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German Institute of Global and Area Studies
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The Taiwan Dilemma: China, Japan, and the Strait Dynamic

Jason J. BLAZEVIC

Abstract: Many Chinese and Japanese authorities believe Taiwan is essential to their respective states' national security due to the island's geographic centrality and beneficial proximity to nearby and distant sea lanes. Of further importance is Taiwan's immediacy to territorial and resource disputes between China and Japan. This article focuses on the security concerns and strategies of both states and applies realism, its tenets of defensive and offensive realism, and neoliberalism in order to better comprehend those concerns and strategies and also provide probable solutions.

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Keywords: China, Japan, Taiwan, sea lanes, oil, realism, defensive realism, neoliberalism.

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Core Security Concerns of the Taiwan Dilemma

Taiwan's geographical location astride the East and South China Seas, between continental and maritime Asia, causes many policymakers and military leaders in China and Japan to believe the island to be vital to their respective states' national security. More specifically, Taiwan's geographic centrality and proximity to nearby sea lanes makes the island a significant security concern for both states. In addition, Taiwan can further act as a forward position to nearby and distant sea lanes under either Chinese control or within a strengthened Japanese (US) alliance thereby reducing reaction time to perceived or real threats. This strategy can also be utilized for nearby territorial and resource disputes, thereby making the island even more fundamental to security. Indeed, both states increasingly perceive Taiwan to be a key component of their security requirements (Lam 2004: 2).

Although China's increasing capabilities in defending its interests in nearby seas and sea lanes is impressive, the full realization of such capabilities may not be achieved without certain requirements being met. These requirements include controlling the continental shelf and nearby islands to deter adversaries from blockading sea lanes and seizing sea bed resources, both of which would devastate China's economic well-being (Sutter 2005: 64-65). China's strategy has reflected these concerns – strategy intended to, first, rein in Taiwan as it is a centrepiece of the “first island chain”, and to, second, push national interests beyond the first island chain (Chelala 2009; Global Security 2009; Zhang 2006: 21). Former Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission Admiral Liu Huaqing and former President Jiang Zemin were leaders who promoted and formulated such strategy as they expanded national interests beyond the territorial border. They did so by modifying the concept of “active defence” and its tenet “offshore defence” to reflect the advancement of national interests beyond the territorial borders (Chelala 2009; Global Security 2009). The gradual transformation of offshore defence to its current manifestation, “far sea defence” has entailed military modernization and an extension of national interests beyond the first island chain. Far sea defence also extends national interests to either 200 nautical miles or the continental shelf thereby reining in large swaths of the East and South China Seas (Wong 2010). The strategy is facilitated through the use of naval bases such as Yalong Bay on Hainan Island, which is close to the first island chain and disputed territory. Those bases provide vessels, especially submarines for utilization in the distant “deep water”

of the East and South China Seas (Jeong 2010). Strategy rationale and objectives are more simply explained by Rear Admiral Zhang Yuncheng:

With the expansion of the country's economic interests, the navy wants to better protect the country's transportation routes and the safety of our major sea lanes (Wong 2010).

The loss of Taiwan's status of "long-standing de facto independence" is viewed by many Japanese authorities as a precursor to the blockage of adjacent sea lanes (Bates 2003: 2). Moreover, security could be further threatened as China may utilize the impetus to endanger and or blockade more distant sea lanes, territorial claims and sea bed resources, thereby leading to economic collapse. Authorities believe this possible threat necessitates a strong response (Bates 2003: 2; Hughes 2009: 848-854; Mochizuki 2007: 739-742). Japan's former chief cabinet secretary Seiroku Kajiyama has remarked that Taiwan falls within the application of the US-Japan security treaty. The Japanese government further condemned China's 2005 Anti-Secession Law, which authorized non-peaceful means to force reunification, while, more recently, Defence Minister Seiji Maehara declared the protection of nearby sea lanes to be "of paramount importance" (United States Department of Defense 2010; Jie 2006: 53-54; Chen and Feffer 2009: 59; *Xinhua* 2010; Valencia and Amae 2003: 191). Intergovernmental relations between Japan and Taiwan have also strengthened, as evidenced through the growth of the Taiwan Lobby in the Japanese legislature (Diet) as nearly half of the latter's members belong to several Japan-Taiwan friendship associations. The Diet has also progressively allowed the military more freedom of action and has attained increasingly binding military ties with Taiwan.

The actions taken by Chinese and Japanese authorities may lead to a worsening security dilemma in which reactive security strategies could dangerously destabilize relations. If both governments intensify the trend of strengthening their respective militaries, this may inadvertently lead to Japan's full remilitarization and greater "competition for (economic) influence in other regions". Indeed, both governments competitively engage in other regions (Russia, Africa, Middle East) in order to lessen each others' influence there and in East Asia. A case in point is China's influence in denying Japan a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council in 2005. Such militarization and competition could thus lead to a "destructive downward-spiraling security dilemma" (Hughes 2009: 854-856; Samuels 2009: 17-18). Such a dilemma could in turn lead

to conflict, which “would be a disaster” for China, Japan, Taiwan and the entire region (Kan 2009: 7).

Both governments have sought strategies to secure Taiwan and thereby ensure the protection of their respective interests in the sea lanes, as well as their territorial and resource claims (Lam 2009a: 2). State engagement in such strategies can be seen as rational. However, strategic objectives, their rationality and the subsequent negative consequences can be better understood through the application of international relations theories. Motivations, strategies and consequences can be better comprehended through the lens of realism, its tenets of defensive and offensive realism and the lens of neoliberalism. The theory of realism facilitates understanding of the significance of power upon national security and international relations. Through realism, power can be analyzed in order to discern motivations behind fears and strategies. Two tenets of realism – neorealism (defensive realism) and post-classical realism (offensive realism) – enable an even more comprehensive understanding of motivations, strategies and consequences. Neoliberalism promotes the replacement of a realist understanding with an acceptance of beneficial institutionalism or cooperative regimes, both of which could negate the hostile consequences of realist thinking. Among these theories, perhaps the most valuable insights can be provided by defensive realism and neoliberalism. As such, this article utilizes defensive realism and neoliberalism to examine the security concerns and perceptions of Chinese and Japanese authorities in order to promote the improvement of relations between China and Japan in the international system.

