified hatred of the KMT into nostalgic memories of Japan, in sharp contrast to reactions to Japanese colonialism in Korea.³⁹

Japan did not, however, become alienated from the government of Taiwan. The two sides were junior allies in the U.S. exercise to contain communism; Japanese were grateful for the postwar magnanimity displayed by Chiang Kai-shek; and the KMT, local residents, and the Japanese government shared some important values: anticommunism, fear of China, and enthusiasm for economic development. Taiwan became uniquely pro-Japanese—appealing to all Japanese, but especially to conservatives, some of whom were born in Taiwan or served in the colonial apparatus and developed decades-long friendships with Japanese-speaking Taiwanese.

Though Taiwan remains pro-Japanese, the generations with intimate knowledge of Japan have largely passed from the scene, and Taiwan has become more oriented to the United States. Few Taiwanese under age sixty-five speak Japanese well and very few speak it better than English, much less Mandarin (indeed, many, particularly those under age forty-five or so, speak Mandarin better than Taiwanese [*hoklo* or *hakka*]). And while some Japanese speak Mandarin, usually with a mainland accent and vocabulary, the number comfortable in Taiwanese is vanishingly small.

Younger generations have not given up the study of Japanese, of course, and many prominent families in business, medicine, and law make great efforts to see that their children spend some time in Japan. For example, when many of Taiwan's most prominent business executives gather for lunch one Friday a month in Taiwan's traditional downtown business center, the common language is Japanese, liberally interspersed with Taiwanese and some Mandarin, even though few of them learned Japanese before 1945.⁴⁰ Even these business executives, however, cannot begin to match the linguistic and cultural skills of older Taiwanese such as Lee Teng-hui. Japanese who meet these younger Taiwanese appreciate the warm feelings and the ability to speak Japanese, but they do not feel the immediate and deep bond that they felt with the older generation of Taiwanese who had been raised as Japanese subjects.

Moreover, the effort to replenish links with Japan is limited. The groups most directly responsible for relations with Japan—bureaucrats, politicians, and scholars—are much less likely than businesspeople to have established strong links with Japan. Nowadays, few politicians on either side speak the other side's language well, and most do not even

speaking English particularly well. Even those with extensive experience in Japan, such as the DPP mayor of Kaohsiung, Frank Hsieh (Xie Changting), who completed Ph.D. coursework in law and politics at Kyoto University, find it difficult to maintain those links.

And on the other side, those most in favor of close connections with Japan may not be particularly representative of Taiwan society as a whole. The aggressively proindependence figures chosen by Chen Shui-bian to head Japan's quasi-embassy in Tokyo, both of whom grew up speaking Japanese and spent much of their lives in Japan, seemed to many younger Japanese more like older, right-wing Japanese than representatives of contemporary Taiwan. Immediately upon taking up his duties in July 2004, Xu Shikai (Koh Se-kai) raised eyebrows by suggesting that Japan had as good a claim to the Diaoyu (Senkaku) islands as Taiwan did (a remark immediately "clarified" by Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs), and by revealing a position on constitutional reform much more provocative than that President Chen had promised to the United States and, indirectly, Japan.⁴¹ Officials in Taiwan's Executive Yuan and Ministry of Foreign Affairs agree that the older figures with the strongest connections to Japan, including former president Lee, the representatives chosen by President Chen, and the most prominent older Taiwanese residents in Japan, have lost touch with the mainstream of both societies.⁴² Conservatives in Japan lament the "sinicization" and loss of Japanese influence in Taiwan.⁴³

If historical and cultural ties are loosening, particularly among those most directly responsible for foreign policy, normative appeals are clearly growing, mirroring larger trends in international society to emphasize democracy and question the inviolability of national sovereignty. Through the 1980s, Taiwan was freer than the mainland—locals were almost entirely free in choices of residence, occupation, and religion—but the political system remained authoritarian. The democratization of the 1980s and 1990s made Taiwan increasingly palatable to the average Japanese, and legitimized the support of those already committed to it. Particularly striking was the emergence of supporters of Taiwan's democracy in Japan's leading opposition party. A list of recommended candidates for the 2003 lower-house elections compiled by the Association of Taiwanese in Japan (Zainichi Taiwan Doukyoukai) on the basis of public statements and a survey of stances on the Taiwan issue surprisingly contained a higher proportion of candidates from the DPJ than from the LDP (22 DPJ members, compared to 127 elected in the previous election, versus 34:233 LDP members, along with 2 members from other parties).⁴⁴ Some, such as junior representative Naka-

tsugawa Hirosato, appear to have been deeply inspired by Taiwan's democratization and fervently espouse its cause.⁴⁵

For most supporters of democracy, however, Taiwan is but one case, even if an important one. An examination of the leading Democratic Party figures involved with Taiwan suggests that the intensity of their preferences on Taiwan is not as great as that of many of the LDP politicians committed to Taiwan. Leading DPJ lawmaker Edano Yukio gained fame by helping Kan Naoto, then minister of health, to force the bureaucracy to reveal its responsibilities for AIDS cases caused by tainted blood transfusions. Though Edano lacked obvious ties to Taiwan, and indeed did not take an active part in foreign policy issues, he came to head a group of DPJ legislators interested in fostering stronger ties with Taiwan, and especially with the DPP. Sengoku Yoshito, another lawyer and parliamentarian with the DPJ, also drew praise in Taiwan for the sincerity of his interest in Taiwan.⁴⁶ Kan, Edano, and Sengoku unequivocally expressed their support for Taiwan's democracy, but all were primarily concerned with domestic issues, and in foreign affairs favored maintaining balanced relations among Japan's neighbors and a cautious approach to the use of force in foreign affairs.⁴⁷ The DPJ manifesto (*kouyaku*) for the 2004 House of Councilors election does not contain the word "Taiwan" and makes only two glancing references to China. It calls on Japan to undertake "international cooperation," act as a part of Asia, and achieve an "independent and equal" relationship with the United States. References to democracy are limited to domestic politics.⁴⁸ The 2004 LDP election manifesto, while slightly more specific and aggressive on security issues, is not much different when it comes to Taiwan. China and Taiwan receive but one mention, in the context of promoting tourism. The word "democracy" does not appear.⁴⁹

