

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiii
Introduction	1
<i>Japan, the ARF and multilateral security in the Asia-Pacific</i>	3
<i>Japan's security policy in competing analytical frameworks</i>	5
<i>The ARF in three major theoretical perspectives</i>	6
1 Japan's growing interest in Asia-Pacific security multilateralism	16
<i>Introduction</i>	16
<i>The evolution of Japan's security policy during the Cold War</i>	17
<i>Japan's view of regional security multilateralism during the Cold War</i>	22
<i>The formation of the Nakayama proposal of 1991</i>	23
<i>Underlying factors for the Nakayama proposal</i>	32
<i>Alternative explanations for the Nakayama proposal</i>	37
<i>Conclusion</i>	41
2 The surge of Japan's enthusiasm for Asia-Pacific security multilateralism and the formation of the ASEAN Regional Forum (1992-93)	43
<i>Introduction</i>	43
<i>Japan's behind-the-scene diplomacy in the formation of the ARF</i>	44
<i>The upsurge of regional security multilateralism</i>	48
<i>The factors behind avid interest in regional security multilateralism</i>	50
<i>Japan's initial expectations for the ARF</i>	55
<i>The implications for Japan's regional security policy</i>	59
<i>Conclusion</i>	61

3	Japan's policy on the evolution of Confidence Building Measures in the ARF	63
	<i>Introduction</i>	63
	<i>Two divergent views of CBMs</i>	63
	<i>Japan's view of CBMs</i>	66
	<i>The success of Japanese proposal</i>	69
	<i>The Concept Paper</i>	70
	<i>Challenges for moving the ARF beyond modest CBMs</i>	72
	<i>Japan's mid term strategy for the ARF</i>	76
	<i>Difficult path towards the implementation stage</i>	77
	<i>Heightened frustration with the CBM process</i>	79
	<i>The CBM agenda after September 11</i>	83
	<i>Conclusion</i>	85
4	Japan's challenges for promoting preventive diplomacy in the ARF	87
	<i>Introduction</i>	87
	<i>Debate on the concept and measures of PD</i>	87
	<i>Two divergent views of PD: Japan and China</i>	89
	<i>Initiating the work for PD</i>	92
	<i>Uncertainty over the overlap between CBM and PD</i>	94
	<i>Debate on the structural reform of the ARF</i>	96
	<i>Launching a mediating role</i>	97
	<i>The adoption of three papers on PD: Progressing or posturing?</i>	101
	<i>Conclusion</i>	104
5	Japan and multilateral security dialogue in the ARF (1994–97)	106
	<i>Introduction</i>	106
	<i>Resistance to multilateral security dialogues</i>	107
	<i>China's nuclear testing and the South China Sea dispute</i>	108
	<i>Collisions over the Taiwan crisis, the Senkaku islands and the Japan-US Joint Security Declaration</i>	110
	<i>China's attack on the new Defence Guidelines and major powers collaboration on the Cambodia issue</i>	117
	<i>Conclusion</i>	122
6	Japan and multilateral security dialogue in the ARF (1998–2005)	124
	<i>Introduction</i>	124
	<i>Facing challenges of acute regional crises</i>	124
	<i>Corrosion of the ARF's credibility</i>	129
	<i>An arena for power politics</i>	135
	<i>Waning interest in multilateral security diplomacy?</i>	139

	<i>Japan's ARF diplomacy after September 11</i>	141
	<i>Conclusion</i>	148
7	Japan's changing conception of the ARF	150
	<i>Introduction</i>	150
	<i>The effectiveness and limitations of the ARF from the Japanese perspective</i>	150
	<i>Japan's changing conception of the ARF: The rise of pessimistic realism</i>	157
	<i>Other factors behind dwindling enthusiasm for regional security multilateralism</i>	158
	<i>Conclusion</i>	166
	Conclusion	167
	<i>Understanding Japan's changing conceptions and policy towards Asia-Pacific security multilateralism in the post-Cold War era</i>	167
	<i>The future direction of Japan's security policy</i>	170
	<i>The ARF and three major theoretical perspectives</i>	174
	<i>Notes</i>	179
	<i>Index</i>	213