Realist and Neoliberalist Perspectives of the International System

From the realist perspective, states act within an international system of anarchy, this system is characterized by threats of force meant to compel certain behaviour and is the cause of an “enduring propensity for conflict” (Walt 1998: 30). Threats of force can compel states to seek and expand power in an endless competition to ensure state survival and maximize absolute power (Mearsheimer 2001: 19; Waltz 1979: 89-91). More specifically, states are engaged in an “unrelenting struggle for survival, advantage, and often dominance” (Jervis 1999: 45). This struggle denotes that states within the international system are “in a condition

which is called War” according to which survival requires power at the expense of others (Hobbes 1985: 70, 185-186). Furthermore, states can only rationally depend on themselves for security. According to Kenneth Waltz, “[states] do not enjoy even an imperfect guarantee of their own security unless they set out to provide it for themselves” (Waltz 1959: 201). The amount of power desired for security is derived from calculations of possibilities and probabilities of threats of force, it is provided through strength and invention. Strength and invention entails deterrence, containment, power alliances, and balance-of-power politics (Barry 2002: 3-4). Essentially, through power attainment, states seek to regulate the conditions of the international system in order to “keep things as they are or to change them” (Giddens 1984: 27-28). Moreover, these facets of realism are claimed as constitutive rules, which exist beyond mere causation or deductive explanations (Ruggie 1998: 884).

Realism has evolved into two branches: defensive and offensive realism. From the defensive-realist approach, when states feel threatened they will pursue power through ambitious military, economic and diplomatic strategies to improve self-preservation. Defensive realism further stipulates that states seek an appropriate amount of power to survive and avoid change in an anarchic system of worst-case assumptions and self-help strategies. Avoidance of change can be defined as maintenance of the status quo or the balance of power (*International Relations* 2006: 232-233, 239; Heller 2003: 21-22). Due to anarchy, states are constantly preoccupied with the possibility of conflict, with counteracting those threats and with never letting their guard down (Mearsheimer 2001: 31; Waltz 1989: 43). States that do not give sufficient attention to worst-case assumptions and strategies may “live at the mercy of their militarily more vigorous neighbors” (Waltz 1979: 102). Accordingly, unequal power distribution in the system is greatly feared as it may lead to stronger states doing what they so desire while weaker states “suffer what they must” (Betts 2002: 38). For states acting from a defensive-realist approach, the possibilities of conflict and incessant calculations of capabilities lead to an unremitting competition for power in order to ensure survival (Waltz 1993: 46).

From the offensive-realist perspective, some states will increase their capabilities to project power beyond mere survival. Eric N. Heller explains that such states will project their influence into any sphere that could increase or maximize their absolute power (Heller 2003: 20-22). According to Stephen G. Brooks, these states will constantly attempt to

“advance their power over other nations, taking military advantage of weaker states whenever they have the chance” (Brooks 1997: 462). Offensive-realist states rarely have confidence in transparency and cooperation, find it difficult to reduce power maximization, cloak their intentions, and purposely engage in endless threats of force (Jervis 1999: 51; Brooks 1997: 462). The surreptitious intent of such states to aggressively compete for power is one of the “principal causes of quarrel” in the international system (Hobbes 1985: 70, 185-186). Moreover, since power maximization is accepted by these states as “a normal and recognized method of bringing about important political change”, they are more likely to be revisionist oriented and will seek to challenge the status quo of the system (Carr 2001: 130).

Realist scholars and observers posit that misperception is a constant feature of the international system, as states can be uncertain of each other’s intentions. Complicating uncertainty is the realist assumption that states “inherently possess some offensive military capability” (Mearsheimer 1994/1995: 10). States acquiring power, even for self-preservation, are perceived as engaging in power maximization, thereby upsetting the balance of power and inadvertently strengthening the capabilities of opposing states (Waltz 1989: 441-443; Mearsheimer 2001: 20). However, there are also states that seek to offensively maximize power; they thereby significantly increase uncertainty, as power maximization can lead to hostility and violence. Nonetheless, regardless of whether such posturing is offensive or defensive, it can lead to “self-fulfilling prophecies” by “triggering a spiral of tensions and animosity” between accused and opposing states (Christensen 2002: 8). According to Alexander Wendt, such states may mirror other states’ strategies in reciprocal cycles of action and reaction, thereby undermining security (Wendt 1992: 406-407).

In utilizing the neoliberal approach, the international system can become more cooperative though the “capacity of institutions and structures to help states achieve it [cooperation]” (Grieco 1988: 486). Neoliberal scholars reject realist norms such as anarchy, worst-case assumptions and self-help strategies, as well as claims regarding their exogenous existence. Survival can be better secured through regimes promoting peace and the evolution of state-to-state relations from rivalry to friendship (Copeland 2006: 1-3; Wendt 1992: 395). Regimes are institutions and structures consisting of principles, norms, rules and procedures deliberately intended to transform or construct partial or entire regional

and global orders. Regimes meant to eradicate anarchy or, at the very least, its more harmful aspects. The overlapping and interlocking of regimes with complementary roles and strengths combined with a universal state interest in security and conflict resolution will achieve the evolution of relations (Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittenberger 2000: 3; Mearsheimer 1994/1995: 5-6). This evolution will eventually lead to a world-state or a “peace system” where national interests become international interests, and states are no longer influenced by realism in how they think and act, thereby leading to a communitarian ethos of cooperation and peace (Wendt 1992: 400, 431; Wendt 1999: 253; Mearsheimer 1994/1995: 15). In that system, regimes can act as central authorities negating anarchy because even “opportunistic” states “think twice” before putting a regime at risk (Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittenberger 2000: 8; Keohane 1984: 99-103).

