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研究課題名(和文) Foreign-Domestic Linkages in China's Foreign Policy to Japan (2010-2015)

研究課題名(英文) Foreign-Domestic Linkages in China's Foreign Policy to Japan (2010-2015)

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研究成果の概要(和文)：中国の対日外交をどのように理解すれば良いか？今までの中国対日外交の研究は、中華思想の影響、指導者の個人的な選好、現実主義的な外交戦略などの要因を強調する傾向がある。本研究は、中国の対日政策の決定要因を国際関係理論(International Relations Theory, IR)手法で分析し、その政策決定のメカニズムを検討することで、中国対日外交の変化を国内政治と外交政策のリンケージな視点から説明する理論モデルの構築することができた。胡錦濤政権と習近平政権における二つの危機対応の比較事例研究を通じて、リーダーの国内政治の計算はいかに対日政策に影響与えるのかというメカニズムを明らかにした。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This research demonstrates that many of those seemingly Chinese assertive policies to Japan is probably the reflection of Chinese domestic politics, rather than derived from an aggressive foreign strategy. This research may help avoid misperception between Chinese and Japanese society.

研究成果の概要(英文)：The research finds an apparent foreign-domestic linkage existed in Chinese foreign policy to Japan between 2010 and 2015. This research project compares Hu Jintao's policy and Xi Jinping's policy to Japan in two difference crisis occurred in 2010 and 2012 respectively. It finds that domestic strength of the two individual leaders within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) directly linked to the orientation of China's Japan policy. Xi was relevantly strong in Chinese domestic politics since 2012 compared to Hu in 2010, which lead to a relatively restrained policy to Japan and eventually directly linked to the China-Japan top leader summit during APEC summit in 2014. From theoretical perspective, China has always been regarded as a "tough" case for theory testing and theory falsification. This study also demonstrates the applicability of foreign-domestic linkages theory in IR study on understanding the foreign policy of non-democratic country.

研究分野：International relations, political science

キーワード：political survival Sino-Japanese relations Island Disputes China Japan

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## 1 . 研究開始当初の背景

Of the foreign policy relationship of People's Republic of China (PRC), Japan has always been considered as the most sensitive foreign policy issue area by China's leaders that needed to be prudently handled. As Susan Shirk, a senior China specialist in the United States, rightly points out that, for Chinese leadership, Japan is the most sensitive and emotional issue in China's domestic politics. According to the existing literature, China's Japan policy in the post-Cold War era has often been viewed as driven by nationalist sentiments and well-calculated foreign strategy against Japan. Existing literature on the subject most often assumes that China's Japan policy has been influenced by anti-Japan nationalism and guided by a unified, well-calculated foreign strategy to Japan. These views, however, overlook the impact of the black box of Chinese domestic politics on its Japan policy, and fail to explain why China sometimes favors a cooperative policy toward Japan in certain issue areas but sometimes not. In the past several years, academic investigations on China-Japan relations tend to argue that China and Japan, the two tigers in East Asia, is about to engage into another round of direct military confrontation. This prediction (or forecasting), however, never happened in the past several years since 2014. The first round of China-Japan top leader summit realized in November 2014 in Beijing, and then the second round in April 2015 in Indonesia. The third round of Sino-Japanese top leader summit was held in Hangzhou in September 2016. In March 2015, China and Japan started to build diplomatic channels to communicate with each other over the island disputes. Why the Chinese leadership was willing to negotiate with Japan since 2014? Why military confrontation between China and Japan did not breakout as most analysts anticipated in early 2012?

## 2 . 研究の目的

The purpose of the research is to present an alternative interpretation of China's Japan Policy between 2010 and 2015 from a foreign-domestic linkages perspective. Existing literature on the subject most often assumes that China's Japan policy has been influenced by anti-Japan nationalism and guided by a unified, well calculated foreign strategy to Japan. By examining several cases in the bilateral relations since 2010, this research intends to investigate China's Japan policy by highlighting the domestic legitimacy of Chinese leadership and domestic political rivalry within China.

## 3 . 研究の方法

Due to relatively small number of cases between 2010 and 2015 in Sino-Japanese relations, qualitative method is employed and cases can be examined in detail and contextual richness can be retained. In order to demonstrate my interpretation, comparisons with other competing explanations through "controlled comparative case study" will be conducted. A controlled comparative case study involves the logic of "the method of agreement" and "the method of difference". It involves a comparison of a set of cases that share similarities and differences. "The method of agreement" involves a comparison of cases with different general characteristics and similar outcomes. A condition present in both cases can be regarded as possibly causally associated with the case outcome. "The method of difference" involves a comparison of cases with similar general characteristics and different outcomes. A condition present in both cases cannot account for the difference in case outcomes. Conditions that are not present in both cases can be regarded as possibly causally associated with the variance of case outcomes. By applying these research methods, the research narrow down the number of alternative explanatory factors that influence China's Japan policy and facilitate the empirical checking of explanation from a small number of cases.

A controlled comparative study does have its limitations, as variations between the cases might be caused by other unknown factors. The method of "process tracing" is also employed in this study as well for reconciling this methodological problem. The method of "process tracing" allows for a great number of observations within a limited number of cases or even a single case. It involves a congruence procedure of multiple within-case observations. The method of "process tracing" explores the chain of events by which initial case conditions are translated into case outcomes. The cause-effect link is unwrapped into small steps and the researcher looks for observable evidence of each step to test the hypothesis. Evidence revealed in the sequence of the events and the testimony of actors over their decisions can be regarded as a cause of a given response. This method is applied to all cases in this proposed study. In each case, the detailed process of Sino-Japanese interaction will be reviewed. firstly. Then, for the sake of clarity, competing or conventional explanations are summarized. I will also discuss

why those explanations are inadequate to explain China's Japan policy over the certain issue. Finally, I present my interpretation based on the logic of the foreign-domestic linkages approach and well-designed comparison. In particular, I intentionally compare two similar crises took place in Hu and Xi's term in 2010 and 2012 respectively, and demonstrate why two leaders responded to two crises differently.

