

Sino-Japanese Environmental Cooperation towards a New Constructive Partnership

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Introduction

Previously, I have examined how to build a constructive asymmetry between China and Japan by looking at traditional security issues in Asia between 1995-2005.¹ The question of maintaining a constructive asymmetry between China and Japan not only in the latter half of this first decade of the 21st century but well into the future continues to be an essential issue. Alternatively, this paper analyzes how a non-traditional security issue can create a new constructive partnership between the two top Asian economies. Namely, the gradual warming up of Sino-Japanese relations as well as other factors make it a good time to examine the significance of Japan and China's enhanced environmental cooperation on a official level for such a partnership. Specifically, by mutual agreement, no new Japan yen based loans under ODA for China will be granted after the Beijing Olympics.² And in August of 2008 China held its historic summer or so called green Olympics which

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¹ Stephanie A. Weston, "Towards a Constructive Sino Japanese Relationship in the New Millennium," *Current Politics and Economics of Asia*, 15 : 3 (2006) : 191-211.

has already served as a catalyst for enhanced environmental measures by China. Moreover, Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation has grown in importance within this bilateral relationship due to a convergence of yet other trends: 1) both sides' political will to improve the bilateral relationship 2) both nations' green agendas 3) China's economic development needs and 4) global responsibilities.

Given this background, this paper further analyzes the premise that "enhanced environmental cooperation could lead to a breakthrough for new Sino Japanese relations."³ Specifically, it concludes Sino-Japanese green cooperation does have potential transformative effects for a more constructive partnership. These effects are not only important because they contribute to the sustainable development⁴ of the Asia Pacific region and the global community efforts⁵ but could also bring more tradeoffs in other areas as well.⁶ At the same time however, there are

² In December of 2007, the last Japanese yen loan agreement with China was signed to fund 6 environmental projects in China. "China, Japan sign final Yen Loan Agreement," *People's Daily Online* (2007),

<http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6325303.html>

³ 松本盛雄 等、"一衣帯水の日中が共有すべき課題として-中国の抱える問題と日本の協力のあり方とは," *外交フォーラム* (2006): 21. 池田大典、等、日本の対中環境協力~対中円借款の打ち切りからみる新しい対中環境協力の形~, (Tokyo: 慶応義塾大学総合政策学部小島研究会研究プロジェクト: 2006), <http://asia.sf.keio.ac.jp/DB/ug/2006-fall-1group.pdf> In this paper, the authors maintain that ODA plays a principle role in Japan-China relations and can contribute to improving the bilateral relationship.

⁴ Sustainable development is "Development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." World Commission on Environment and Development, *Our Common Future* (New York: UN, 1987), <http://www.un-documents.net/wced-ocf.htm>

⁵ 松本盛雄 等、"一衣帯水の日中が共有すべき課題として-中国の抱える問題と日本の協力のあり方とは," *外交フォーラム* (2006): 13.

⁶ Kazuyo Kato, "China-Japan Rapprochement in Perspective," *China Brief*, 8, No.2 (2008): 6; Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 273.

impediments on both sides which could decrease the leverage related to this cooperation. Thus, maintaining the present momentum towards a more constructive partnership is key.

Reference to enhanced environmental cooperation and tradeoffs is briefly made by Kazuyo Kato in her article “China-Japan Rapprochement in Perspective. She points out the possibility of some “tradeoff aspects” such as ‘support for Japan’s bid for the UNSC and the abductee issue.’ The general idea of tradeoffs for environmental cooperation with China is also referred to by Elizabeth Economy in her book *The River Runs Black The Environmental Challenge to China’s Future*. She links this idea to environmental cooperation between the U.S. and China. She contends “the environment provides a natural and non threatening vehicle to advance U.S. interests not only in China’s environmental protection efforts but also in its basic human rights practices and trade opportunities.”

In the past, such environmental cooperation has been used as a platform to improve Sino-Japanese relations, for example, with the actual introduction of ODA to China and the subsequent creation of the Sino-Japanese Friendship Center for Environmental Protection.⁷ And most recently in a key report by the Advisory Council under the Ministry of Environment Government of Japan - *持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方*, it pointed out that the government of Japan ‘while maximizing its economic cooperation with China also seeks

⁷ 小柳秀明、“第二世代を迎えた日中環境協力,” 海外環境協力センター会報(2006):8. <http://www.oecc.or.jp/kaiho/no48/48p8.pdf>; 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方検討会、*持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* (Tokyo: Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2006)、23, http://www.env.go.jp/press/file_view.php?Serial=8466&hou_id=7480

consideration of the environment, sustainable development and a stable global economy. The report further recommended this kind of cooperation not only for domestic reasons but also to improve the bilateral relationship and for larger regional as well as global contributions.⁸

Sino-Japanese Environmental Cooperation

Relations between Japan and China over the past decade have generally been described as “politically cold and economically hot.” One China Japan specialist maintains, however, ‘there is some cold in the hot and some hot in the cold concerning Japan-China relations.’⁹ Although political relations often cooled down between the two powers and other frictions have occurred, one of the hot spots inside cooler Sino-Japanese relations has been Sino-Japanese environmental relations which includes official and private sector exchanges and collaborations. Primarily Japan’s bilateral environmental cooperation falls under its general ODA assistance to China which dates back to 1979¹⁰ after China initiated its Open and Reform Policy in December of 1978. China requested at that time yen loans. Later this aid evolved into not only yen loans but also grants and technical assistance. At first this assistance in general was mainly focused on the building up of infrastructure in the coastal areas. And ODA, although China officially relinquished its claims to compensation from Japan for WWII, is still seen

⁸ 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方検討会、Ibid.

⁹ Interview with Professor Wu Guangyi, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing, China, 12/28/04.

