

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-13164-4 — China–Japan Relations after World War Two
Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971
Amy King
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

China–Japan Relations after World War II

This book is a rich empirical account of China's foreign economic policy towards Japan after World War II, drawing on hundreds of recently declassified Chinese sources. Amy King offers an innovative conceptual framework for the role of ideas in shaping foreign policy and examines how China's Communist leaders conceived of Japan after the War. The book shows how Japan became China's most important economic partner in 1971, despite the recent history of war and the ongoing Cold War divide between the two countries. King explains that China's Communist leaders saw Japan as a symbol of a modern, industrialised nation and Japanese goods, technology and expertise as crucial in strengthening China's economy and military. For China and Japan, the years between 1949 and 1971 were not simply a moment disrupted by the Cold War but rather an important moment of non-Western modernisation stemming from the legacy of Japanese empire, industry and war in China.

AMY KING is a lecturer in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University, where she researches and teaches Chinese foreign and security policy and the international relations and security of the Asia-Pacific region.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-13164-4 — China–Japan Relations after World War Two
Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971
Amy King
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

China–Japan Relations after World War II

Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971

Amy King

Australian National University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-107-13164-4 — China–Japan Relations after World War Two
 Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971
 Amy King
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107131644

© Amy King 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2016

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

King, Amy, 1982– author.

China–Japan relations after World War II : empire, industry and war,
 1949–1971 / Amy King, Australian National University.

Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2016. | Includes bibliographical
 references and index.

LCCN 2016011394 | ISBN 9781107131644

LCSH: China – Foreign relations – Japan. | Japan – Foreign relations – China. |
 China – Foreign relations – 1949–1976. | Japan – Foreign relations – 1945–1989.

LCC DS740.5.J3 K583 2016 | DDC 327.5105209/045–dc23

LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2016011394>

ISBN 978-1-107-13164-4 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-57956-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-13164-4 — China–Japan Relations after World War Two
Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971
Amy King
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

*For my parents,
Philip and Sharron King*

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>List of tables</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	x
<i>Notes on names and terms</i>	xiii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xiv
1 Introduction	1
2 Empire, industry and war in the China–Japan relationship	22
3 Trading with the enemy, 1949–1952	50
4 Revolution through industrialisation, 1953–1957	90
5 When ideas collide, 1958–July 1960	127
6 Comparing ourselves with Japan, August 1960–1965	165
7 Conclusion: on the eve of diplomatic normalisation, 1966–1971	206
<i>Appendix: Chinese trade agreements and trade with Japan, 1949–1971</i>	222
<i>Note on sources</i>	228
<i>Bibliography</i>	230
<i>Index</i>	255

Figures

1.1 China’s trade with Japan and the Soviet Union, 1950–1970	<i>page</i> 4
1.2 A century of Sino-Japanese trade, 1895–1995	5
1.3 Four-part ideas framework	8
2.1 Sino-Japanese trade, 1875–1930	26
2.2 Sino-Japanese trade as a share of China’s total trade, 1868–1930	27
2.3 Japanese trade with Mainland China, Manchuria and the Kwantung Leased Territory, 1934–1944	35
2.4 Japanese trade with free and occupied China, 1931–1945	38
7.1 China’s leading trade partners, 1960–1970	211

Tables

2.1 China’s wartime trade with Japan, 1938–1945	<i>page 37</i>
3.1 Numbers of Japanese in the Northeast by department, August 1949	63
A.1 First Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement (1952)	223
A.2 Second Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement (1953)	224
A.3 Third Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement (1955–1956)	225
A.4 Liao-Takasaki Trade Agreement (1962)	225
A.5 Memorandum Trade Agreement (1968–1971) (First Year)	226
A.6 China–Japan Trade, 1949–1971	227