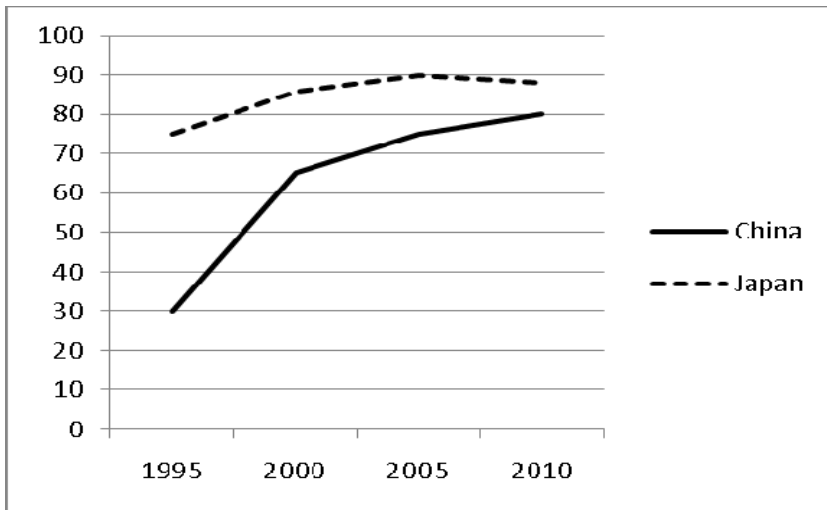
The Strategies the Chinese and Japanese governments have engaged in may emanate from defensive-realist desires to survive, but such strategies can be misconstrued as power maximization. This conundrum may lead to one of realism’s most serious crises – the security dilemma. According to the dilemma, a government may become unable to distinguish whether an opposing government’s strategy emanates merely from a desire to survive or from a desire to attain absolute power, thereby leading to reactive strategies and a possible zero-sum contest (*International Relations* 2006: 234; Wendt 1992: 406-407). However, such a danger to the international system is not to be dreaded, as it can provide a foundation for neoliberal dialogue and a convergent security approach emphasizing regimes (Tow 2001: 2-3, 9). This approach can enable more transparent discourse and diplomacy leading toward greater conciliation and cooperation. On the other hand, this approach does face difficulty in the pervasive uncertainty of the system. Uncertainty can lead a government to view cooperation as the image alterations of offensive-realist objectives of an opposing government. Hence consider the adage that “today’s friend may be tomorrow’s foe” (Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittenberger 2000: 9). Deception is not adequately addressed by neoliberalism as an offensive-realist government may openly profess cooperation and peace while furtively fulfilling power-maximization objectives. That government can feign cooperation and peace through a façade entailing “impression management” on the “public stage”, and by biding their time and following the dominant normative ideas until they have the power to transform the system (Copeland 2006: 12; Lafont 2004: 29-31).

A solution to such a predicament calls for the integration of defensive realism and neoliberalism through the acceptance of the features of both anarchy and regimes. Although opposing governments' compete in an anarchic international system, regimes can create "shared expectations about appropriate behavior" without harming interests in power for security (Hasenclever, Mayer and Rittberger 2000: 3-4).

Sea Lane Anxiety

Due to the huge strategic significance of oil in China's and Japan's economies, an analysis of oil imports can provide a greater understanding of how important Taiwan and its sea lanes are to the national security of both states. The majority of oil imported by China and Japan is shipped via sea lanes from the Middle East that run through the South and East China Seas. Due to Taiwan's position between the seas and as the centrepiece of the first island chain (made up of the Pratas, Spratly, and Diaoyu islands), the island is increasingly vital to oil security (Lam 2004: 3; Zhang 2006: 19; CNPC Update 2010).

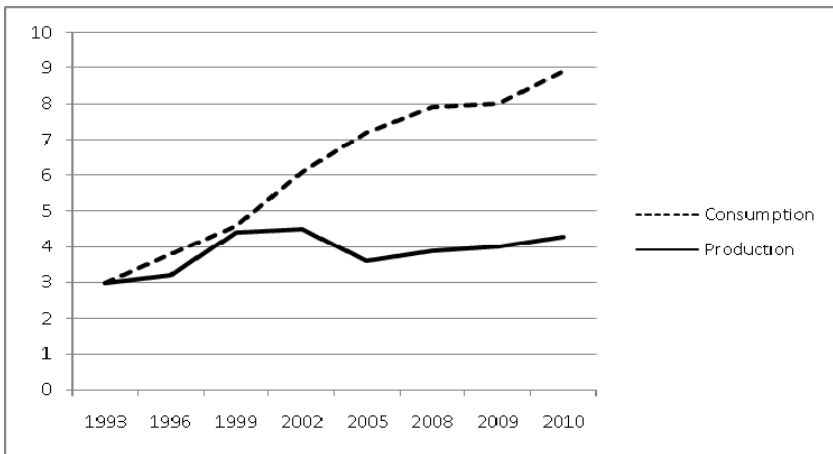
Figure 1: Oil Imports from the Middle East (in %)



Sources: United States Department of Defense 2009: 17, 40; CNPC Update 2010; Business & Economy Digest 2010; 2010; Masaki 2007; AMEInfo 2009; United States-China Economic Security Review Commission 2005: 168-170.

China’s 9 per cent annual growth since 1978 has significantly increased the country’s oil consumption, which reached 8.1 million barrels per day (MBD) in 2009, up from 4.6 MBD in 1999. Production in 2010 slightly increased to 4.3 MBD, while consumption reached 8.9 MBD. China’s oil imports have significantly increased, reaching 4.1 MBD in 2009 and 4.7 MBD in 2010, up from 1 MBD in 2001 (United States Department of Defense 2010; CNPC Update 2010; Lieberthal and Heberg 2006: 7; Speed and Vinigradov 2000: 385-387; Trough 1999: 2)

Figure 2: China’s Consumption and Production of Oil (in MBD)



Sources: Cohen 2010; Evans and Forney 2004: 13; United States Energy Information Administration 2007: 38, 88, 105, 121, 137, 153; Wong and Kong 1998: 17, 19; United States Energy Information Administration 2008; CNPC Update 2010; Dancy 2008.