¹⁰ “In 1979, Prime Minister Ohira committed Japan to provide China with the first package of ODA during 1979-1983, amounting to 330.9 billion yen (about U.S. \$1.5 billion) to provide infrastructural projects.” Yong Deng, “Chinese Relations with Japan: Implications for Asia Pacific Regionalism,” *Pacific Affairs* 70: 3 (1997): 2.

unofficially by many Chinese as a form of compensation for Japanese transgressions during the war. At the same time, Japan claims that the extent of Japanese ODA to China has not been fully publicized to the people. Since 1979, however, Japan's overall ODA to China has exceeded more than 3 trillion yen.¹¹

Later on, China's economic rise along with its ensuing environmental degradation contributed to Japan's decision to prioritize environment in its ODA to China. Subsequently, Prime Minister Takeshita committed ODA funds for China's environmental protection in 1989. These funds included yen loans, grants and technical assistance. Moreover, in 1989, both Japan and China agreed to designate funding for the Sino-Japanese Friendship Center for Environmental Protection.¹² The Center became an important step in strengthening Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation through various projects. (The Center, funded on the Japanese side through ODA, actually opened in 1996.)

In 1992, Japan revised its ODA charter to emphasize its environmental priorities in foreign assistance along with other values such as human security and democracy. In 1994, under Prime Minister Hosokawa, China and Japan signed the Environmental Protection Agreement to examine various environmental matters. In 1996, under Prime Minister Hashimoto, the 21st Century Framework for Environmental Cooperation was created. Under that initiative as well, China and

¹¹ 中村邦弘、“中国に対する環境協力の現状と課題”(2007):136,
http://www.ndl.go.jp/data/publication/refer/200712_683068308.pdf

¹² Sino Japanese Friendship Center for Environmental Protection, which was established in 1996 to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Japan-China Peace Treaty, covers a wide range of environmental protection activities/projects. MOFA, “Japan's Environmental Cooperation for China I-Creation of Comprehensive Base and Framework,” (2001),
<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/category/environment/pamph/2001/coop-1.htm>

Japan agreed to carry out “Japan-China Environmental Development Model Cities Plan”¹³ and “The Project for Improvement in Environment Information Network.”¹⁴ Also in the same year, both countries held the Japan-China Comprehensive Environmental Forum which involved government and private sector representatives.¹⁵ Under Prime Minister Obuchi in 1999, both countries set up the “Japan-China Greening Exchange Fund.”¹⁶

In 2001, Japan established a new ODA policy toward China called Economic Cooperation Program for China which amended the formula for funding projects and reduced yen loans. The focus also shifted from support for infrastructure on the coastal areas to the environment, improvement of living standards and social development in the inland areas.¹⁷ In addition, projects have to relate as well to Japan’s national interest.

¹³ Japan-China Environmental Development Model Cities Plan is part of Japan-China Environmental Cooperation toward the 21st Century project proposed in 1997. In 2000, both governments started the model cities plan “for the priority implementation of environmental control and improvement measures.” to gather and analyze environmental information on the state of air pollution among various cities in China.” MOFA, “Japan’s Environmental Cooperation for China II – Challenge to Mounting Problems,” (2001), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/category/environment/pamph/2001/coop-2.htm>

¹⁴ The Project for Improvement in Environment Information Network is part of Japan-China Environmental Cooperation toward the 21st Century project proposed in 1997. This network as established “to gather and analyze environmental information on the state of air pollution among various cities in China.” MOFA, “Japan’s Environmental Cooperation for China I–Creation of Comprehensive Base and Framework,” (2001), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/category/environment/pamp/2001/coop-1.htm>

¹⁵ Japan-China Comprehensive Environmental Forum “established in 1996 is conducted only between the two governments but also involves various implementation bodies such as private enterprises, local governments, academics and NGOs.” Ibid.

¹⁶ Japan China Greening Exchange Fund “to facilitate cooperation for afforestation and revegetation between Japan and China involving private sector organizations and others.” MOFA, “Japan’s Environmental Cooperation for China II – Challenge to Mounting Problems,” (2001), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/category/environment/pamph/2001/coop-2.htm>

In 2006, the 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方 report¹⁸ discussed new directions for Japanese ODA for China. This report pointed out that China's economic growth and increasing military expenditures, along with Japan's economic concerns, have contributed to the turning off yen based ODA loans for China prior to the Olympics. Although China and Japan signed the final Japanese yen based loan agreement under Japan's ODA in December of 2007, the cut off of these kinds of yen based loans was carried out by the mutual agreement. At the same time, environmental assistance will still play large a part of Japan's remaining ODA to China. Moreover, in October of this year, Japan's ODA, which has fallen to fifth place worldwide, will undergo another transformation with the consolidation of the Japan Bank for International Cooperation and the Japan International Cooperation Agency, two of the major entities distributing ODA into a new JICA. In the future, ODA will generally focus more on technical assistance, capacity building and increased support for private sector initiatives for environmental protection. Already, more than 3,700 educational staff from China as part of one yen based loan project to train human resources for revitalization of communities and strengthening administrative rules have come to Japan. The majority of this staff are studying environmental issues at sister universities.¹⁹

¹⁷ MOFA, *Economic Cooperation Program for China*, Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (2001), http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/oda/region/e_asia/China-2.html

¹⁸ 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方検討会、*持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* (Tokyo: Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2006)、1-36,
http://www.env.go.jp/press/file_view.php?Serial=8466&hou_id=7480

¹⁹ 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方検討会、*持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* (Tokyo: Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2006)、21,
http://www.env.go.jp/press/file_view.php?Serial=8466&hou_id=7480

Although Japan's ODA to China is in transition, Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation is increasingly becoming more important within the relationship. This importance has been emphasized most recently by joint statements and agreements. During PM Abe's visit in October 2006, Japan and China recognized the foundation upon which the relationship is built. Both sides also stated they would "strive to build a mutually beneficial relationship based on common strategic interests."²⁰ Furthermore, they agreed to "strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation particularly in the areas of energy, environmental protection, finance, information, communication technology and protection of intellectual property."²¹ Based on the Joint Statement by Japan and the People's Republic of China on the Further Enhancement of Cooperation for Environmental Protection during Premier Wen Jiabao's visit to Japan in April of 2007, China and Japan agreed to further environmental cooperation in ten different areas.²² And a press communiqué released at the first round of China-Japan High Level Economic Talks, "six out of twenty items concerned energy conservation and environmental protection."²³ During PM Fukuda's visit to China in December of 2007, both countries signed a technical cooperation agreement on climate change. Most recently, Japan has agreed to "train 10,000 people on energy-saving and environmental protection technologies."²⁴

²⁰ MOFA, "Japan-China Joint Press Statement," (2006), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint/0610.html>

²¹ Ibid.

