

# Mori Grant Research Achievement Report

**Name of the research project**

*China's foreign policy making process towards Japan and the rising impact of public opinions*

**Name of the Research Project Leader**

He Xuan (ガケン)

**Student ID**

81349061

**Affiliation**

Doctoral Program of Graduate School of Media and Governance

## **1 Report of the research achievements**

The research 'China's foreign policy making process towards Japan and the rising impact of public opinions' consists of three main sections. It starts with a comprehensive study of the evaluation on the status quo mechanism of foreign policy making towards Japan in China. The second section will be the study on the transforming determining factors of Chinese public's perceptions of Japan. In the last section, the research will interpret the how does the autonomous public opinions begin to set the agenda of China's policy of Japan and what are the adaptations of Chinese government and Communist Party to the new domestic and foreign circumstances that they are facing to.

With the support of the Mori Grant, the recipient conducted 2 times of fieldworks, and the data is still being organized. Besides, the recipient went to Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Taiwan (National Chengchi University and National Taiwan University) for research material gathering as well.

First of all, with the examining of the previous studies of Institutionalism of Chinese foreign policy making, the recipient has found that the evolution of Chinese foreign policy system has been dynamic since 1978. In the middle of Jiang's term, it regulized generally; and in Hu and Xi's term, the evolution was accelerated. One of the main research goals is to probe the change of policymaking process by studying the change of institutions of the government and the Communist Party. The system of "Guikou" (归口) was fully developed in Jiang's early term (Lieberthal and Oksenberg, 1988). The pattern of group-decision-making and trans-department decision-making was evolved significantly in Hu's term. The case of the Foreign Affairs Leading Group of the Communist Party of China (中央外事工作领导小组) is an important case of this issue (Gong, Men and Sun, 2013).

Additionally, the grant recipient also conducted studies on Chinese general public's political perceptions of Japan. The recipient holds a statement, which is unlike the mainstream thoughts, that after obtaining the economic freedom, the freedom of speech in China has also grown. Whether this growth was entitled by the Communist Party intentionally or emerged with the tacit consent of the Party, and in what extent this tendency will influence the foreign policy making process are the very points of contention in Japan and Western world. Part of newly published research believes that the growth of Chinese nationalism public opinion has correlations with the Party and the government (Eto, 2014; ES Downs, 1999; Reilly 2012). Those scholars assert that the public opinion is modified and manipulated by the Party; therefore the Party can achieve the goal of controlling the public opinion. A number of scholars also argue that shaping the public's political perception of Japan is a react to the legitimacy crisis of the Party's Regime. Indoctrinating anti-Japan thoughts to the public and leading the

rise of nationalism are the method to rebuild the legitimacy of the Party (Zhong, 1996; Zhao, 1998).

In the third part of this research, the recipient will examine how the dynamic public opinion conflicts with the Party's propaganda and how does it enters the process of foreign policy related with Japan. Recently, Chinese netizens, mass media and local protesters have been considered as new actors in terms of foreign policy process (Jakobson and Knox, 2010). The recipient will try to prove that the public opinion is impacting the decision-making system of Japan-related issues by using the result of the first and second part of this research.

## **2 Presentations and Conferences**

The recipient presented the paper 'The Change of Currency Values and Its Political Economy Consequences on Japan and China' at the *20<sup>th</sup> Biennial Conference of the European Association for Chinese Studies*. The part of the decision-making process and the case study of Japan are highly related with this research topic.

The recipient participated in the 'Taiwan Local Election Inspecting Group' and presented a comparative study of China and Taiwan's foreign policies to Japan at the Conference with Mainland Affairs Council.

## References

Downs, E.S. and Saunders, C.P. (1999) 'Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyu Islands', *International Security*, Winter 1998/99, Vol. 23, No. 3, Pages 114-146

江藤名保子（2014）『中国ナショナリズムのなかの日本』 勁草書房

Gong, L., Men, H and Sun, D. (2009) 'The evolution of Chinese foreign policy making regime', *World Politics and Economics*, Issue 11, 2009

Lieberthal, K. and Oksenberg, M. (1988) *Policy Making in China: Leaders, Structures, and Processes*, Princeton: Princeton University Press

Jakobson, L. and Knox, D. (2010) 'New Foreign Policy Actors in China', *STOCKHOLM INTERNATIONAL PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE*, Policy Paper No. 26

Reilly, J. (2012) *Strong Society, Smart State*, New York: Columbia University Press

Zhao, S. (1998) 'A state-led nationalism: The patriotic education campaign in post-Tiananmen China', *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Volume 31, Issue 3, September 1998, Pages 287 - 302

Zhong, Y. (1996) 'Legitimacy crisis and legitimation in China', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Volume 26, Issue 2, 1996