While it is often said that younger politicians are more sympathetic to Taiwan and more concerned about democracy than the older generation, who had been preoccupied with guilt and hesitation toward China, closer examination reveals that many of the LDP representatives most aggressive in their support for Taiwan's democracy inherited their nationalistic and pro-Taiwan stances, as well as their political careers, from fathers or grandfathers whose contacts long predated Taiwan's democratization. The fathers of two of Taiwan's most outspoken sympathizers, Mizuno Ken'ichi and Nakagawa Shouichi, were members of the Seirankai, a group of pro-Taiwan legislators that arose to protest Prime Minister Tanaka's sudden recognition of the PRC. Rumors still swirl around possible foreign involvement in the 1983 death, appar-

ently by suicide, of Nakagawa's father, a hypernationalist. Another LDP supporter of Taiwan, Sato Shinji, is the son of Prime Minister Sato Eisaku, who resisted breaking relations with Taiwan until replaced by Tanaka. Even one of Japan's best-known internationalists, Shiina Motoo, who served in the upper house until 2004 and enjoyed close relations with Lee Teng-hui, succeeded Shiina Etsusaburo, the prominent LDP faction leader of the 1950s and 1960s who had served as an ad hoc envoy to Taiwan. These men may be sincere in their admiration and support for Taiwan's democracy, but they and their fathers supported Taiwan long before it became democratic, and most of them hold deeply nationalistic views.

Within the LDP as a whole, a pragmatic, conservative mainstream has generally dominated the nationalist wing. Not surprisingly, in Taiwan policy, too, more common than a commitment either based entirely on democratic values or emanating from personalistic ties and revisionist Japanese nationalism is a practical concern for what Taiwan means to Japan. The main difference from the past is the increasing popularity of the concept of *koku eki*—national interest, which increasingly supplants concepts such as *kou eki* (public interest) or *kokusai kyouryoku* (international cooperation).⁵⁰ Despite the temptation to interpret “national interest” aggressively, the pull of cautious pragmatism remains powerful. Even passionate verbal supporters of Taiwan such as Mizuno and Nakagawa turn cautious when it comes to suggesting specific alternative policies.⁵¹ As METI minister, Nakagawa reportedly blocked work on a mooted free trade agreement between Japan and Taiwan to avoid conflict with China; Japan is pushing a myriad of FTA negotiations in and beyond the region, but Taiwan remains a conspicuous exception.⁵²

A figure more representative of the pragmatic mainstream is Yamamoto Ichita, who heads the upper-house committee on foreign affairs and defense and is vice chair of the LDP committee on diplomacy. A second-generation representative with unusually internationalist credentials (master's degree from Georgetown, professional experience in Japan's foreign aid bureaucracy), Yamamoto is a regular visitor to Taiwan who is quick to invoke the concept of *koku eki* to evaluate Japanese foreign policy and pushes for higher-level official contacts with Taiwan. Nonetheless, he insists on maintaining good relations with both Taiwan and the mainland. He hopes to improve relations with Taiwan not to challenge the mainland but to make use of a uniquely pro-Japanese entity to strengthen Japan's competitive position vis-à-vis China in East Asia. For Yamamoto, Taiwan is a friendly, democratic chip in Japan's regional poker game. He believes that Japanese firms

can benefit from strategic alliances with Taiwanese companies to develop the Chinese market, and favors signing a free trade agreement with Taiwan.⁵³ Former prime minister Nakasone Yasuhiro, an avowed nationalist who retired from the Diet in 2003, also insists that engagement with China is a prerequisite for Japan to solidify its regional and global position.⁵⁴

Among government officials involved in foreign policy and defense, appreciation of Taiwan's democratization is widespread and heartfelt, but it is tempered by a cautious view of Japanese national interest and the diplomatic and strategic environment. Contrary to right-wing accusations, the foreign ministry is far from brainwashed by China and indifferent to Taiwan. Officials and staff of the foreign ministry typically find Taiwan a comfortable and friendly place to serve. Marriages to Taiwanese citizens are not uncommon. Virtually all officials express explicit or implicit support for the current *de facto* separation of Taiwan from the mainland. In an ideal world, most would prefer that Taiwan remain permanently independent. Some, like their prewar predecessors and many contemporary Japanese academics, are attracted to the notion that the Han rulers of China do not have the legitimate right to control all of the territory currently incorporated in the PRC. In their view, however, the practical reality with which Japan must deal is that China is unified under Han leaders, is unlikely to break up, and shows no signs of abandoning its claim to Taiwan. To the DPP government in Taiwan, the status quo is untenable and unacceptable, since Taiwan is developing a sense of independent identity (not least due to the DPP's own skillful use of the China issue) and China is increasingly threatening. From the perspective of Japan, however, the stalemate between China and the United States means that there is no immediate threat to Taiwan's autonomy or democracy. In the meantime, Japan (and China) must make every effort to avoid a military confrontation over Taiwan.⁵⁵

Behind this respectful but pragmatic evaluation of Taiwan's democracy lies an appraisal of the security threat from China that resonates with but ultimately diverges quite sharply from that of Taiwan. The DPP aggressively calls upon Japan to join Taiwan in an alliance, explicit if possible, tacit if necessary, to contain the military rise of mainland China, particularly the outward thrust of the Chinese navy. This call harks back to the theory of the 1950s that the string of islands off the coast of Asia could be used to block the expansion of China.

