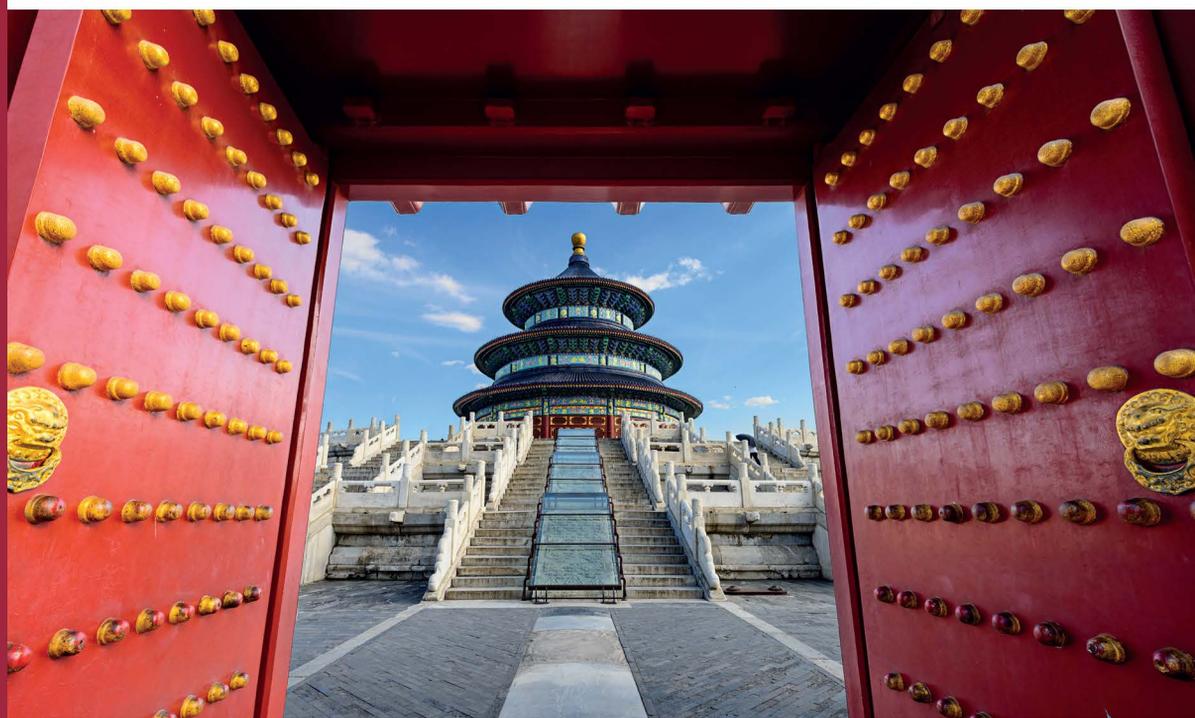


# Overcoming Controversies in East Asia

edited by  
Tomasz Kamiński



Contemporary Asian Studies Series

 WYDAWNICTWO  
UNIWERSYTETU  
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## Introduction

Controversies, sometimes bitter controversies, are an inherent element of international relations. Conflicting interests, different values, overlapping spheres of influences... all this make dispute settlement mechanisms crucial elements of international system. Searching for cooperation mechanisms that may help in overcoming existing controversies in Asia is the main topic of this monograph.

The monograph is based on the case studies in which authors analyse disagreements as well as collaborations between different actors in Asia. They are chosen different point of views that might be roughly divided into two groups. The first set of authors tries to look at regional or even internal problems that have international impact. The second group gives an outlook on the controversies linked to rising global presence of Asian countries, in particular China.

The opening chapter, written by Russian scholar Dmitry Kuznetsov, describes the phenomenon of rising Chinese nationalism in the context of the foreign relations. This process is, at least partially, controlled by the PRC authorities, who try to use it for their political purposes. In particular growing anti-American and anti-Japanese sentiments might be instrumentally used by the Chinese Communist Party.

The second chapter, by Agnieszka Batko, presents the Japanese policy of 'Womenomics'. This idea, part of the famous 'Abenomics', concentrates on persuading Japanese women to act more actively on the job market and seek for the opportunities to advance their careers. This highly controversial idea poses a series of evident challenges to the traditional concept of the role of women in Japanese society. However, what is even more important, it is a crucial part of Abe's reform package and its success or failure will have the consequences for Japanese position in the region and in the world.

In the next chapter Karol Żakowski analyses the reasons of failure in establishing a stable framework for Sino-Japanese security cooperation after the end of Cold War. The author argues that both countries have been unable to develop a full-fledged cooperation in the security field due to history problems, contrasting visions of regional security system, territorial disputes and rivalry for leadership in East Asia.