As China has become more reliant on the steady flow of imported oil, it has developed an increasing fear of threats to nearby sea lanes and to its territorial and resource claims (Lam 2004: 2; Chelala 2009; Zhang 2006: 21). Many Chinese policymakers and military leaders believe reunification with Taiwan is critical to the successful defence of nearby interests from such threats. Some also believe that reunification would enable the People’s Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) to “break out” of the first island chain, thereby strengthening the navy’s ability to protect China’s more distant interests in the two seas, as well as in the Indian Ocean (Holmes and Yoshihara 2009: 8-9). Huang Kunlun of the *Liberation Army*

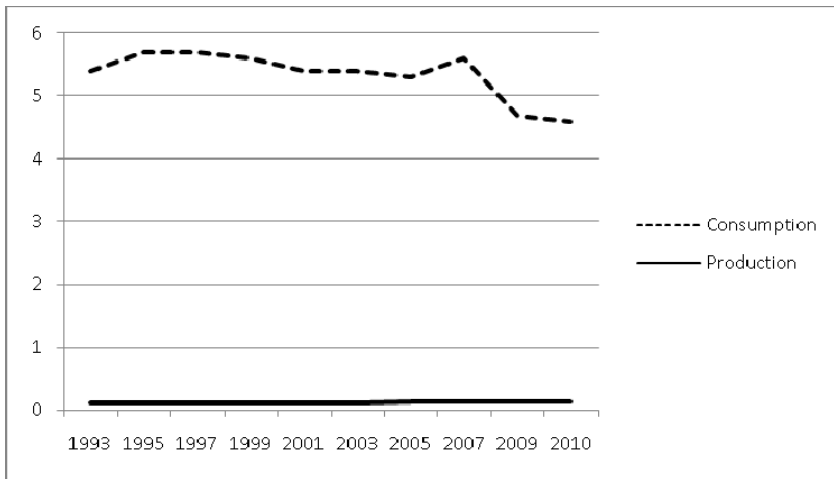
Daily similarly asserts that China's security interests have moved into nearby seas and beyond into the "vast oceans traversed by Chinese freighters" (Lam 2009a: 3-4). Due to these security interests, it is certain that China's inability to resolve Taiwan's political status represents a significant security anxiety (Guruswamy, Mohanty, and Abraham 2008: 172-173).

According to realist analysis, China competes in an anarchic international system characterized by power maximization. Power maximization is utilized by states opposed to China's interests to maintain an increasingly dissatisfying status quo in order to "keep things as they are" (Giddens 1984: 11, 27-28). Power maximization can be overcome through defensive realism's promotion of ambitious strategies as seen through the government's initiation of an evolution of the military doctrine known as "active defence". Initially, the doctrine emphasized land forces and close economic, diplomatic and military relations with the Soviet Union (when possible) to defend continental borders. In the 1990s China began focusing on a larger and more advanced air force and navy as aspects of an evolution of the doctrine from continental border defence to "offshore defence" (Chelala 2009; Global Security 2009; Zhang 2006: 21). The current transformation of offshore defence to "far sea defence" more easily facilitates the securing of interests up to and beyond the first island chain through a more intense and focused military modernization. Far sea defence also facilitates the securing of interests in the same manner to either two hundred nautical miles or the continental shelf (Wong 2010).

Chinese authorities seem to be engaging in strategies from the defensive-realist approach. For example, the 2004 *Defence White Paper* called for "command of the sea" to protect strategic sea lanes while President Hu Jintao has advocated a powerful navy to "uphold our maritime rights and interests" (United States Department of Defense 2009: 17; Holmes and Yoshihara 2009: 8-9). People's Liberation Army (PLA) General Wen Zongren has advocated a powerful "green" and "blue" water navy to secure the Taiwan Strait and East China Sea (Xie 2001: 21). PLAN Commander Wu Shengli has also called for a powerful navy to protect resource development and "strategic passageways for energy" (United States Department of Defense 2010: 39). China's strategy has also involved policies such as the far-reaching 1992 Law on the Territorial Waters and Contiguous Areas of the People's Republic of China (LTWCA). The LTWCA placed 800,000 square kilometres of the East and South

China Seas under Chinese jurisdiction and authorized the eviction of trespassers by force if necessary (Jie 2006). The LTWCA was meant to resolve Taiwan’s political status and fulfil China’s objectives involving territorial disputes in the East China Sea. More specifically, the LTWCA affirmed that the continental shelf, which covers most of the East China Sea, is Chinese territory, thereby decisively claiming Taiwan and the adjacent but disputed Diaoyu Islands. Feng Zhaokui, former deputy chief of the Institute of Japan Studies at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, asserted that the LTWCA and other policies were meant to keep Japan from strengthening relations with Taiwan and “trying to accentuate its control over the [Diaoyu] islands” (Ma 2010; Taliaferro 2001: 128-129).

Figure 3: Japan’s Consumption and Production of Oil (in MBD)



Sources: United States Central Intelligence Agency 2009; *China Post* 2009; *Japan Today* 2009; Business & Economy Digest 2010; NationMaster-China 2009; Suite 101 2008.

For many Japanese policymakers and military leaders, Taiwan has been essential to national security since the 1890s due to its geostrategic significance to sea lanes and Japan’s territorial and resource claims. The reunification of China with Taiwan is perceived by the Japanese as an act that would enable China to maximize its power through the possible blockage of sea lane traffic, along with enabling it to pursue absolute power more aggressively through expansion in the East China Sea, pos-

sibly leading to Chinese domination of much of that region. Furthermore, a mainland-controlled Taiwan could provide “a gateway for China to enter the Pacific”, which would further threaten security (Chin 1998: 154). Such expansion would directly affect the latter’s oil imports as well as its territorial and resource claims, thereby resulting in economic devastation (Guruswamy, Mohanty, and Abraham 2008: 172-173). Japan’s sea lane dependence is evidenced in its oil imports, 90 per cent of which are shipped through the sea lanes adjacent to Taiwan. Japan ranks third globally in terms of its oil consumption (Shaoul 2006: 1-2).