For Taiwan, and particularly the DPP and the green alliance, the mainland poses three threats. First, strategically, it could attempt an

invasion, a blockade, or a missile attack. In all probability the mainland could not conquer Taiwan today, but its refusal to renounce the use of force and the acceleration of its program of defense modernization pose increasing problems for Taiwan and the United States.⁵⁶ Second, economically, the growing dependence on the mainland as an export market and production platform raises concerns that the mainland will use Taiwanese business interests as Trojan horses.⁵⁷ Already the communist leadership pressures Taiwanese investors not to take public stands in favor of independence or even to express strong support of the DPP government. Third, politically, Taiwan's cultural heritage, ambiguous history, and deepening economic engagement with the rapidly growing and increasingly powerful mainland may weaken the resolve of its citizens not to accept some version of the "One Country, Two Systems" formula proffered by the mainland. For some, if not most, of the DPP government's top officials, creating a new and completely independent form of Taiwanese identity is even more important than democratic consolidation.⁵⁸

Taiwan's calls have some resonance in Japan. Antipathy and fear toward mainland China are on the rise in Japan as well. Guilt about Japan's prewar imperialism and aggression has faded, and with it the pacifism that once sustained the Japan Socialist Party. The desire for strong leadership to overcome the structural problems in Japan's political economy is palpable. It is probably not a coincidence that Prime Minister Koizumi matches his bold calls for structural reform with annual visits to Yasukuni Shrine, despite the opposition of China and the two Koreas (under Chen, the Taiwan government has limited itself to pro forma protests). According to Eto Seishiro, an LDP representative from the southern island of Kyushu who heads a pro-Taiwan Diet grouping, "Taiwan is the keystone of Asia. The stability of Taiwan is linked to the continued stable development of Asia and the entire world. Firm support for Taiwan is important for Japan."⁵⁹

Nonetheless, none of Taiwan's security concerns directly applies to Japan. China has neither the means nor the motivation to attack and conquer Japan, nor does it loom anywhere near as large in Japan's economy as it does in Taiwan's. Japan does have concerns about possible military threats from China, but they are far more limited. China challenges Japan's right to control the Senkaku/Diaoyudao (Diaoyutai) islets between Okinawa and Taiwan, and the two countries dispute the sea boundary in places. Japanese media frequently report on the alleged incursion of Chinese naval vessels into the area claimed by Japan as an exclusive economic zone, often without noting that the areas in ques-

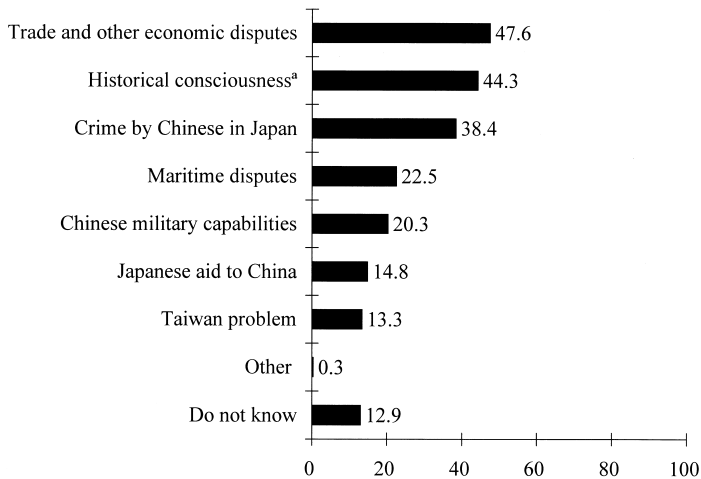
tion usually are also claimed by China, and that each country can cite UN Convention on the Law of the Sea scripture to support its case.⁶⁰ The size, rapid increase, and lack of transparency of Chinese military budgets all concern Japanese policymakers.⁶¹

A particular concern is the potential threat posed by China's growing naval capabilities to the sea-lanes through which oil and other vital goods must pass to reach Japan.⁶² Again, however, the threat pales next to that presented to Taiwan, which lacks strategic depth and is vulnerable to blockade, nor is the Taiwan Strait crucial to Japanese commerce. Rather than traversing the Taiwan Strait, ships bound for Japan can and often do sail east of Taiwan or even east of the Philippines, where the naval power of the United States (and Japan) will remain far greater than that of China for decades. China's imports of oil and other vital materials already surpass those of Japan and they pass through the same sea-lanes, giving China a vital interest in stability of ocean transport. And under the "One Country, Two Systems" formula, China would not post troops or create naval bases in Taiwan. Perhaps for these reasons, the publications of Japan's National Institute for Defense Studies evince far less concern for sea-lanes around Taiwan than for Malacca and other straits in Southeast Asia, which are much narrower, subject to recurrent attacks by pirates, and adjacent to potential terrorist threats.⁶³ The issue of sea-lanes around Taiwan provides justification for a more active Japanese naval presence, and it resonates with deep-seated anxieties in Japan, but as a strategic issue it pales in comparison with the threat facing Taiwan.

Most of the "China threats" that strike a chord with the Japanese public, and not just nationalists in search of a justification for denouncing China, are far more indirect. In a March 2002 opinion survey of "particularly big problems in Sino-Japanese relations," Taiwan came in seventh at 13.3 percent, well behind economic problems (47.6 percent); disputes over history, such as compilation of history textbooks and visits to Yasukuni Shrine; and crime committed by Chinese in Japan (see Figure 5). In a list of issues that Japan should be concerned about regarding China, "China-Taiwan relations" came in fifth at 19.4 percent, far behind economic development (see Figure 6).