²² MOFA, "Joint Statement by Japan and the People's Republic of China on the Further Enhancement of Cooperation for Environmental Protection," (2007), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint0704.html>.

²³ "China, Japan confirm new mechanism for Long Term Reciprocal Cooperation," *China View*, (2007), http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-12/03/content_7193777.htm

²⁴ "Japan to help train 10,000 Chinese on energy saving technologies," *China View*, (2007), http://www.news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-12/28/content_7332045.htm

Towards a New Era in Sino-Japanese Environmental Cooperation

With the gradual warming of Sino-Japanese relations, the potential for bilateral environmental cooperation to play a more positive role in this often ambivalent relationship is good. This enhanced bilateral environmental cooperation is already impacting positively on regional and global environmental trends for sustainable development. In line with these trends, China's top political advisor Jia Qinglin, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), during his visit to Japan in September 2007 stated affirmatively, "China will enhance cooperation with Japan in energy saving, environmental protection, new technology, disaster prevention and small medium sized enterprises."²⁵ Japanese Foreign Minister Machimura stated at the same meeting, 'Japan also hopes to expand its cooperation with China not only in such fields as economy, trade, communication and transportation but also energy and the environment.'²⁶ There are various reasons for this trend 1) both sides' political will to improve the bilateral relationship 2) national interests and 3) both nations' green agendas for sustainable development and 4) global responsibilities. Building on these trends, how does this enhanced environmental cooperation inform Sino-Japanese relations for a more constructive partnership?

²⁵ "Top Political Advisor-China to learn from Japan's Energy Saving Environmental Protection," *Xinhua*, (2007),
http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-09/14/content_6720158

²⁶ Ibid.

Political Will

How to build a constructive Sino-Japanese partnership, whether through traditional or non-traditional security issues, is also linked to both countries' top leadership. During Prime Minister Koizumi's administration, Sino-Japanese relations were somewhat frosty due to frequent PM's visits to Yasukuni Shrine, politicians' politically incorrect remarks about Japanese involvement in China during WWII, China's incursions' in Japan's EEZ zone, textbook issues and Japan's bid for a UNSC seat. However, during PM Koizumi's last year in office, 'China started to soften its stance on the Yasukuni visits and also proposed a joint history project.'²⁷ These trends along with China's emphasis on the importance of the bilateral relationship fostered an agreement between both countries' foreign ministers in mid 2006 to enhance bilateral cooperation on different issues.²⁸ Building on this momentum as well, Prime Minister Koizumi successor Shinzo Abe made an "ice breaking" visit to China in October of 2006, which has further contributed to the current gradual warming up of Sino-Japanese relations.

During Prime Minister Abe's visit to China in October of 2006, he announced at a press conference "that the responsibilities of Japan and China are to make

²⁷ The National Institute for Defense Studies Japan, *East Asian Strategic Review* (Tokyo : The Japan Times 2007), 98-100.

²⁸ This agreement included four points : "1) stepping up strategic dialogue with joint efforts to remove political obstacles ; 2) expanding the base of common interest through trade and financial relations as well as through cooperation in energy and clean environment sectors and 3) promoting mutual understanding and friendship through people to people exchanges, especially, among the younger generations and 4) building mutual confidence through security dialogues at the foreign vice ministerial level as well as through defense exchanges. The foreign minister also agreed to accelerate bilateral talks concerning their dispute over oil and gas exploration rights in the East China Sea." Ibid., 99.

constructive contributions to the peace and prosperity of Asia and the entire world. We agreed that to do so we shall set into vigorous motion the two wheels of politics and economy. By setting these tandem wheels in motion, we need to raise the Japan-China relations to an ever higher dimension and build a strategic relationship of mutual benefit in which we together work to solve global challenges.”²⁹

PM Abe’s visit was followed by Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao’s “ice melting” visit to Japan in April 2007. Premier Wen Jiabao, during that visit in a five point proposal on further developing China-Japan trade and economic relations, emphasized first the strengthening of environmental protection and the deepening of energy cooperation.

Prime Minister Fukuda continued to build on PM Abe’s opening to China and Premier Wen Jiabao’s subsequent visit. Prime Minister Abe and Prime Minister Fukuda, while in office, avoided visiting Yasukuni shrine and stirring up Sino-Japanese tensions. PM Fukuda visited China in December 2007 to prepare the way for a visit by President Hu Jintao to Japan in May 6-10, 2008.

President Hu Jintao’s visit to Japan, the first in a decade for a Chinese president, was positive, maintaining the momentum for a more constructive partnership. The visit also celebrated both nations’ signing of the Japan and China peace treaty under the present Japanese PM’s father Takeo Fukuda 30 years ago. Environmental

²⁹ Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, “Press Conference by PM Shinzo Abe following his Visit to China,” (2006),
http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/abespeech/2006/10/08chinapress_e.html

cooperation was emphasized in the Joint Statement³⁰ agreed to by both sides during this visit. “Seven cooperation agreements were signed regarding energy saving technology, sewage disposal and the development of recycling economy in urban areas.”³¹ They also agreed to work towards an effective post 2012 international framework on climate change. This growing good political will on both sides is contributing to a more favorable atmosphere for bilateral environmental collaboration to play a larger role well between Japan and China. This will is of course enhanced by both countries’ national interest as well as green agendas for sustainable development.