Reflecting these fears, the 1996 US-Japan Joint Declaration stated that Japan and the US would together address “situations that may emerge in the areas surrounding Japan and which will have an important influence on the peace and security of Japan” (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1996). The Japanese government’s 2002 Defence White Paper further declared, “the issue of China-Taiwan relations, though a domestic issue from the Chinese perspective, is perceived as a security problem which threatens regional peace and stability” (Japan Defence Agency 2002). In 2003 the government posted retired major general Yoichi Nagano to the Taipei office of Japan’s Interchange Association, (de facto embassy) this marked the first time a former Self-defence Force (SDF) official had been posted to Taipei since 1972 (Fouse 2004: 6-7).

Many Japanese authorities believe that China’s strategies work against claims of peaceful coexistence and mutual trust and are meant to maximize its power, thereby altering the status quo across the Taiwan Strait. For these authorities, status quo is defined as a de facto rather than a de jure Taiwan, which could lead to a “reordering of the balance of power” in the region (Pehrson 2006: 12; Shambaugh 1996: 180; Shanker 2010). Japan further believes its state is disadvantaged and incapable of defending itself against an aggressive and revisionist China. From the offensive-realist perspective, China is seeking a power advantage and is more likely to behave aggressively because it has the capability and incentive. Japanese authorities similarly posit that China is enhancing its relative power compared to Japan (Heller 2003: 6-7; Mearsheimer 2001: 37). According to SDF Lieutenant Colonel Katsushi Okazaki,

it is evident by her actions that China does not plan to maintain the status quo; she appears to be developing her maritime power, her military, and her prosperous economy. China, therefore, presents a dangerous dilemma for all of Asia (Okazaki 1997).

Self-preservation or Power Maximization?

Chinese authorities believe that Japan is maximizing its power through the allowance of more military freedom of action to its armed forces. The 1997 Japan-United States Defense Cooperation Guidelines (Guidelines) and the 2003 War Contingency Law transformed the SDF, allowing for defence of US forces in and around Japan (Berkofsky 2004). Other concerns on the part of Chinese leaders have involved joint US-Japan military drills in Taiwan as well as joint island-landing training and the 2005 Joint Statement of the US-Japan Security Consultative Committee. The statement called for peace, stability and the encouragement of dialogue in settling issues concerning the “security of Taiwan” and the Taiwan Strait. Beijing viewed the statement as provocative and responded that the security of Taiwan was an internal issue (United States Embassy Japan 2005; Yee 2010). In 2006 the Japanese government sent its first military attaché to Taiwan, an event that was followed by a stunning statement by the principal Japanese diplomat: “Now the Taiwanese can say that both the US and Japan are on their side” (Preble 2006: 4). In 2007, Japanese Maritime Self Defence Forces (JMSDF) deployed PAC-3 missile interceptors on Aegis cruisers, while the Basic Ocean Law created the Ocean Policy Office, which permitted JMSDF protection of Japanese installations in the Diaoyu Islands. The SDF has also begun a general shifting of assets towards the defence of southern islands – for example, deploying 20 F-15J fighters to Okinawa “with the veiled intent of providing enhanced air defence against China” (Hughes 2009: 845). Recently, Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshito Sengoku remarked that no territorial problem existed with regard to the Diaoyu Islands, while Defence Minister Toshimi Kitazawa called for the stationing of the SDF on Yonaguni Island, 67 miles from Taiwan (Mizokami 2010; Yee 2010). The JMSDF is also permitted to intercept “suspicious vessels” (Lam 2009b: 3-4; Manicom 2009: 10). There have also been increasing calls for a more “equal relationship” within the Japan-US security alliance. This has led China to fear increased power maximization on the part of Japan (Samuels 2009: 17; Wang 2009: 6).

China’s government also points to statements by Japanese policy-makers as evidence of power maximization. Former prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone suggested that Japan should consider going nuclear, while another former prime minister, Morihiro Hosokawa, stated that “[t]here is a need for Japan to pay sufficient attention to the latent desires of the Chinese state and the instability this introduces to the whole

Asia-Pacific region” (Terrill 2003: 254; Zielenziger 2006: B11). Other such provocative language has included former chief cabinet secretary Seiroku Kajiyama’s declaration that the Guidelines “should include the Taiwan Strait” (Ong 2002: 82-83). More recently, former defence minister Taro Aso declared that Taiwan was a law-abiding country and that “firm relations between Japan and Taiwan should be maintained” while both Japan and the US stated that the security of Taiwan was a “common strategic objective” (Beehner 2005: 7-8; Preble 2006: 5-6).

Many Japanese authorities have grown “anxious about China’s modernization of its conventional and nuclear capabilities”. They believe that China is maximizing power in order to control Taiwan as a precursor to the domination of the East China Sea (Hughes 2009: 841). Former prime minister Shinzo Abe stated,

It would be wrong for us to send a signal to China that the United States and Japan will watch and tolerate China’s military invasion of Taiwan. If the situation surrounding Japan threatens our security, Japan can provide US forces with support (Faiola 2006).

Japanese leaders point to frequent military incursions and harassment by fighter jets, spy planes, submarines and other naval vessels as evidence of threats. For example, in 2007 Japanese fighter jets intercepted Chinese spy planes and fighter jets 107 times along the maritime border (Drifte 2008: 21, 24). There are also Chinese policies which the Japanese believe represent power maximization, such as the LTWCA and the Taiwan Anti-Secession Law. Many policymakers and military leaders believe security is best assured by a *de facto* Taiwan, otherwise “the entire balance of power in East Asia would change” (Shlapak, Orletsky, and Reid 2009: 7; Cody 2005: A01). Such fears are reflected in Japanese policy. Military reforms in 1981 and 1983 allowed JMSDF to defend strategic sea lanes up to 1,000 nautical miles away from Japan, and authorized the SDF to meet US forces embarking to defend Japan (Woolley 2000: 29-30). The 1996 National Defence Program Outline (NDPO) allowed increased capabilities for the defence of Japan’s surrounding regions. In 1997 changes to the United States-Japan Mutual Security Treaty (UJMST) expanded the SDF’s geographical and contingency range, while the Guidelines redefined the range of SDF involvement as “Japan’s surrounding areas”. Further policy formulations included the US-Japan Declaration, which allowed Japan to provide military support to US forces to repel offensive actions against Taiwan (Beehner 2005: 7-8; Mochizuki 2007: 742-747). However, there are other complications in