At the personal level, the most visceral issue to most Japanese is the surge in crimes committed by Chinese residents and visitors. A related concern is threats to Japanese health, such as inadequate quality control of Chinese medicines and diet products, which have caused many injuries in Japan, pesticides contained in agricultural imports from China, communicable diseases such as SARS, and regional and

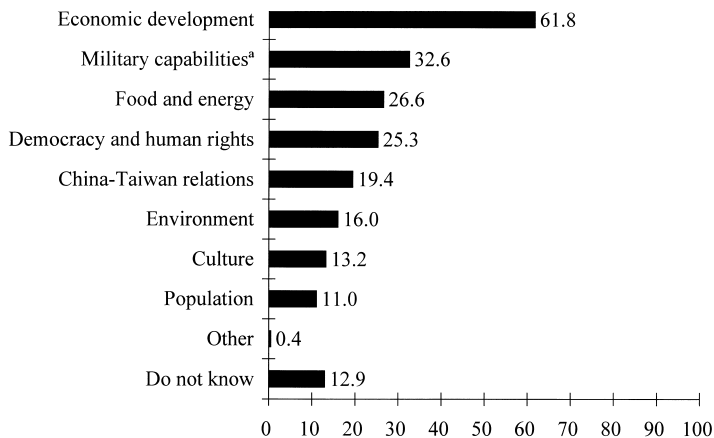
Figure 5 Major Problems in Sino-Japanese Relations



Source: Gaimushou, “Nitchuu Kankei ni Kansuru Yoron Chousa” [opinion poll on Japanese-Chinese relations; N = 1,397; 69.9 percent response rate], Chuo Surveys, March 2002, available at http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/china/yoron_k.html#4 (accessed September 30, 2004).

Note: a. Textbooks, Yasukuni, etc.

Figure 6 Areas of Concern Regarding China



Source: Gaimushou, “Nitchuu Kankei ni Kansuru Yoron Chousa” [opinion poll on Japanese-Chinese relations; N = 1,397; 69.9% response rate], Chuo Surveys, March 2002, available at http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/china/yoron_k.html#4 (accessed September 30, 2004).

Note: a. Including military exports.

international dangers such as acid rain and global warming arising from China's rapid development, widespread burning of coal, and weak environmental controls.

As the poll results illustrate, a second major concern is economic, including competition from cheap Chinese manufactures and food-stuffs and the infringement of Japanese patents and trademarks, as well as increasing competition for resources such as oil. The surge of Chinese growth and trade after 2000 has shaken all of East Asia. China is now Korea's largest trading partner, for example, and on current trends it will soon dwarf the United States. *The Rise of China*, an award-winning book by a mid-level METI official, notes the widespread shock in Japanese policymaking circles when China zipped by Japan and signed a preliminary agreement for a free trade agreement with ASEAN in 2001.⁶⁴ So far Japan has been a large net beneficiary of Chinese growth—indeed, many accounts credit the expansion of the Chinese market as a major factor in overcoming Japan's recession—but the speed of China's advance is unsettling, and fears that Japanese industry will be “hollowed out” remain deep. A third potential threat is posed by the instability and mass flows of refugees that could arise if China's rigid political system proves inadequate to deal with the strains of rapid development. With the possible but unlikely exception of some of the economic issues, these concerns cannot be addressed simply by more aggressive Japanese policies, nor would an alliance with Taiwan help. If anything, in most cases Japan would be advantaged by a more powerful, coherent, and competent Chinese state capable of addressing domestic problems and responding to Japan's concerns.

A final issue is small-scale or indirect coercion and loss of status in Asia. Many incidents that barely register in the West arouse great concern in Japan. For example, during the 2004 Asian Cup soccer tournament, which culminated in a Japanese victory over China, Chinese crowds booed the Japanese team and national anthem, and kicked and threw rocks at cars carrying members of the Japanese delegation, causing great indignation in Japan and raising questions about the ability of Beijing to conduct a free and fair Olympics in 2008.⁶⁵

Perhaps the most famous example occurred in northeast China in 2002.⁶⁶ Refugees attempting to flee North Korea first contacted human rights groups and journalists, then sought asylum in the Japanese consulate in Shenyang. When Chinese guards pulled them back out, video cameras captured the event on tape. The sternness of Chinese police, and especially their apparent violation of Japanese sovereignty, created outrage in Japan, even though Japan itself remains extremely reluctant

to accept refugees. Nationalists demanded a forceful response and excoriated the foreign ministry for its weakness. Instead of apologizing, the Chinese government launched a sharp counterattack. Though the crucial issue of whether Japanese officials had sanctioned the incursion by Chinese guards remained unclear, the Chinese government succeeded in exposing numerous weaknesses and contradictions in the Japanese case, and noted that Japanese guards had acted similarly during incidents in Chinese facilities in Japan. Whatever the legal merits of the case, the incident epitomized the fears of many Japanese that their weak-kneed government is unwilling and unable to protect them against an authoritarian and aggressive China now well on its way to surpassing Japan in Asia. All of these threats and irritants increase Japanese enmity toward China and sympathy toward Taiwan, but they do not create a direct congruence of interest with Taiwan: protecting Taiwan is no guarantee of protecting Japan.