#### 4 . 研究成果

The research finds an apparent foreign-domestic linkage existed in Chinese foreign policy to Japan between 2010 and 2015. This research project compares Hu Jintao's policy and Xi Jinping's policy to Japan in two difference crisis occurred in 2010 and 2012 respectively. It finds that domestic strength of the two individual leader within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) directly linked to the orientation of China's Japan policy. Xi was relevantly strong in Chinese domestic politics since 2012 compared to Hu in 2010, which lead to a relatively restrained policy to Japan and eventually directly linked to the China-Japan top leader summit during APEC summit in 2014. From theoretical perspective, "China" has also been regarded as a tough case for theory testing and theory falsification. By contrast, this study demonstrates the applicability of foreign-domestic linkages theories in IR study to understand the foreign policy of non-democratic country.

In addition, this research project also finds that the similar political logic also works in the Japanese aspect as well, particularly during the Abe administration since 2012.

This research has accomplished research achievements in different aspects by using the research funding over this topic:

##### **Book chapter (Total: 1):**

- Mong, CHEUNG. "Useful Adversary: Foreign-Domestic Linkages in China's Relations with Japan (2010-15)", in *Decoding the Rise of China: Taiwanese and Japanese Perspectives* (edited by Aoyama Rumi and Tse-Kang Leng ), (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) (Co-author with Satoshi Amako), pp.107-128. (Chapter 6).

##### **Referred journal articles (Total: 3):**

- Mong CHEUNG, "Japan's China policy on Yasukuni under Abe (2012–2015): A political survival interpretation", *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, September 2017: pp.62-78.
- Mong CHEUNG, "'Yasukuni' in Japan's Diplomacy with China", *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, No.30, January 2018: pp.103-116. (In Japanese)
- Mong CHEUNG, "Hedging Strategy: Japan's Shifting Foreign Policy to China," *Journal of China's Neighboring Diplomacy*, No.10, December 2019. (In Chinese)

##### **International conference presentations (Total: 2):**

- Mong CHEUNG, "Japan's Strategic Choice to the Rise of China during the second Abe administration: From Balancing to Hedging", invited seminar at Department of Politics and Public Administration, Special Seminar, University of Hong Kong, China, February 25, 2019.
- Mong CHEUNG, "Japan's Strategic Choice in Northeast Asia", international symposium on "Regional Structure and its Change in northeast Asia", NIHU Area Studies Project for Northeast Asia, Osaka, Japan, September 23, 2018.

##### **International academic exchange (Total: 1):**

Prof Richard HU Weixin, a specialist on Chinese foreign policy from the University of Hong Kong, accepted my invitation and we organized a seminar on US-China relations at Waseda University in early 2019.

## 5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計3件（うち査読付論文 3件/うち国際共著 0件/うちオープンアクセス 1件）

1. 著者名 Mong CHEUNG	4. 巻 10
2. 論文標題 Hedging Strategy: Japan`s Shifting Foreign Policy to China,	5. 発行年 2019年
3. 雑誌名 Journal of China`s Neighboring Diplomacy,	6. 最初と最後の頁 176-198
掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） なし	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスではない、又はオープンアクセスが困難	国際共著 -

1. 著者名 Mong CHEUNG	4. 巻 6;1
2. 論文標題 Japan`s China Policy on Yasukuni under Abe (2012-15): a political survival interpretation	5. 発行年 2017年
3. 雑誌名 Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies	6. 最初と最後の頁 62-78
掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） <a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/24761028.2017.1312758">https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/24761028.2017.1312758</a>	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスとしている（また、その予定である）	国際共著 -

1. 著者名 張 望	4. 巻 30
2. 論文標題 日本対中外交の中の靖国:政治的サバイバルの理論的視点からの分析	5. 発行年 2018年
3. 雑誌名 アジア太平洋討究	6. 最初と最後の頁 103-116
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オープンアクセス オープンアクセスではない、又はオープンアクセスが困難	国際共著 -

〔学会発表〕 計2件（うち招待講演 1件/うち国際学会 0件）

1. 発表者名 Mong CHEUNG
2. 発表標題 Japan`s Strategic Choice to the Rise of China during the second Abe administration: From Balancing to Hedging
3. 学会等名 Department of Politics and Public Administration, Special Seminar, University of Hong Kong（招待講演）
4. 発表年 2019年

1. 発表者名 Mong CHEUNG
2. 発表標題 Japan's Strategic Choice in Northeast Asia
3. 学会等名 NIHU Area Studies Project for Northeast Asia
4. 発表年 2018年

〔図書〕 計1件

1. 著者名 Aoyama Rumi and Tse-Kang Leng	4. 発行年 2018年
2. 出版社 Palgrave Macmillan, 2018	5. 総ページ数 180
3. 書名 Decoding the Rise of China: Taiwanese and Japanese Perspectives (Chapter 6, "Useful Adversary: Foreign-Domestic Linkages in China's Relations with Japan (2010-15)", co-author with Amako Satoshi)	

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織	氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号)	所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号)	備考
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