the form of Taiwan's democratization, identity transformation, currently more affable relationship with China, and its perceived incompetence in defence spending. Japanese authorities perceive these aspects as problematic to aforementioned objectives as Taiwan is the "main driver for China's militarization drive" (Bajoria 2009: 1-2; Chen and Feffer 2009: 58). They believe that China's increasing defence budgets and military modernization combined with flat or decreasing Taiwanese defence spending has shifted the cross-strait balance (Chen and Feffer 2009: 58; Shlapak, Orletsky, and Reid 2009: 27-28).

Although observers currently consider a mainland invasion of Taiwan unlikely, many policymakers and military leaders view China's increasing defence budget (nearly 80 billion USD in 2010) and military power as a growing threat to Taiwan, and thus to the sea lanes and Japan's territorial and resource claims (Kate 2010). Japanese leaders point to what they perceive as aggressive stratagems contained in, for example, the Chinese government's 2008 Defence White Paper. The paper plans for multiple fleets to engage in varied security operations in the East and South China Seas (Lin 2009: 8). As the PLAN already comprises the largest naval force in Asia – consisting of 75 principal combatants, 55 medium and large amphibious ships and 85 missile-equipped patrol craft – such stratagems have intensified Japan's fears (United States Department of Defense 2010). These Chinese vessels include the Sovremenny I and II, Luyang I and II, and Jiangkai I and II destroyers. Additionally, the PLAN is greatly expanding its submarine force, which consists of 10 nuclear-powered submarines and 60 diesel-electric submarines, including Type 093-Shang Class nuclear-powered attack submarines and Type 094-Jin Class nuclear-powered missile submarines, as well as Type 039-Song Class, Type 033-Romeo Class, and Type 035-Ming Class diesel-electric submarines (United States Department of Defense 2009: 22, 2010: 48; Kaplan 2005: 51-54; Lague 2004: A12).

The Chinese navy plans to construct multiple aircraft carriers and associated ships by 2020; Admiral Wu Huayang recently implied that the navy had the capability to construct the carriers much sooner:

We have such strength. Building aircraft carriers requires economic and technological strength. Given the level of development in our country, I think we have such strength (United States Department of Defense 2010: 48).

According to one report, PLAN may construct up to six carriers of 40,000 to 70,000 tonnes displacement. PLAN has also created its own

carrier-adaptable Shenyang J-15 fighters (based on Russia's SU-33) and has begun training carrier aviators (Weapons and Technology 2010; O'Rourke 2009: 8-9). Due to this military modernization, tension with Japan has understandably increased. This has led Admiral Wu Shengli to attempt to soothe fears by explaining

China will develop its fleet of aircraft carriers in a harmonious manner. We will prudently decide the policy we will follow with regard to building aircraft carriers. I am willing to listen to the views of experts from the navies of other countries and to seek opinions from our country (United States Department of Defense 2010: 48).

Taiwan's Domestic Conundrum – The Internal is External

It would be near to impossible to examine the Taiwan dilemma without also including a discussion of the island's internal political dynamic, which represents a difficult quandary for both Chinese and Japanese security interests. Japanese authorities fear reunification, but an independent Taiwan (or a Taiwan attempting to gain independence) is also seen as a threat not only to the sea lanes, but also to Japanese claims to the Diaoyu Islands as Taiwan may strengthen its own claim to these islands (Lai 2009: 9-10; Yee 2010). Relations have also recently suffered between the governments of Japan and Taiwan. Masaki Saito, director of Japan's Interchange Association in Taiwan in 2009, resigned after stating that the island's international status was unresolved. The statement irritated President Ma's administration, which was attempting to decrease cross-strait tension. Disputes near Yonaguni Island have also recently increased as both governments threatened the use of military force following the sinking of a Taiwanese fishing boat by the JMSDF. Kuomintang (KMT) (Guomindang) legislators suggested that Taiwan should "unite with China against Japan". Japan followed by extending its Air Defence Identification Zone westward by 22 kilometres, leading to Taiwanese claims of Japanese infringement on Taiwan's airspace (Lai 2009: 9). Both China's and Japan's objectives face obstacles not only from each other, but also from Taiwan's "creeping independence" (Chen and Feffer 2009: 59-60; Saunders 2005: 978).

Former KMT president Lee Teng-hui (Li Denghui) (1988-2000) and Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) president Chen Shui-bian (Chen Shuibian) (2000-2008) distanced themselves from the long-standing

“One China” policy, preferring instead to designate Taiwan and China as individual states or, rather, “one country on each side” of the Taiwan Strait. A further argument was made by the vice chairman of the Mainland Affairs Council, Chen Ming-tong (Chen Mingtong), who explained that Taiwan was a sovereign, democratic country in a “post-independence period”, while Joseph Wu (Wu Zhaoxie), deputy secretary general of the Presidential Office of Chen Shui-bian, wrote in the *Taipei Times* that Taiwan’s independence was the “new status quo” (Kan 2009: 2-4, 10-11). In Taiwan popular support for reunification has gradually declined as the number of islanders referring to themselves as Taiwanese, rather than Chinese, has increased. According to surveys undertaken in 2009, 51 per cent of islanders identify themselves as “exclusively Taiwanese”, 41 per cent as “both Taiwanese and Chinese”, and 5 per cent as “exclusively Chinese” (Shlapak, Orletsky, and Reid 2009: 15). Philip Pan of the *Washington Post* points out that much of the youth between the ages of 14 and 25 believe they are wholly Taiwanese as they have been “born in Taiwan, live in Taiwan, [and] speak a Taiwanese language”, the latter point alluding to the resurgence of Minnanese (Pan 2004: A13). However, being Taiwanese has different meanings for islanders of different generations. The youth, emanating from either “native” (pre-twentieth century) migrations or the post-1945 nationalist (KMT) government migration, increasingly understand Taiwanese identity as fact, while those born in the 1950s and 1960s believe their identity is a rejection of an artificial Chinese identity imposed on them by the KMT (Li 2004: 80).