Equally important, unlike the case with Taiwan, some of Japan's most important security concerns can be addressed most effectively by maintaining good relations with China. First and foremost is avoiding "entanglement" in any crisis involving China, Taiwan, and the United States. While there is significant ambiguity about what Japan would do if a crisis erupted, and no doubt much would depend upon the specifics of the case, analysts increasingly suggest that Japan (like another crucial regional ally, Australia) would not necessarily follow the U.S. lead.⁶⁷ As a global military power, the United States believes that it maintains the status quo in part by signaling that it would intervene if China challenged the status quo by force. Given the potential consequences for regional political stability, Japan's repeated One China policy, and the increasing reliance of Japan and the rest of Asia on the Chinese market, many Japanese policymakers believe that Japan is not in a position to articulate such a line or even support it. The size of China's population, landmass, and economy, and its central position in Asia, make upholding a minimal degree of cooperation with China extremely important on a whole range of issues of concern to Japan, from energy to regional economic integration and public health. For Japan, as Soeya's comments suggest, avoiding conflict with China through cooperation and conciliation is as important as deterring it through military force and aggressive diplomatic stances.⁶⁸

Moreover, Japan's greatest security concern is not China but North Korea. The frequent Taiwanese claim that China is not serious about pressuring North Korea and is using North Korea as a diplomatic card has made little headway in Japan, since one way or another almost any

plausible solution to the North Korean situation will require the cooperation of China. A *Mainichi* poll found that twice as many respondents cited North Korea as “a country threatening Japan” as mentioned China (50 percent versus 24 percent; 11 percent identified the United States).⁶⁹ Most observers believe that the Japanese government took the controversial step of sending Self-Defense forces to Iraq primarily to maintain U.S. involvement and support regarding the Korean peninsula. The quasi-official *East Asian Strategic Review* (*Higashi Ajia Senryaku Gaikan*), which is somewhat more revealing than the Defense White Papers, includes a detailed discussion of Japan’s interests and roles in Korea, but not in Taiwan.⁷⁰

Conclusion

The emergence of democracy in Taiwan, the 1989 Tiananmen incident, and the growth in Chinese economic strength and military capabilities combined with a U.S. policy increasingly supportive of Taiwan to overcome the obscurity to which Japan banished Taiwan after it extended diplomatic relations to the PRC in 1972. Increased Japanese sympathy toward Taiwan and antipathy toward mainland China led to a series of moves to improve treatment of Taiwan, including enhanced transportation links, greater convenience and status in visas, a higher level and frequency of official contacts, posting of a military attaché, and expressions of support for Taiwan’s participation in regional and international organizations.

Nevertheless, despite the election and reelection of nationalistic political leaders inclined to take a hard line on China in Taiwan (Chen Shui-bian), the United States (George W. Bush), and Japan (Koizumi Jun’ichiro), Japan remains firmly wedded to a One China policy that opposes both the use of force by the mainland and a declaration by Taiwan of independence from China.

Nor do major breakthroughs appear to be in the offing. Cultural and historical ties between Taiwan and Japan have gradually faded, despite the efforts of the DPP to reinforce them, though some second- and third-generation LDP politicians have inherited a supportive stance, and Taiwan remains a potent issue on which Japanese nationalists can challenge China. The appeal of democracy as a universal value linking Japan with Taiwan—but not with the mainland—is significant, especially for the Democratic Party of Japan, which has emerged as a serious challenger to the LDP. The DPJ, however, is also much more cautious than the LDP

about the use of force in foreign affairs, and if it were to come to power it would face pressure to modify some of its more idealistic stances. Moreover, while Taiwan is of unique significance to nationalists committed to rationalizing the legitimacy of prewar Japanese aggression, for advocates of democracy, Taiwan is only one case among many, albeit a nearby one. Finally, while Taiwan and Japan share deep-seated concerns about the increasing sophistication and reach of China's military capabilities, the specific threats facing the two sides are quite different. Taiwan's greatest fear is invasion or blockade and it is deeply concerned that the shifting military and political balance implies that time is not on Taiwan's side. For Japan, in contrast, the biggest threat comes from North Korea, where China is more of an ally than a competitor. Japan is quite content with the status quo across the Taiwan Strait, increasingly reliant on the Chinese economy, and probably increasingly disinclined to become drawn into any conflict over Taiwan.

Japanese policy toward Taiwan over the past decade or so can be seen, then, as quietly successful. Japan has managed to satisfy some of Taiwan's heightened expectations without fundamentally alienating the mainland. Successful balancing required considerable skill, and while Japanese policy generally moved in parallel with that of the United States, it was not simply reactive.

Sustaining and extending that success in the years ahead, however, may not be easy. Taiwan's DPP government continues to press for more formal relations and more diplomatic support from Japan. It may be possible to fend off Taiwan, which holds relatively few bargaining chips, but if the United States also requests Japan to do more, the Japanese government could find itself in a difficult position. More likely is increasing pressure from the mainland to desist from supporting Taiwan. Already, Japanese policies are difficult to reconcile with any strict definition of "informal" or "private" ties, and Japan's increasingly bold policy toward Taiwan exacerbates the distrust in China about Japan's reliability and intentions.

The larger question, of course, is how to deal with a rapidly growing and still authoritarian China that shows no signs of relinquishing its claims on Taiwan. The increase in Chinese influence creates anxiety in Japan, but it also raises the costs of opposing China. Already, Eric Heginbotham and Richard Samuels contend, Japan is involved in a "dual hedge," siding with the United States on security issues but sidling away from it in economic affairs.⁷¹ Completion of the transition in leadership from Jiang Zemin to Hu Jintao may enable Beijing to develop more nuanced and attractive policies toward Taiwan, but there

is no guarantee that a more liberal China, or even a democratic China, would stand by if Taiwan were to write a new constitution for a “Republic of Taiwan,” as Lee Teng-hui and others now urge the Chen government to do.