National Interests

Japanese involvement in China’s efforts to promote sustainable development is in Japanese national interest on many levels – politically, economically and security wise. Politically, for example, it is in China’s interest to show it is a responsible actor in the global community not only concerning the environment but other issues like trade, defense and social development. This demonstration of China’s responsibility towards the global community for example in the environmental area is a confidence building measure against the perception of China as a threat. It also helps China instill national pride in its peoples concerning its global role. While cooperating on a bilateral, regional and global levels about the environment, this in turn can help China engage in more effective environmental policies

³⁰ MOFA, “Joint Statement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People’s Republic of China Comprehensive Promotion of a “Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests,” (2008), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/joint0805.html>

³¹ “FM : President’s “warm spring” visit to Japan a complete Success,” *China View* (2008), http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2008-05/11/content_8143525.htm

domestically.

It is in both Japan and China's national interests to promote their international standing through environmental initiatives. As Kazuyo Kato maintains 'Japan does not want to have a poor relationship with its neighbors including China because this undermines Japan's international standing.'³² Moreover, enhanced Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation allows them to improve their bilateral relationship as well as contribute to the larger good of the region and the global community. This cooperation also dovetails with Japan's aspirations to create "a Japanese model for a Better World" as a "leading environmental nation" based on its technology, human resources, past experiences and traditions.³³

Japan as China's third largest trading partner and China as Japan's largest trading partner are important to each other's economies. China, in effect, has become an engine for Japan's economic recovery. In this sense as well, it is important for Japan to support actively China's healthy economic development. Enhanced environmental cooperation also fosters eco business including trade, investments and technological development. One positive economic result of PM Abe's visit to China in October of 2006, for example, was a Memorandum of Understanding on the Implementation of a Japan-China Energy Conservation and Environmental Business Promotion Model Project between the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry and the People's Republic of China's National Development and Reform Commission. During Premier Wen's Visit to Japan during April of

³² Kazuyo Kato, "China-Japan Rapprochement in Perspective," *China Brief*, 8, No.2 (2008) : 6.

³³ MOFA, *Becoming a Leading Environmental Nation in the 21st Century: Japan's Strategy for a Sustainable Society* (Tokyo: Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2007), <http://www.env.go.jp/en/focus/attach/070606-pdf>

2007, the Joint Statement by Japan and the People's Republic of China on the Further Enhancement of Cooperation for Environmental Protection was released. Later that year, more than 500 officials, experts and entrepreneurs from Japan attended the Second China-Japan Forum on Energy Conservation and Environmental Protection held in China at which 10 agreements were signed between enterprises and local governments of the two countries.³⁴ During Prime Minister Fukuda's visit to China in December of 2007, he proposed establishing in China – the Japan-China Environmental Information Plaza and the Energy Conservation and Environmental Cooperation Information Center.³⁵

As China's economic power grows, its capacity to prevent environmental degradation sufficiently, however, is still lacking. China realizes its own need to achieve the next level of economic development is linked to sustainable development. Keeping China economically stable is not only linked to China's regime survival but also to its economic security and peaceful rise. Moreover, the lessening of the potential for future conflicts, especially concerning energy and natural resources, through this kind of cooperation is in both countries' national interests.

Japan's Green Agenda

Besides political will and national interests, both nations' green agendas for sustainable development are also important for enhanced Sino-Japanese

³⁴ "China, Japan Enhance Ties in Energy, Environment," *Xinhua* (2007), http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2007-09/27/content_6140161.htm

³⁵ Yasuo Fukuda, "Forging the Future Together," (2007), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/china/speech0712.html>

environmental cooperation. Japan's economic growth brought environmental degradation which became a problem domestically as well as internationally, especially in the sixties and seventies. Ensuing ecological disasters and damage to the economy along with grassroots initiatives, domestic legislation as well as international pressure have all contributed to Japan's ongoing clean up of its environment.

In the 80s, Japan's environmental concerns began to change from national to global including a New Basic Environment Law. "The new law not only addressed industrial pollution but also improvement in quality of life and the global environment."³⁶ In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainable development. Subsequently, environmental measures for sustainable development have become an important element of Japan's foreign policy strategies. Japan has become a green leader, making its mark bilaterally, regionally and globally for environment protection as well as sustainable development. Japan, for example, 'has the highest level of energy efficiency in steel and cement production. Its nuclear energy is one third of its total electricity generation. Its public transportation share is high. And Japan is the largest producer of solar cells.'³⁷ In addition, Toyota, Japan's top car manufacturer, has sold 1 million hybrid cars as of April 2007.³⁸

Importantly, Japan's commitment to the environment including sustainable

³⁶ Yohei Harashima, "Effects of Economic Growth on Environmental Policies in N.E. Asia." *Environment*, 42, No. 6 (2000): 31.

³⁷ MOFA, "Japan's Efforts to Realize a Low Carbon Society," (2007), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/environment/warm/coolearth50/carbon.pdf>

³⁸ MOFA, "Japan's Efforts to Realize a Low Carbon Society," (2007), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/environment/warm/coolearth50/carbon.pdf>

development was incorporated into its ODA Charter in 1992. Japan adopted an Initiative for Sustainable Development toward the 21st Century (ISD)³⁹ which was later replaced by the Environmental Conservation Initiative for Sustainable Development in 2002⁴⁰. Japan, a signatory of the Kyoto Protocol, has adopted its own Kyoto Protocol Target Achievement Plan in 2005. It is also working with other nations towards the development of the plan after the Kyoto Protocol expires in 2012. In 2004, Prime Minister Koizumi proposed the 3R Initiative (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle in a Sound Material Cycle Society). In 2007, then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe announced “Cool Earth 50” which ‘plans to assist developing countries lower their GHG emissions through financial mechanisms.’⁴¹ In 2008, Prime Minister Fukuda followed with the “Cool Earth Promotion Program” which consists of three pillars : 1) a post Kyoto Framework 2) international cooperation and 3) innovation.’⁴² Presently, Japan’s environmental challenges include building

³⁹ “ISD is comprised of 3 norms : first, the environmental conservation is human security in a broad sense. Second, the self help efforts to initiate ownership by the developing countries toward the environmental problems are important and donors should work toward the environmental problems are important and donors should support this partnership. Third, donors should promote environmental cooperation with consideration to the development stage and the socio-economic situation in a recipient country from the perspective of sustainable development,” MOFA, *Initiatives toward the 21st Century* (Tokyo : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1997).