China’s government views Taiwanese nationalism with much trepidation as it believes it may lose the island due to inhabitants there who increasingly think of the island as a sovereign body (Li 2004: 80). Such was the political platform of President Lee and of the opposing DPP from the 1990s to the present, the argument is that Taiwan had become a separate entity from China and that there should be no reunification. The DPP has also rejected the KMT designation for the island, the “Republic of China”, arguing that it did not represent the majority of native inhabitants. Many natives further believe that China has no legal claim to Taiwan even though China’s government posits that Taiwan originated from the mainland through dynastic recognition, similar cultural development, and historical deferment to Chinese superiority through investiture and tributary relations. Natives also claim that China’s ceding of the island to Japan in 1895 and Japan’s renunciation of it in 1951 (which

came into force in 1952) had no legal basis (Wu 1993: 80; Rigger 2006: 57-58). Natives further believe that Taiwan was occupied by the KMT, which continued a dormant civil war they had no part in. As such, natives point out that the 1972 “One China” policy only concerned China and the KMT, neither of which legally represent Taiwan. Accordingly, the 1979 Shanghai Communiqué may have recognized the KMT government under the suzerainty of China, but that illegal government did not represent Taiwan (Rigger 2006: 58; Chu 2004: 499). A more succinct explanation of this issue was offered by Taiwan’s former vice president Annette Lu (Lü Xiulian) who stated that Taiwan was ceded “without the consent of the Taiwanese people”. She went on to ask:

[S]houldn’t the rulers of China first be offering their sincere apology to the people of Taiwan for the decision of their predecessors to sign the Treaty of Shimonoseki instead of gushing the sanctimonious bromide that Taiwan is ‘the sacred and inalienable territory of China?’ (Zha 2001: 215)

The 2008 presidential victory of the KMT’s Ma Ying-jeou (Ma Yingjiu), who is neither pro-reunification nor pro-independence, has not lessened Taiwanese nationalism, but it has led to a welcome decrease of tension. The Ma and Hu administrations consented to the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, which focuses on trade, tariff reduction, and harmonization, as well as the eventual integration of currencies and the border (Cooke 2009: 4-5; Lai 2009: 7-8; Lee 2009: 4-5; Chu 2004: 499). The Ma administration has also affirmed the “one China principle” of the 1992 Consensus, although there are differing interpretations of the principle (Lai 2009: 7-8). However, regardless of economic and political change, China’s goal of reunification is increasingly at odds with the views of the majority of islanders and many of their political leaders, who do not want to be seen as “too accommodating toward China” (Shlapak, Orletsky, and Reid 2009: xviii). Many islanders do not approve of what is perceived as the increasing closeness of the Ma and Hu administrations, as evidenced by the increase in pro-independence protests since 2008 (Lee 2009: 4-5; Kato 2009). Due to these aspects, reunification looks increasingly like a question rather than a statement, as it may become impossible without course to force. Indeed, should Taiwan attempt to “make its de facto quasi-independent status into one more de jure”, it will without doubt greatly amplify the security dilemma between China and Japan (Nanto and Chanlett-Avery 2006: 14-15).

Deterrence and Reassurance

Chinese authorities perceive that Japan is engaging in power maximization to strengthen Taiwan's disaffection from the mainland, thereby threatening China's sea lane access, its claims to resources and territory, and its other ambitions up to and beyond the first island chain. In addition to utilizing military strategy in solving the Taiwan dilemma, China also espouses the principles of the natural prolongation of land territory, which entail the full extension of the continental shelf to the Okinawa Trough (close to Japan's shores), and the internationally recognized 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ). Many Japanese authorities perceive that China is maximizing its power in order to upend the status quo, thereby threatening the existence of a *de facto* Taiwan and related sea lane and resource and territorial claims. Authorities maintain that an equidistant line between the Ryukyu Islands and the mainland separates both states EEZs, thus rejecting China's continental shelf claim (Austin 1998: 192; Bush III 2010: 3; Fu 1989: 305; Hughes 2009: 841; Mochizuki 2007: 740-743; Valencia and Amae 2003: 191; Yuan 1982: 200). However, just as China's continental shelf and EEZ claim infringe on Japan's security interests, Japan's equidistant division also infringes on China's security. Further complicating the issue are surveys showing large quantities of oil in the disputed Diaoyu Islands (United States Department of Defense 2010: 17; Curtain 2005; Faiola 2006: A12).

The cost of a significant increase in hostility would be extremely high, not only in terms of economic integration between China, Japan, and Taiwan, but also to "developed economies around the world" (Chase, Pollpeter, and Mulvenon 2004: 145). Due to economic repercussions, there should be great contemplation of "any action that might ignite a serious conflict" (Nanto and Chanlett-Avery 2006: 14-15). China is Taiwan's largest trading partner, accounting for over 100 billion USD in trade, 40 per cent of Taiwan's exports, and 150 billion USD in business investment in 2009 (Japan is Taiwan's second-largest partner in trade and exports) (Kato 2009). Although China periodically threatens to harass Taiwan economically, such a threat would be problematic for China as their relationship is one of "asymmetric interdependence". More specifically, Taiwanese business depends on "Chinese workers, subsidiaries, sources of supply, and markets" while China depends on "Taiwanese businesses for advanced technology, manufacturing methods, and export channels" (Shlapak, Orletsky, and Reid 2009: 9-10; Nanto and Chanlett-Avery 2006: 14-15). The China National Offshore Oil

Corporation (CNOOC) and Taiwan's Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CPC) have also begun working together toward the attainment of East China Sea energy resources (Lai 2009: 7-8).