Analyses based on a “China threat” or power transition theory do not seem helpful, both because European history may not be a good guide to a world in which the costs of conquering territories and people have greatly increased, and because evaluating the regional balance of power is not easy.⁷² An alternative interpretation emphasizes that a rough balance has emerged between Chinese military dominance on the Asian mainland and continuing U.S. preeminence in maritime power.⁷³ This approach may help explain the apparent efforts by some Asian states, possibly including South Korea, to bandwagon with China,⁷⁴ but it does not provide much guidance (or reassurance) about Taiwan, an island located precisely at the intersection of the Asian mainland and the deepest waters of the Pacific.

The current policy of the U.S. and Japanese governments privileges democracy and peace over either national integrity or self-determination. It essentially gives Taiwan and China dual vetoes over changes in the status quo. Sustaining this approach, and maintaining coordination between the United States and Japan while encouraging evolution in China and moderation in Taiwan, are important, but may not be easy.

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Notes

Name order follows the East Asian convention of surname first, then personal name, except for persons who adopt Western name order in publications, or whose names have become well established in the Western-language literature with personal name first.

1. *New York Times*, December 4, 2003.

2. It is often said that the United States has only *acknowledged* China’s claim to Taiwan, and has studiously refused to *accept* it. This is incorrect. President Harry Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson explicitly affirmed China’s sovereignty over Taiwan in January 1950, three months after the establishment of the PRC. From the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 until 1972, the United States asserted that the status of Taiwan was “undetermined” to hold open the possibility that Taiwan could be kept out of the hands of the

PRC or used against it. Then in 1972, as recently declassified documents confirm, President Richard Nixon explicitly accepted China's sovereignty over Taiwan as a precondition for negotiations on normalization of diplomatic relations. "Principle One: There Is One China, and Taiwan Is Part of China," in Richard C. Bush, *At Cross Purposes: U.S.-Taiwan Relations Since 1942* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2004), p. 85; James Mann, *About Face: A History of America's Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton*, updated ed. (New York: Random House/Vintage, 2000), pp. 46, 379. Numerous twists and turns of history and subtleties of drafting and translation notwithstanding, the basic stance of the United States has not changed since then. Bush, *Cross Purposes*, pp. 231–232; Zhang Yazhong, *Liang'an Zhuquan Lun* [Issue of Sovereignty Between Mainland China and Taiwan], edited by Y. Li and Y. Zhang (Taipei: Shengzhi, 1998).

A related claim is that the U.S. government does not *oppose* movement toward an independent Taiwan but merely *refrains from supporting* it. Statements by the Bush administration surrounding the failed referendum that accompanied the 2004 presidential election demonstrated, however, that, barring a momentous change of policy, the United States would lean against any serious efforts at irreversible alienation of Taiwan from the mainland, just as it opposes any attempt by the PRC to extend control over Taiwan by force or intimidation. During the visit of Chinese premier Wen Jiabao to Washington in December 2003, President Bush declared, "We oppose any unilateral decision by either China or Taiwan to change the status quo." *Financial Times*, December 11, 2003. Domestic political considerations made the Bush administration reluctant to admit outright that it opposed Taiwanese independence, but it made its opposition clear, nonetheless. *Washington Post*, April 22, 2004.

3. Peggy Pei-chen Chang and Tun-jen Cheng, "The Rise of the Information Technology Industry in China: A Formidable Challenge to Taiwan's Economy," *American Asian Review* 20, no. 3 (2002): 124–174.

4. Robert A. Madsen, "The Struggle for Sovereignty Between China and Taiwan," in S. D. Krasner, ed., *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), pp. 182–183.

5. Edward J. Lincoln, *East Asian Economic Regionalism* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2004), pp. 157, 246.

6. Taipei, Central News Agency, January 10, 2003; see also *Taiwan News*, June 7, 2003.

7. *Zhongguo Shibao*, July 6, 2004.

8. *Keiojokusei Shinbun* [Keio Student Newspaper], December 2002, available at http://www.jukushin.com/article/200212_17.html (accessed July 30, 2004).

9. Taigai Kankei Tasuku Foosu, "21 Seiki nihon gaikou no kihon senryaku: Arata na jidai, arata na bijion, arata na gaikou" [A Basic Strategy for Japanese Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century: A New Age, a New Vision, a New Diplomacy], report issued to Prime Minister Koizumi by the External Affairs Task Force, November 28, 2002, p. 21.

10. *Taipei Times*, February 18, 2004.
11. *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, March 14, 2004; MOFA press release, "Kawaguchi gaimu daijin houchuu (nitchuu gaishou kaidan)" [Foreign Minister Kawaguchi Visits China (Talks Between the Japanese and Chinese Foreign Ministers)], April 3, 2004.
12. Thomas J. Christensen, "China, the U.S.-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia," *International Security* 23, no. 4 (1999): 49–80.
13. Daojiong Zha, "The Taiwan Problem in Japan-China Relations: An Irritant or Destroyer?" *East Asia: An International Quarterly* 19, nos. 1–2 (2001): 205–224.
14. Soeya Yoshihide, "Taiwan in Japan's Security Considerations," *China Quarterly* 165 (2001): 144, 146.
15. Qingxin Ken Wang, "Taiwan in Japan's Relations with China and the United States After the Cold War," *Pacific Affairs* 73, no. 3 (2000): 353.
16. Evan S. Medeiros and M. Taylor Fravel, "China's New Diplomacy," *Foreign Affairs* 82, no. 6 (2003): 22–35.
17. Yoshihisa Amae, "Japan's Taiwan Policy: Beyond the 1972 System?" in M. Alagappa, ed., *Taiwan's Presidential Politics* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001), p. 277.
18. Michael J. Green, "Managing Chinese Power: The View from Japan," in Alastair Iain Johnston and Robert S. Ross, eds., *Engaging China: The Management of an Emerging Power* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 152–175; Michael J. Green, *Japan's Reluctant Realism: Foreign Policy Challenges in an Era of Uncertain Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
19. *Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China*, September 29, 1972.
20. Lam Peng Er, "The Apology Issue: Japan's Differing Approaches Toward China and South Korea," *American Asian Review* 20, no. 3 (2002): 31–54.
21. *Japan-China Joint Declaration on Building a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development*, November 28, 1998.
22. Observe, for example, the following interchange during an April 20, 2001, press conference regarding the debates over issuing a visa to former president Lee Teng-hui:
Q: Well, in relation to this visa issue, I understand that Japan has said in the Communiqué that it recognizes Beijing as the sole government of China. How does that relate to this visa issue?
A: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Deputy Press Secretary Harada Chikahito: As you correctly referred to it, based on the 1972 Joint Communiqué between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China, Japan maintains exchanges with Taiwan of a private and regional nature as nongovernmental working relations.
 Available at <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/press/2001/4/420.html#1> (accessed September 30, 2004).
23. On Reagan, see Mann, *About Face*, p. 127.
24. See, for example, the sources in Amae, "Japan's Taiwan Policy," n. 33.