Acknowledgements

I first became interested in the China–Japan relationship when I was an undergraduate exchange student in Japan. Since then, a number of people have helped me to build on that interest and to complete this book. The book began as a doctoral thesis at the University of Oxford, UK, under the supervision of Rosemary Foot and Rana Mitter. I have learnt so much from their guidance, their superb scholarship and their unfailing ability to ask the right questions. Their support made my graduate studies in Oxford extremely stimulating and opened my eyes to the possibilities of a life of writing and research. I cannot thank them enough. My time at Oxford was also enriched by the staff and students of Oxford’s Institute for Chinese Studies, the Department of Politics and International Relations and the Leverhulme Trust’s China’s War with Japan programme (‘Team War’). In addition, I am very grateful to James Reilly, my MPhil supervisor at Oxford, and Terry O’Callaghan, my Honours supervisor at the University of South Australia, who provided excellent supervision and guidance to a fledgling researcher.

Odd Arne Westad and Andrew Hurrell saw potential in this project and provided invaluable advice on how to develop the thesis for future publication. Their comments and questions gave me confidence, helped me to clarify my argument and pushed me to think about how to transcend the border between History and International Relations. I am also immensely grateful to colleagues in the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University (ANU) for providing such a wonderful intellectual environment to continue my research and teaching. I wish to thank participants in the SDSC Research Seminar, and the Asian Security Reading Group at the ANU, who reviewed the Introduction to this manuscript. In particular, my thanks go to Evelyn Goh who provided close reading and ongoing suggestions on earlier drafts. I am also grateful to the three anonymous reviewers who reviewed this manuscript for Cambridge University Press for their extremely helpful comments. Parts of Chapter 3 of this manuscript appear in Amy King, ‘Reconstructing China: Japanese technicians and industrialisation in the

Acknowledgements

xi

early years of the People's Republic of China', *Modern Asian Studies* 50, no. 1 (2016): 141–174.

I have benefited greatly from the advice of a number of scholars in the field and would particularly like to thank Shiro Armstrong, Amy Catalinac, Mark Chi-kwan, Craig Clunas, Chen Jian, Peter Drysdale, Thomas Dubois, Evelyn Goh, Edward Keene, Rikki Kersten, Yuen Foong Khong, Barak Kushner, Christian Hess, Jon Howlett, David Lampton, Julia Lovell, Kathy Morton, Ian Neary, Sergey Radchenko, James Reilly, Richard Rigby, Caroline Rose, Shen Zhihua, Arthur Stockwin, Brendan Taylor, William Tow, Peter Van Ness, Yafeng Xia and Michael Yahuda.

In the course of preparing this book, I spent a great deal of time in China, the United States and the United Kingdom. In China, the staff at the Foreign Ministry Archives in Beijing were extremely helpful during long visits there between 2008 and 2012. I am also grateful to a number of individuals and institutions who provided support and assistance during my time in China, including Peking University, the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Professor Bu Ping at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Shen Zhihua and Li Danhui at East China Normal University and Lian Degui at the Shanghai Institute for International Studies. In the United States, I would like to thank the staff of the Asian Reading Room at the Library of Congress in Washington DC and Jing Zhong at George Washington University's China Documentation Center. I also spent many happy hours at the US National Archives at College Park, the UK National Archives at Kew and the Asian Reading Room at the National Library of Australia, and I am grateful to the staff at these institutions for their support. Finally, I wish to thank Mariko Yamamoto for assistance in tracking down some important Japanese references.

Parts of this manuscript have been presented at workshops and conferences at Sophia University, Fudan University, Hong Kong University, the Australian Institute of International Affairs, the ANU, the University of York, Bristol University, the University of Leeds, the University of Queensland, the University of Warwick, the Modern East Asia Research Centre at Leiden University, the Weatherhead East Asian Institute at Columbia University, St Antony's College and the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford, the 2014 annual conference of the International Studies Association and the 2012 annual conference of the British Association for Chinese Studies. I wish to thank the audiences for their comments.