China and Japan should engage with one another in a more peaceful and constructive manner as uncertainty in the international system and the forthcoming particular deterrence strategies of defensive realism may lead to and worsen the security dilemma. Indeed, inability to resolve tension over Taiwan's political status has great implications not only for East Asia, but also for the world as a whole. Tension may be lessened through strategies of reassurance engaged by states and regimes, which also act as deterrence strategies (Lebow 2000: 120-122). Deterrence can take a form inclusive of defensive realism and neoliberalism known as coercive bargaining, which promotes balancing and accommodation. Such bargaining consists of a mix of credible threats and credible reassurances entailing toughness and a protection of core interests (Christensen 2002: 8; Samuels 2009: 21). States engaging in this type of deterrence can avoid further agitation of relations and the tendency to establish culpability by engaging in dialogue, which respectively examines all issues of uncertainty, misperception and their probable solutions. Such dialogue should enable more transparent discourse and diplomacy, greater conciliation and cooperation and recognition of the regional and global linkages.

In line with this type of deterrence, the Chinese and Japanese governments can devise cooperative arrangements for open sea lanes and exploration and exploitation of oil resources in the East China Sea while shelving concerns that involve territorial claims. There have already been successful negotiations, but such joint arrangements depend on a greater improvement in state-to-state relations. Perhaps the 1997 Agreement on Fisheries (enforced starting in 2000) between Japan and China could serve as an example of two regimes able to somewhat negate issues of territorial sovereignty and move towards greater cooperation. Of course, security issues concerning sea lanes, territorial claims, and resource development will require much more in the way of regimes, but one could look to Jiang Zemin for advice in resolving tension. Jiang stated that China's "development is peaceful and cooperative" and always stands for "peaceful settlement of disputes through bilateral consultations" (Kate 2010). Resolving tension may more quickly lead to an agreeable understanding concerning Taiwan, that placates both governments.

There has been success, as well as some breakdown, in resolving security issues, as the governments of China and Japan have increasingly engaged in strategies of reassurance. In 2001, they agreed to prior notification – two months’ prior notice when research vessels planned to enter waters of interest (in close proximity) to either state (BBC Monitoring Asia Pacific Political 2001). However, soon after the agreement the PLAN engaged in “detailed marine research” from southern Kyushu to Iwojima without notification (Valencia and Amae 2003: 199). In 2003 China began to subtly shift its reunification focus from a short-term to a long-term approach more accepting of the status quo, and this led to military exchanges and warship port visits in December 2006 and June 2007 (Hughes 2009: 844; Pan 2006: 3). State visits between China and Japan have also taken place: Prime Ministers Shinzo Abe and Fukuda Yasuo visited Beijing in 2006 and 2007 respectively, and Premier Wen Jiabao and President Hu Jintao visited Tokyo in 2007 and 2008 respectively. These leaders and their subordinates commenced rounds of talks intended to decrease tensions related to territorial and resource claims and which led to a 2008 roadmap toward border demarcation and joint resource development. However, there have been continuing breaches of this roadmap. In 2009 Japan lodged protests, accusing China of unilaterally drilling beneath the demarcation line and extracting reserves from the Japanese side (United States Department of Defense 2010: 17; Hughes 2009: 842-843, 856). Seeking to lessen the tension, Prime Minister Yukio Hayatoma proposed extending a spirit of friendship, neighbourliness and bridge-building that focuses on joint economic advancement and regional integration to diffuse disputes. Accordingly, Premier Wen Jiabao proposed more communication and cooperation to increase mutual trust (Lam 2009b: 3-4). However, the 2010 demarcation and development round was initially cancelled by China due to the detention of a Chinese fishing boat and the arrest of its captain by the Japanese Coast Guard in the disputed waters of the Diaoyu Islands (*Xinhua* 2010). By early October 2010, Prime Minister Naoto Kan and Premier Wen Jiabao had diffused some of the tension by once again proposing more open communication and agreeing to recommence talks (Cazaniga 2010).

Relations between China’s and Japan’s governments, which emanate from realism, and in particularly defensive realism, are not to be dreaded, as they provide the foundation for a neoliberal dialogue and a convergent security approach emphasizing regimes or regional arrangements

(Tow 2001: 2-3, 9). Arrangements or “strategic partnerships” could strengthen the influence of “soft ideological power” for both governments. Most importantly, through such arrangements power may be diluted in denying “clear or overall” regional leadership to one state. Utilizing this method, former Prime Minister Abe formulated the infamous “arc of freedom and prosperity” stretching from Northeast Asia to Europe, unfortunately understood by China’s government as reminiscent of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere. However, more successful regional arrangements include the Association of East Asian Nations, the East Asia Summit and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (Hughes 2009: 847, 854). Further arrangements or confidence-building measures could entail regimes calling for notification and limitation on the number of vessels involved in naval exercises in disputed areas. Other measures could include similar rules for air forces and weapons-testing possibly leading to eventual no-go zones for military activity, which could include sea lanes in contested areas such as the Strait of Taiwan. These arrangements – combined with state visits and bilateral negotiations – have lessened mistrust, de-emphasized confrontational military and diplomatic strategies, and enabled more transparent discourse toward greater conciliation and cooperation (Chellaney 2010).

It is evident that through a more reasoned and rational approach, both governments can improve relations by coordinating their interest to coexist peacefully and to prosper. Central to such an outcome is the acknowledgement that although all states compete in an anarchic international system, regimes can create shared expectations without harming their own interest in power for the sake of security. The normative ideas of neoliberalism and defensive realism do not have to be wholly separated as power is needed for not only for discord but also for cooperation. Aspects of each can be integrated and directed towards cooperation and peace while simultaneously allowing attention to be given to uncertainty (Hasenclever, Mayer, and Rittberger 2010: 3-4). Such coercive bargaining can reassure while also protecting core interests (deterrence), thus beneficially leading Chinese and Japanese policymakers and military leaders away from the self-fulfilling prophecies of worst-case assumptions and self-help strategies. Most importantly, a dangerous destabilization of relations can be avoided, thereby deterring what could be a disaster for the region (Christensen 2002: 8).

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