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/summit/1997/initiatives/initiatives.html>.

⁴⁰ This latter initiative is focused on ‘human security ; environmental problems along with the ideas of ownership and partnership as well as the promotion of sustainable development through the pursuit of environmental conservation and development.’ MOFA. *Environmental Conservation Initiative for Sustainable Development* (Tokyo : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2002),

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/environment/wssd/2002>

⁴¹ MOFA, *Basic Policy on Development Cooperation in the Field of Climate Change Recommendations by Experts Panel for Realization of Cool Earth*, (Tokyo : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008) : 2,

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/environment/warm/cop/policy0803.pdf>

⁴² Ibid.

“a low carbon society” including measures against climate change; fostering sound material cycle society and a society in harmony with nature.”⁴³.

Within its environmental foreign policy, Japan also carries out an important regional role through multilateral environmental networks and or environmental mechanisms of Asia Pacific organizations. For example, Japan is a member of the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate Agreement.⁴⁴ Japan is also cooperating trilaterally with the People’s Republic of China, Japan and the Republic of Korea on environmental issues. In addition, Japan has created an Environmental Cooperation Initiative “Sustainable East Asia” at the 3rd East Asia Summit held in November 2007 in Singapore.⁴⁵ Moreover, China and Japan both signed the Singapore Declaration on Climate Change, Energy and Environment at this summit.

This July Japan hosted the environmentally themed G8 Summit at Lake Toyako in Hokkaido. It represented another chance for Japan to demonstrate its leadership in the environmental area, especially, climate change, renewable energy and the reduction of greenhouse gases.⁴⁶ Concurrently, it reaffirmed Japan’s capacity to

⁴³ Government of Japan, *Becoming a Leading Environmental Nation in the 21st Century : Japan’s Strategy for a Sustainable Society* (Tokyo : Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2007),

<http://www.env.go.jp/en/focus/attqach/070606-pdf>

⁴⁴ China, Australia, South Korea, United States and India are also members. The agreement was established in 7/05.

⁴⁵ Towards a “Sustainable East Asia” is Japan’s Environmental Cooperation Initiative announced at the third East Asia Summit held in November of 2007 in Singapore. The initiative aims at creating a “low carbon society and sound material cycle society as well as the conservation of rich and diverse nation, and developing an intellectual infrastructure for Environmental Conservation towards the Future,” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2007), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/eas/initiative0711.pdf>

contribute as well to a non-traditional transnational security area of growing importance to the global community in spite of domestic political and business sector restraints.

China's Green Agenda

Although prior to the seventies China had some environmental laws, it was not until the 'ecological disasters in Dalian and elsewhere in China as well as China's dispatch of a delegation to the U.N.'s first environmental conference on the human environment, all in 1972, that China's concerns about the environment were raised to a higher level. In the seventies as well, China held its own National Conference on Environmental Protection ; set up a leading group under the State Council to study environmental protection ; required environmental control organizations at provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and promoted the development of a legal network for environmental protection. Environmental protection became one of China's highest priorities in the 80s and 90s as the country's economic growth impacted heavily on the ozone layer.⁴⁷ China, who first ratified the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer and the Framework Convention on Climate Change (1991), continues in the 21st century to work towards countermeasures for climate change through various agreements and partnerships. Moreover, China established the China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development (CCICED) (1992).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ "Japan has a 4% share of CO₂ emissions compared to 21% for the U.S. and 19% for China. Fukuda, Yasuo "Fact Sheet on Climate Change," (Tokyo : Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2008), <http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/wef/2008/fact.pdf>

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 2004), 93-95, 181.

After the U.N. Rio Summit (1992), China ratified the Kyoto Protocol. China also became the first country to develop its own Agenda 21 (1994).⁴⁹

For the 1992 Rio Summit, China began to incorporate the concept of sustainable development into their preparations for this meeting. However, economic development still officially took precedence over sustainable development. In the 10th Five-year Plan (2001-2005), China emphasized building a sound material cycle society as its national policy. Under President Hu Jintao, this emphasis has switched to building a harmonious society between man and nature and “scientific development”.⁵⁰ Moreover, China in its 11th National Five-year Plan for Environmental Protection (2005-2010) is emphasizing the equal importance of economic growth and environmental protection.

These kinds of changes are occurring not only due to external pressures but also because China realizes in order to progress to the next level of economic development that it is a necessary transition.⁵¹ Official estimates suggest

⁴⁸ “CCICED has served as a forum for international and Chinese experts to exchange views and develop recommendations for Chinese leaders.” Ibid., 187.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 188.

⁵⁰ “Facing the mounting pressures in resources and the environment, the Chinese government has set forth the idea of taking the scientific outlook on development as the guiding principle for overall economic and social development. It calls for China to quicken its pace of building on resources-efficient, environmentally friendly society and to promote the harmonious development of man and nature.” State Council of the People’s Republic of China, *The National Eleventh Five Year Plan for Environmental Protection (2006-10)*, (Beijing: State Council of the People’s Republic of China, 2008), http://english.sepa.gov.cn/Plans_Reports/11th_five_year_plan/200803/+20080305_119001_1.htm “The actual application of the concept has received mixed results. The central government faces significant opposition from regional governments and from the so-called ‘Shanghai Clique’ from within the Politburo Standing Committee who wish to place greater emphasis on the path of economic growth as opposed to the concept’s more tempered approach with a view to the social costs of development.” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific_Development_Concept

environmental damage is already costing the economy 10% of the GDP.⁵² Premier Wen Jiabao, for example, has emphasized various environmental countermeasures as the means to “change China’s pattern of economic growth”⁵³ The 2008 Beijing “Green” Olympics and the 2010 Shanghai Expo too are catalysts for environmental change in China. In September of last year, China, for example, approved in principle a five year plan to reduce energy consumption per unit of GDP by 20% and major pollutant discharges by 10% in the 11th Five-year plan period ending 2010.⁵⁴ China also planned to spend “US 34 billion” on infrastructure and environmental improvements” as host of the Olympics.⁵⁵ China introduced tougher emission standards in Beijing prior to the Olympics and will start a stricter monitoring of enterprises in 2009. Prior to the Shanghai Expo in 2010, Shanghai will ‘renovate industrial factories, reconstitute wetlands, promote renewable energy and promote zero waste.’⁵⁶