This research could not have taken place without generous financial assistance from a number of sources. I would particularly like to thank the Rhodes Trust, the Leverhulme Trust's China's War with Japan

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-13164-4 — China–Japan Relations after World War Two
Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971
Amy King
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

xii Acknowledgements

programme at Oxford University and the T.D. Allman Scholarship at St Antony's College for funding my graduate studies. I am also grateful for research grants from Trinity College, the Oxford University China Centre, the Department of Politics and International Relations at Oxford University, and the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre and Research School of Asia and the Pacific at the ANU. My sincere thanks to my editors, Lucy Rhymer and Rosalyn Scott, at Cambridge University Press for their superb efficiency and efforts in preparing this manuscript.

I have many friends and family members to thank for their support along the way. Thank you to my Brisbane and Somerset families – Roisin and Wayne, Caitlin and Rob, Christine and John, Jonathan and Gill, and Archie and Abigail – for providing a home away from home over the last few years. Thank you as well to Erin Hespe, Kelsey Buntjer, Albert Grech, Thomas Vendryes and Audrey Bangou for hosting me in Washington and Beijing. I am also grateful to Tian Xiaohui, Taomo Zhou, Xiaoru Yuan and Che Shamim for their help in navigating China. In Oxford, I learnt so much from my friends on the MPhil in Modern Chinese Studies and DPhil in International Relations and will always treasure the wonderful conversations with Gord Barrett, Lily Chang, Francesca Giovannini, Albert Grech, Nina Hall, Rana Inboden, Emily Jones, Nicola Leveringhaus, Michael Manulak, Travers Mcleod, Claire Palmer, Sean Richmond, Elina Sinkkonen, Michael Urban, Sarah von Billerbeck and Jeni Whalan.

Finally, I would not be where I am today without the love and support of my family. Mum, Dad, Peter, Ben, Bryony, Michael, Charlotte and Reuben – thank you for everything, and for making me laugh till I cry. I am especially grateful to my grandmother Brenda, who gave me a love of learning from a very young age and who continues to inspire as she nears the completion of her own PhD. Most of all, I want to thank my husband Ryan, not only for his patience in reading drafts of this book, but more importantly for his love and friendship since we first embarked on our graduate studies together.

Notes on names and terms

In this book, Japanese and Chinese names are written with the surname preceding the given name.

All Chinese terms, except for the names of well-known figures and institutions such as Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat-sen or the Japanese Kwantung Army, or terms directly cited from other works, are transcribed in the *pinyin* transliteration system.

Japanese long vowels are indicated by a macron, except for well-known names such as Tokyo.

All transliterations in parentheses throughout the text are Chinese terms: (*zhengzhi*). Any Japanese terms are indicated separately as follows: (JP: *seikei bunri*).

Abbreviations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCPIT	Chinese Committee for the Promotion of International Trade (<i>Zhongguo guoji maoyi cujin weiyuanhui</i>)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Europe
CWIHP	Cold War International History Project
FMA	Foreign Ministry Archives of the People’s Republic of China
FRUS	Foreign Relations of the United States
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMD	<i>Guomindang</i> (also referred to as ‘KMT’ or the ‘ <i>Kuomintang</i> ’)
IR	International Relations
JAPIT	Japan Association for the Promotion of International Trade (JP: <i>Nitchū kokusai bōeki sokushin kyōkai</i>)
JCFA	Japan–China Friendship Association (JP: <i>Nitchū yūkō kyōkai</i>)
JCIEA	Japan–China Import-Export Association (JP: <i>Nitchū yushutsunyū kumiai</i>)
JCP	Japan Communist Party
JCTPA	Japan–China Trade Promotion Association (JP: <i>Nitchū bōeki sokushin kai</i>)
JSP	Japanese Socialist Party
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (of Japan)
LT Trade	Liao-Takasaki Trade
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NSC	National Security Council
PLA	People’s Liberation Army
POW	Prisoner of War
PRC	People’s Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China (Taiwan)

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
978-1-107-13164-4 — China–Japan Relations after World War Two
Empire, Industry and War, 1949–1971
Amy King
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

List of abbreviations xv

SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
SMR	South Manchurian Railway
UKNA	United Kingdom National Archives
USDNSA	United States Digital National Security Archive
USDS	United States Department of State
USNA	United States National Archives