25. Amae, "Japan's Taiwan Policy," n. 11.
26. Kimie Hara, "50 Years from San Francisco: Re-examining the Peace Treaty and Japan's Territorial Problems," *Pacific Affairs* 74, no. 3 (2001): 361–382.
27. Bush, *Cross Purposes*, pp. 93, 107.
28. This tight screening continued until the corporatization of the Japanese national universities in 2004, as I discovered from personal experience in 2003 and 2004.
29. Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport, *Kankou Hakusho* [White Paper on Tourism], various years; Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, *Ryuugakusei ukeire no gaikyou* [Overview of Foreign Student Admissions], various years; Kokusai Kyouryoku Kikin [Japan Foundation], "Kaigai no nihongo kyouiku no genjyou: Nihongo kyouiku kikan chousa" [The Current Situation of Japanese Language Teaching Abroad: Survey of Japanese Language Educational Institutions], 1998, 2003.
30. On the defense cooperation guidelines, see http://www.defenselink.mil/releases/1997/b09231997_bt50797b.html (accessed August 1, 2004).
31. Internal government documents, 2003, supplemented by press accounts and interviews.
32. Bush, *Cross Purposes*, pp. 222–227.
33. *Sankei*, August 27, 2002; *Mainichi*, September 16, 2002; "Mizuno Ken'ichi no shuchou 'Taiwan houmon' to no houdou ni tsuite" [on reports about Mizuno Ken'ichi's proposal to visit Taiwan], statement released August 12, 2002, available at <http://www.catv296.ne.jp/~mizunokenichi/syutyoutaiwanhoumon.html> (accessed August 10, 2004).
34. *Zhongguo Shibao*, Central News Agency, January 22, 2003.
35. *Ziyou Shibao*, July 22, 2002; *Sankei*, July 27, 2001.
36. Qi Jialin, *Taiwanshi* [A History of Taiwan], 5 vols. (Taipei: Qi Jialin, 1998); Qi Jialin, *Taiwan Xin Shiguan* [New Historical Perspectives on Taiwan] (Taipei: Qi Jialin, 1999); Murray A. Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1999).
37. Oguma Eiiji, "*Nihonjin*" no Kyoukai: *Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Chousen—Shokuminchi Shihai kara Fukki Undou Made* [The Boundaries of the Japanese: Okinawa, Ainu, Taiwan, Korea from Colonial Rule to the Reversion Movement] (Tokyo: Shin'yousha, 1998); Oguma Eiiji, *The Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Images*, translated by D. Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), originally published as *Tan'itsu minzoku shinwa no kigen "Nihonjin" no jigazou no keifu* [The Origin of the Myth of Ethnic Homogeneity: The Genealogy of "Japanese" Self-Images] (Tokyo: Shin'yousha); Komagome Takeshi, *Shokuminchi Teikoku Nippon no Bunka Tougou* [Cultural Integration in the Colonies of Imperial Japan] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996).
38. Kai-wing Chow, Kevin M. Doak, and Poshek Fu, eds., *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).
39. Steven E. Phillips, *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945–1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

40. Author's observation, March 2003.
41. *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, July 6, 2004; *Ziyou Shibao*, July 7, 2004.
42. Author interviews, March–April 2004; on Xu's predecessor's weak understanding of contemporary Taiwan, see *Caixun*, February 2004.
43. Miyazaki Masahiro, "Chuugoku-ka suru Taiwan, 'Shinnichiha' no Koutai to aidentiti no Chuuka-ka" [The China-ization of Taiwan: The Withdrawal of the "Pro-Japan Faction" and the Sinicization of Identity], *Seiron* (March 2003): 272–280.
44. *Taiwan no Koe* 3407, October 29, 2003.
45. See <http://www.interq.or.jp/tokyo/nakatsu/report-2004.html> (accessed August 10, 2004).
46. Author interview, senior official in the Executive Yuan, April 2004.
47. Among other sources, see their Japanese-language websites.
48. *The DPJ Manifesto: Creating a Dynamic Japan, Towards a Secure Society*, October 2003.
49. Jiyuuminshutou, *Sara ni Susumeru Koizumi Kaikaku* [Further Advancing the Koizumi Reforms], June 2004.
50. Indeed, a *kokueki.com* has appeared, complete with a video denouncing the Tokyo war crimes tribunal, denial of the Nanjing massacre and other war crimes, vociferous support for Taiwanese independence, and a quixotic call to boycott Chinese goods (<http://www.kokueki.com> [accessed August 12, 2004]).
51. See, for example, *Ziyou Shibao*, July 22, 2002.
52. Author interview with a Taiwan official involved in foreign affairs, March 2004; *Nikkei*, September 9, 2004.
53. Author interview, September 29, 2003.
54. *Asahi Shinbun*, November 14, 2003.
55. Author interviews, Tokyo and Taipei, March–April 2004.
56. Some authorities stress the military superiority of the United States and the difficulties of invading Taiwan. Michael O'Hanlon, "Why China Cannot Conquer Taiwan," *International Security* 25, no. 2 (2000): 51–86; Robert S. Ross, "Navigating the Taiwan Strait: Deterrence, Escalation Dominance, and U.S.-China Relations," *International Security* 27, no. 2 (2002): 48–85. Others contend that long before China catches up with the United States in any overall index of military strength, improvements in China's military capabilities will pose grave threats to Taiwan and to any U.S. forces around the Taiwan Strait. David Shambaugh, "A Matter of Time: Taiwan's Eroding Military Advantage," *Washington Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (2000): 119–133; Thomas J. Christensen, "Posing Problems Without Catching Up: China's Rise and Challenges for U.S. Security Policy," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 5–40. The accelerating reform of China's military industrial complex suggests that the latter evaluation may be increasingly appropriate. Evan S. Medeiros, "Analyzing China's Defense Industries and the Implications for Chinese Military Modernization," CT-217, testimony presented to the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, Washington, D.C., February 6, 2004.
57. Wei-Chin Lee, "The Buck Starts Here: Cross-Strait Economic Transac-