Kahraman Süvari examines North Korea's January 2016 nuclear test. He put it in historical perspective and also analyses the possible reasons behind the North Korean aggressive behaviour. In this chapter it is argued that North Korea's leadership carried out the fourth nuclear test mainly because it wants to strengthen its nuclear deterrent against the perceived regional threats.

The last chapter in this part of the book is dedicated to the South China Sea conflict, one of the most important international disputes in the regions. Hungarian analyst Péter Klemensits examines the main aspects of the defence reforms in the Philippines. He argues that the changes of the international and domestic security environment force the government to upgrade the armed forces capabilities and achieve a minimum credible defence posture.

The global outlook starts with study of the flagship Chinese initiative One Belt One Road (OBOR), written by Dorota Roszkowska and Emilia Radkiewicz. They analyse this programme, or maybe better strategy, in the context of the EU–China relations. The controversial Chinese initiative is undoubtedly a priority in Beijing's foreign policy but the Europeans are reluctant or at least indecisive.

In the next chapter young Chinese researcher Gu Hongfei analyse also OBOR but in the context of EU–China security relations He identifies the major challenges and discusses opportunities that might be created by the implementation of Chinese grand plan. He predicts that, however controversial OBOR might be in Europe, it will lead to closer cooperation between the EU and China in the field of security.

Tightened cooperation in economic sphere between Europe and China is presented in the chapter written by Lukáš Laš. On the basis of Visegrad Four (V4) trade relations with East Asian partners he shows that not only China matters but also Japan and other countries from the region. He also advocates for building a particular 'Visegrad Brand' in Asia as a part of economic diplomacy. That might be helpful for V4 actors (countries, regions, cities and companies) to implement their business plans in East Asia.

The next three chapters are dedicated to China–US rivalry. David Jones assesses the American 'Pivot' to Asia arguing that "Neo-realist security traditions appear to have been blurred with neo-liberal trade temptations, the result forming a 'neo-liberalism' paradigm that could work if it contained the best ingredients of each." He predicts that only by focusing on opportunities for Sino-American cooperation the much wanted military de-escalation might happen.

His position is strengthened by Kamer Kasım that also analyses consequences of America's rebalancing towards Asia. He stressed that further economic integration and continuation of regional economic growth will help the rebalancing strategy and to improve relations between China, the US, and its allies.

Mateusz Smolaga approaches the topic of US–China confrontation from a different perspective. He makes comparative analyses of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (Japan-led multilateral institution with strong American presence) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) (Chinese-led multilateral institution with no US membership). He identifies and explains possible scenarios of ADB-AIIB relationship, trying to predict if we should anticipate strong rivalry between these two institutions, as political realism would suggest, or will the ADB and the AIIB find a way to offer their best to the Asia-Pacific countries without any major conflict?

In the last chapter Joanna Wardega confronts the controversies arousing around Confucius Institutes. They are seen as government-backed institutions present on Western universities and use as instruments of Chinese soft power. She analyses one particular aspect of language education in the Confucius Institutes: how the Chinese territory is shown to the students of the Chinese language in the textbooks. Contrary to her hypothesis it turns out that the names associated with controversy, such as Tibet, Taiwan, and Xinjiang, are not particularly emphasized in the analysed textbooks.

Obviously the list of controversies in the region is much longer but this book does not pretend to present the comprehensive catalogue. We rather aim in this monograph, based on case-studies, to illustrate the complexity of controversies in Asia and different paths to overcome them.

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# **Internal and regional outlook**

**Dmitry V. Kuznetsov**

(Blagoveshchensk State Pedagogical University)

# **The Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy Component in Mass Consciousness in China**

## **Abstract**

The research describes the phenomenon of Chinese nationalism in the context of the foreign policy component of the mass consciousness of residents in China. The ideas of Chinese nationalism become more popular both on the individual level and the level of mass consciousness. This is according to opinion polls, data from the media, as well as views widely spread among the intellectual elite.

Between 2000–2010 there was a significant rise of nationalism in China. The reason was the transformation of Chinese public opinion. Under the influence of progress in the development of China, people have come to realize that modern China certainly plays a crucial role in world politics and economics.

A characteristic feature of modern Chinese nationalism is that it proliferates far outside of China. Currently, its main content is a growing anti-American and anti-Japanese views.

The ideas of modern Chinese nationalism have become most prevalent among the younger generation of Chinese citizens. These processes are partially controlled by the PRC authorities, who need the population to have certain ideological orientation.