Like Japan, China is not only working globally for environmental protection but also regionally and bilaterally. China is party to over “50 international conventions on environmental protection and has concluded bilateral agreements

⁵¹ State Council of the People’s Republic of China, *The National Eleventh Five Year Plan for Environmental Protection (2006-10)*, (Beijing : State Council of the People’s Republic of China, 2008),

http://english.sepa.gov.cn/Plans_Reports/11th_five_year_plan/200803/+20080305_119001_1.htm

⁵² Geoff Mulgan, “China’s great Green Leap Forward?” *Times Onlines* (2007),

http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/comment/columnists/guest_contributors/article2950882.ece

⁵³ Jim Yardley, “Chinese Premier Focuses on Pollution and Poor,” *The New York Times* (2007),

<http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/05/world/asia/05china.html?fta=y>

⁵⁴ “China Approves Five Year Plan for Environment Protection,” *Xinhua*, 2007,

<http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/gyzg/t367135.htm>

⁵⁵ “2008 Beijing Olympics : Business Opportunities for Hong Kong,” *Economic Forum*, (2001),

<http://www.hktdc.com/econforum/tdc/tdc010802.htm>

⁵⁶ Geoff Mulgan, *Ibid.*

with over 40 countries.⁵⁷ China, along with Japan, is a member of many environmental mechanisms inside of regional frameworks including ASEAN + 3, East Asia Summit (EAS); APEC, ASEM, ESCAP, and the Tripartite Environment Ministers Meeting (TEMM).⁵⁸ In September of 2007, President Hu Jintao spoke at the APEC CEO Summit in Singapore about China's five goals for sustainable development.⁵⁹ China is also actively participating in the G8' Gleneagles Dialogue on Climate Change, Clean Energy and Sustainable Development between developed and developing countries. And this October, the 7th ASEM Summit meeting will be held in Beijing. This level of engagement demonstrates some of China's positive efforts towards the global environment.

Impediments to Closer Bilateral Environmental Cooperation

While China, as the largest emitter of CO₂, is tackling environmental degradation issues on many fronts, the PRC must confront overwhelming domestic environmental problems. These include a high level of GHG emissions, air and water pollution as well as desertification. Moreover, there are many domestic obstacles which still impede more effective environmental policies including the decentralization of authority in China; gaps between national and local authorities

⁵⁷ State Council of the People's Republic of China, Information Office, *Environmental Protection in China (1996-2005)* (Beijing: State Council of the People's Republic of China, 2006), <http://www.china.org.cn/english/2006/Jun/170355.htm#11>

⁵⁸ This meeting is held by the environment ministers of China, Korea and Japan to discuss cooperation on various regional environmental issues including the handling of toxic and hazardous waste, the impact of dust sandstorms and disposal of e-waste.

⁵⁹ The five goals are 'to promote world economic growth; to set up a sound multilateral trading regime; to ensure stable energy supply; maintain a sound natural environment and advance science, technology and education,' Hu Jintao, "Advance Comprehensive Cooperation in Pursuit of Sustainable Development" APEC CEO Summit (2007), <http://new.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjdt/zyjh/t359776.htm>

priorities for economic growth and sustainable development ; lack of technology ; corruption ; limitations on grassroots and public action as well as weak enforcement policies.⁶⁰ Still other impediments are ‘insufficient infrastructure and know how ; the weak authority of Chinese environmental organizations as well as a lack of budget and personnel.’⁶¹

Although China recognizes its responsibility towards the global environment, this is tempered by its status as a developing country. For example, ‘China and India, as developing countries, are not bound by the Kyoto Protocol to cut emissions. Both argue for differentiated responsibility on the grounds that they need industrial growth at competitive costs for the sake of economic growth and are short of resources for extensive new technology to cut emissions.’⁶² This stance was again reflected in the recent Joint Statement between Japan and China during Hu Jintao’s visit to Japan in May of 2008. This gap between China, as a developing country, and developed countries, is also reflected through the former’s tariffs on imports of environmental products. ‘China has an average of 8.5% tariff on 160 environmental products, such as, solar panels, water pumps, catalytic converters for automobiles and giant turbines for wind power farms. This tariff, although permitted by WTO, is 1.5 higher than the average.’⁶³

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black The Environmental Challenge to China’s Future* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 2004), 91-128, 129-169, 257-260. Kirsten A. Day, ed., *China’s Environment and the Challenge of Sustainable Development* (Armonk, N.Y. ; London, England : M.E. Sharpe, 2005), 102-120.

⁶¹ 持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方検討会、*持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* (Tokyo : Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2006), 18-19. (http://www.env.go.jp/press/file_view.php?Serial=8466&hou_id=7480)

⁶² Julio Godoy, “Global Warming : Parley on Climate Change Exhudes Hot Air,” *Inter Press Service English News Wire* (2007).