tions and Taiwan's Domestic Politics," *American Asian Review* 21, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 107–152.

58. Author interview with senior official in the Executive Yuan, April 2004; Bush, *Cross Purposes*, p. 217.

59. *Seikei Jaanaru*, June 2004.

60. Mark J. Valencia, *The Regime of the Exclusive Economic Zone: Issues and Responses*, report of the Tokyo meeting, February 19–20, 2003 (Honolulu: East-West Center, 2003).

61. Boueichou [Self-Defense Agency], *Boei Hakusho* [White Paper on Defense] (Tokyo, 2004).

62. Itou Ken'ichi, ed., *Kaiyou Kokka Nihon no Kousou: Sekai Chitsujo to Chiiki Chitsujo* [Conceiving of Japan as a Maritime Nation: World and Regional Order] (Tokyo: Nihon Kokusai Fooramu, 2001).

63. Tsunekawa Jun, "Higashi Ajia no Enerugii Jukyuu to Senryaku Kankyou e no Eikyou" [Energy Supply and Demand in East Asia and Their Influence on the Strategic Environment], *Bouei Kenkyuujo Kiyuu* 4, no. 2 (November 2001): 86; see also *International Herald Tribune*, April 28, 2000, and July 20, 2004.

64. Tsugami Toshiya, *Chuugoku Taitou: Nihon wa nani o subeki ka* [The Rise of China: What Should Japan Do?] (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbun-sha, 2003).

65. *New York Times*, August 9, 2004.

66. Ming Wan, "Tensions in Recent Sino-Japanese Relations: The May 2002 Shenyang Incident," *Asian Survey* 43, no. 5 (2003): 826–844.

67. Eric Heginbotham and Richard J. Samuels, "Japan's Dual Hedge," *Foreign Affairs* 81, no. 5 (September–October 2002): 120–121; William E. Rapp, "Past Its Prime? The Future of the U.S.-Japan Alliance," U.S. Army War College, *Parameters* (Summer 2004): 104–120. Hugh White, "The US, Taiwan and the PRC—Managing China's Rise: Policy Options for Australia," Melbourne Asia Policy Papers no. 5, November 2004, available at <http://www.asialink.unimelb.edu.au/cpp/policypapers/mapp5.pdf>.

68. An advisory council report submitted to the prime minister to guide revisions to the National Defense Program Outline scheduled for the end of 2004 recommends a wider-ranging conception of possible threats to Japanese security and more intimate defense cooperation with the United States, but it remains cautious on China and Taiwan, each of which is mentioned only once, and emphasizes that "failure to achieve a peaceful resolution of conflicts over resource development and other problems in Japan's vicinity could have serious consequences for Japan's security." The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities, "Anzen hoshou to boueiryoku ni kansuru kondankai' houkokusho—mirai e no anzen hoshou/boueiryoku bijion" [The Council on Security and Defense Capabilities Report: Japan's Visions for Future Security and Defense Capabilities], October 2004, p. 64 (the original Japanese is on p. 4).

Similarly, according to press leaks, a confidential Self-Defense Agency discussion paper written in September 2004 highlights potential threats to Japan

from growing Chinese military capabilities and disputes over Taiwan and the Senkaku/Diayutai islands, but it also emphasizes the need for diplomatic efforts to avoid conflict with China. *Kyodo News*, November 8, 2004.

69. *Mainichi Shinbun*, January 5, 2004.

70. Boueichou Bouei Kenkyuujo [Self-Defense Agency, National Institute for Defense Studies], *Higashi Ajia Senryaku Gaikan* [East Asian Strategic Review] (Tokyo: Boueichou Bouei Kenkyuujo, 2004), pp. 7–26, 105–110.

71. Heginbotham and Samuels, “Japan’s Dual Hedge.”

72. On power transition theory, see Randall L. Schweller, “Managing the Rise of Great Powers: History and Theory,” in Johnston and Ross, eds., *Engaging China*, pp. 1–31; cf. Stephan Haggard, “The Balance of Power, Globalization, and Democracy: International Relations Theory in Northeast Asia,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 4, no. 1 (January–March 2004): 1–38.

73. Robert S. Ross, “The Geography of the Peace: East Asia in the Twenty-First Century,” *International Security* 23, no. 4 (1999): 81–118.

74. David C. Kang, “Getting Asia Wrong: The Need for New Analytical Frameworks,” *International Security* 27, no. 4 (2003): 57–85.