Considering the rise of nationalism in China we can see the appearance of the 'Chinese Dream' concept in 2012.

**Key words:** China, nationalism, foreign policy, public opinion, 'new Chinese nationalism', 'old Chinese nationalism', concept of 'Chinese Dream'.

## Introduction

As evidenced by numerous facts, in recent years, nationalist ideas have been increasingly spreading in China not only at the level of the individual, but also at the level of mass consciousness. This is according to opinion polls, data from the media, as well as views widely spread among the intellectual elite (Кузнецов 2014).

This article attempts to examine the phenomenon of Chinese nationalism in the context of the foreign component of the mass consciousness of the Chinese people, predominately focused on the period between 2000–2010. However, attention is paid to the earlier periods of the 20<sup>th</sup> century during which the observed processes associated with the evolution of Chinese nationalism are noticeable.

So far domestic and foreign sciences have achieved significant results in the study of the problems of nationalism in general and Chinese nationalism in particular.

Sinology in the Russian Federation and other countries has been enriched with scientific works – monographs, articles, doctoral researches – dedicated to the phenomenon of Chinese nationalism. Among these works, the articles of A.A. Moskalyov (1930–2006) are of particular importance (Москалёв 2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2002; 2005; 2009), whilst coming in close behind are those by authors studying Chinese nationalism as a whole (Goodman & Segal 1996; Unger & Barmé 1996; Safran 1998; He & Guo 2000; Chang 2001; Karl 2002; Guo 2004; Liew & Wang 2004; Leibold 2007; Russell 2013; Zhao 2014), and in the context of foreign policy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) (Xiaoqu 2000; Mirams 2009; Shan 2013).

Y. Zheng, for example, explores the complicated nature of revived nationalism in China and presents the reader with a very different picture to that portrayed in Western readings on Chinese nationalism. He argues that China's new nationalism is a reaction to changes in the country's international circumstances and can be regarded as a 'voice' over the existing unjustified international order. Y. Zheng shows that the present Chinese leadership is pursuing strategies not to isolate China, but to integrate it into the international community. Based on the author's extensive research in China, the book provides a set of provocative arguments against prevailing Western attitudes to and perceptions of China's nationalism (Zheng 1999).

G. Wei and X. Liu argue that Chinese nationalism is a multifaceted concept. At different historical moments and under certain circumstances,

it had different meanings and interacted with other competing motives and interests (Wei & Liu 2001; 2002).

Among these authors, S. Zhao and his monograph *A nation-state by construction: Dynamics of modern Chinese nationalism* is of particular note. This is the first historically comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the causes, content, and consequences of nationalism in China, an ancient empire that has struggled to construct a modern nation-state and find its place in the modern world (Zhao 2004).

Peter Hays Gries in his monograph *China's new nationalism: Pride, politics, and diplomacy* offers a rare, in-depth look at the nature of China's new nationalism particularly as it involves Sino-American and Sino-Japanese relations (Gries 2004).

S. Shen's monograph *Redefining nationalism in modern China: Sino-American relations and the emergence of Chinese public opinion in the 21<sup>st</sup> century* explores the possibility of whether the contemporary nationalist movement in China, a movement that is non-unitary, segmented and practised by different people for different purposes, could be reshaped and absorbed by neighbouring regions. He selects recent case studies such as the Chinese response to the September 11 attacks in the United States as well as the war in Iraq and includes a detailed discussion on the intellectual battle in China (the Liberals versus the 'New Leftists'). Using a variety of previously untapped sources, including a range of news sources within China itself, weblogs, and interviews with prominent figures, Shen makes a powerful new argument about the causes and consequences of the new Chinese nationalism (Shen 2007).

The specific form of modern Chinese nationalism is linked with the sphere of high technologies: X. Wu, S. Shen and Sh. Breslin examination of the Chinese segment of the Internet (for example, Sina Weibo) is an arena for intense discussions on current issues in contemporary China (Wu 2007; Shen & Breslin 2010).

Christopher W. Hughes examines the problems which will inevitably arise as a result of China's claims on Taiwan, and analyses Taiwan's 'post-nationalist' identity (Hughes 1997; 2006).

Also of interest is Z. Lu's *Sport and nationalism in China*. This book examines the relationships between sport, nationalism, and nation building in China. By exploring the last 150 years of Chinese history, it offers unparalleled depth and breadth of coverage and provides a clear grasp of Chinese sports nationalism from both macro and micro perspectives. Moving on to the era of Communist China (1949–present), the book