⁶³ David J. Lynch, “Opportunity Shines in China’s Haze,” *USA Today* (2007), http://www.usatoday.com/money/industries/environment/2007-09-17-china-green_N.htm

Now that China has experienced economic growth and is presently the number four economy, Japan and China, as mentioned previously, have agreed to cut ODA yen loans in general prior to the Olympics. Given Japan's growing economic disparities and its aging society, the amount of its overall ODA funding, not just towards China, is declining. Japan, once the top ODA donor in the 90s, has now fallen to the fifth place. So Japan's challenge is to maximize its present environmental policies towards China with less of a dedicated ODA budget towards those aims. Other challenges include 'disparities between the level of Japanese environmental technology and China's present level; the need to lower costs of this technology on the Japanese side for the Chinese market; Japan's lack of after care and general communication issues.'⁶⁴ Although Japan's overall ODA will undergo another reform in October of 2008, there is still no public consensus about the role of ODA. The gap between government and public thinking could become an impediment for efficient implementation of future ODA to China.

Reaping positive benefits of Japan's environmental policies with China not only in terms of project realization but also for improved future Sino-Japanese relations is important. The latter is also dependent on how much the PRC fosters a positive image of Sino-Japanese cooperation, for example, in the area of the environment. Of course publicizing this assistance more widely or not is linked to Chinese ambivalence towards Japan over historical issues. Finally, although China often quiets down anti-Japanese feelings domestically, there are other times it allows the outpouring of these feelings. Some analysts argue that China is using this

⁶⁴ 中村邦弘、"中国に対する環境協力の現状と課題" (2007) : 139,
http://www.ndl.go.jp/data/publication/refer/200712_068308.pdf

strategy to divert attention from its own policies. Publicizing this kind of cooperation could also highlight even further the problems in the Chinese infrastructure to address environmental issues. Public discontent with the government in China simmers from time to time over various issues including environmental problems. The government controls discontent over environmental issues by controlling grassroots movements or NPOS involved in environmental protection. It also monitors and controls access to the Internet and restricts the media.

Another issue that could impact negatively on positive Sino-Japanese environmental collaboration is tensions between both countries over energy resources. The unresolved issue of ownership of gas fields for example, in the East China Sea remains. However, that both nations recently set up guidelines to deal with the East China Sea problem is a positive mechanism for further dialogue and negotiations. Also high level talks about energy resources between both countries have been established. Finally, during President Hu Jintao's visit to Japan both sides agreed to speed up talks regarding disputed gas fields in the East China Sea before the G-8 summit. Although in June of 2008, China and Japan then agreed to joint development of the Shirakaba as well as another unnamed area in the East China Sea, there are still other disputed areas in the region. Moreover, this agreement still needs be formalized through a treaty.

Future Linkages

What are some of the future linkages or tradeoffs for enhanced Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation? As previously discussed, one important area is

improved international standing. Another is the generation of a positive atmosphere or political will for further dialogues, negotiations or different approaches, for example, concerning claims to East China Sea areas ; the race for natural resources as well as historical issues. In line with this premise, Nippon Oil, the largest oil company in Japan, and the state owned China National Petroleum, China's largest integrated oil and gas company, have recently signed an agreement for long term cooperation, including overseas oil and natural gas resources development. Enhanced commitment by both governments to work on environmental issues including energy could serve as a platform to reach alternative conclusions regarding the East China Sea area.

Yet another linkage involves China's green agenda. This agenda, which also incorporates international cooperation, shows the world that China can rise peacefully. This manifestation of China's peaceful rise could also help ameliorate the perception of a China threat due to the PRC's economic growth, increase in military expenditures and race for natural resources.

China's green agenda should also facilitate more eco business offsetting some trade imbalances as well as complaints about unfair trade practices with Japan and other trade partners. "It is estimated that the Asian market will generate between 1,340-1,640 million dollars in eco business by 2020. China will represent 2/3 of this business."⁶⁵

⁶⁵ 池田大典、等、日本の対中環境協力～対中円借款の打ち切りからみる新しい対中環境協力の形～ (Tokyo: 慶応義塾大学総合政策学部小島研究会研究プロジェクト 2006), 14, <http://asia.sf.keio.ac.jp/DB/ug/2006-fall-1group.pdf>

Alternatively, quantifying how much such cooperation can swing decision makers on each specific issue is difficult. The new rapprochement between Japan and China does not necessarily equal any guarantees for change in these areas. In addition, separating economics and politics will not always be easy. Prior to the Beijing Olympics, the PRC was under a critical global microscope not only for pollution issues and safe conditions for athletes' but also its handling of human rights policies, especially towards Tibet and Sudan. The latter situations could have placed Japan in a difficult position politically concerning the Olympics if other nations had pulled out from the Olympic opening ceremonies. However, due to the earthquake in May of 2008 in China's Sichuan area, world attention was temporarily diverted from China's political conflicts and the potential fallout for the Olympics.

Through this enhanced environmental cooperation, however, Japan is also seeking a more equal partnership with China. Japan through its reformed ODA program wishes to treat China more equally as a partner rather than as a developed country, emphasizing the concept of cooperation vs. assistance for China.⁶⁶ As new requests for yen based loans under ODA for China have stopped, how to create a positive image in both China and Japan concerning this remaining ODA is important. Enhanced environmental cooperation including Japan's reformed ODA policies should be linked to a new constructive Sino-Japanese partnership. As ODA plays a smaller part in the relationship, mutual benefit from technology transfer and private initiatives for eco business will play a larger role. And this kind of cooperation, if recognized by both sides as a means for Chinese economic

⁶⁶ 池田大典、等、Ibid. 29.

development rather than as some kind of compensation, is also positive for Sino-Japanese relations.

Finally, China and Japan are often seen as competing actors for political and economic influence in Asia. However, by the creating of platforms for increased cooperation such as enhanced environmental cooperation helps to ameliorate any winner – loser scenario for Japan and China. Prime Minister Fukuda during his visit to China in December of 2007 stated, “Environmental protection and energy are important issues of cooperation between Japan and China in building mutually beneficial relations which can contribute to Asia and the world.”⁶⁷ The aiming for a larger good, for example, in the area of environment is perhaps one of the best common points to improve this very important bilateral relationship. Moreover, the creating of a more positive atmosphere between China and Japan through this kind of cooperation and other factors helps the constructive partnership between both nations become a different sort of engine for the region. In the *持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* report, the advisory council mentioned ‘if the role China should carry out towards Asia and the world concerning the environment becomes larger then we could possibly think about the joint role Sino-Japanese leadership could play.’⁶⁸ Definitely, as a larger result of Sino Japanese environmental cooperation towards a new constructive partnership, this area warrants future analysis. It also complements the idea of taking the

⁶⁷ “Interview : Japanese PM hopes to elevate Japan-China ties to a new level,” Embassy of the People’s Republic of China in the United States of America, (2007), <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/gyzg/t393357.htm>

⁶⁸ *持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* 方検討会、*持続可能な社会の構築に向けた日中環境協力のあり方* (Tokyo : Ministry of Environment Government of Japan, 2006), 25.

Sino-Japanese relationship to the next level.

Conclusion

In spite of past Sino-Japanese collaborations for the protection of the environment, Sino-Japanese relations have hit some low points due to historical differences, trade frictions and territorial claims. Ongoing green collaborations between both countries have also been overshadowed by other issues. While ODA has contributed to Chinese overall economic development including environmental protection, the extent of Japanese ODA was never fully disseminated to the general Chinese public. Now as environmental cooperation between China and Japan is playing a larger role in the relationship, this cooperation in itself is becoming more mutually beneficial politically, economically and security wise. Moreover, the potential for this kind of cooperation to act as a platform to improve Sino-Japanese relations has increased due to both sides' political will to improve the bilateral relationship; mutual national interests; respective green agendas commitments and global responsibilities.

Undeniably, there is a growing impetus on both sides to maximize the present opening in Sino-Japanese relations. In December of 2007 during Prime Minister Fukuda's visit to China, Premier Wen Jiabao importantly maintained: "China-Japan relations have entered "an important period of improvement and development", adding that he would like to work with Fukuda to jointly seize opportunities so as to "promote a new and greater development of strategic and mutually beneficial China-Japan relations."⁶⁹ President Hu Jintao during his recent visit to Japan has sustained the momentum towards improved Sino-Japanese

relations.

While the amelioration of environmental degradation issues have become a global concern, China's own economic development also needs sustainable development to reach the next stage in economic growth. At the same time, China and Japan, while working together to bridge the gaps in their relationship, can benefit mutually from enhanced environmental cooperation for a more constructive partnership. Namely, there are increasing economic benefits to be gained from this cooperation through new agreements, trade and technology transfer. Moreover, stabilizing environmental degradation in China not only helps it to stabilize its economy but also its impact on the global economy. Further economic growth in China also helps China close its socio-economic gap which is important to the survival of the present regime. And, Japan's technology as well as its know how concerning capacity building in environmental areas is also needed by China to accomplish its green agenda.

As the momentum as well towards a more constructive Sino-Japanese relationship is growing including concrete environmental collaborations, this will could also help ameliorate bilateral tensions. The amelioration of tensions also allows for a more expansive spirit for mutual cooperation or search for different solutions to difficult issues. Zhang Jifeng, head of the Economic Office of the Japan Research Institute of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences stated aptly, "Harsh problems remain and could not be solved through one or two mechanisms or exchanges of visits but the creation of a good foundation is critical to furthering

⁶⁹ "Wen Jiabao Holds talks with Japanese Prime Minister Fukuda," *China View* (2007), http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-12/28/content_7330832.htm

bilateral ties.⁷⁰

Japan and China are the two largest economies in Asia with tremendous potential to maximize their relationship for a more constructive partnership. As one of the key relationships as well in the global community and especially in East Asia, the potential impact of this cooperation including enhanced environmental cooperation is good not only for both countries but also regionally and globally. Both sides already recognize in official statements that their partnership is also for the global community's common good. Both Japan and China agree they must work towards this goal on various levels including environmental protection.

While China officially recognizes its responsibility towards the global environment, it must confront overwhelming environmental problems domestically including high level of GHG emissions, air and water pollution and desertification. Moreover, there are many domestic obstacles including lack of infrastructure and technological know as well as the structure of government and socio economic disparities.

Japan too will face some impediments in leveraging its enhanced environmental cooperation with China for a more constructive partnership. Although Japan remains the second largest economy, it is also facing growing socio-economic disparities in its own society. Presently, Japan also needs to address the needs of its aging society with stronger welfare policies. As a government, these concerns could also limit its action within the Sino-Japanese partnership. Presently, the

⁷⁰ “China, Japan confirm new mechanism for long term reciprocal co-op,” *China View*, 2007, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-12/03/content_7193777.htm

Liberal Democratic Party [Jimintō] along with The Clean Party [Komeitō] are running the government but often face opposition to their policies by The Democratic Party of Japan [Minshutō], the largest opposition party. Consequently, the speed of implementing policies by the Japanese government has slowed. As both sides run into problems in resolving conflicts, emphasizing nationalism or issues of sovereignty⁷¹ could also interfere with leveraging environmental cooperation for a more constructive Sino-Japanese relationship.

The principles in the Joint Communique of the Government of Japan and the Government of China (1972); the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China (1978) and the Japan-China Joint Declaration (1998) continue to be important for the foundation of Sino-Japanese relations. Along with these principles, the Joint Statement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China on Comprehensive Promotion of a "Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests (2008), the Joint Statement for Enhanced Environmental Cooperation (2007) and recent Joint Press Statements from top leaders of Japan and China (2006-2008) during their mutual visits form a blueprint for future cooperation towards a new constructive Sino-Japanese partnership. The momentum towards better bilateral relations includes enhanced environmental cooperation as part of these latest "ice breaking" mechanisms between 2006-2008. In the 21st century, enhanced Sino-Japanese environmental cooperation on many levels allows for transformative effects on this important dyadic relationship, while embracing goals for the region and the larger global community.

⁷¹ Elizabeth Economy, *The River Runs Black The Environmental Challenge to China's Future* (Ithaca and London : Cornell University Press, 2004), 183.

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環境協力の形～. Tokyo : 慶応義塾大学総合政策学部小島研究会研究プロジェクト, 2006.

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