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Shinzo Abe's personality and foreign policy preferences

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Abstract Individuals are the core of diplomacy, but the role of individuals is often ignored or even disregarded in previous studies. As the top decision maker of Japan's diplomacy, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe has distinctive personalities and unique leadership style. After this round of election, Abe's absolute dominance continues. Abe will follow established strategic goals and fully implement the Abe Doctrine. Driven by the strong belief of getting out of defeat, Abe's personality traits can influence his foreign policy preferences to some extent. As a reform leader and guided by goals, he compares himself to a combative politician and is proactive in leadership. Abe has strong demand for power and great courage to deal with political setbacks in proper manners and methods. In terms of core interpersonal relationship, the Abe administration is clearly characterized by cliquism and prefers to appoint familiar people. He emphasizes both outside image and inside leadership. When there are conflicts between the two, the latter comes first. Factors affecting Abe's personality include the spiritual nourishment of his hometown Choshu Domain, Kishi DNA and heritage of Shintaro as well as his education and work experience in governments. On major policies of the country with spillover effect, Abe both strategically sticks to the kernel and relatively keeps pragmatic in terms of strategy. Abe attaches great importance to strategic diplomacy and security guarantees represented by "diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map" and "Proactive Contribution to Peace." The current important task is the Free and Open Indo-Pacific strategy. In terms of cognition and preferences for the U.S., he advocates being pro-American but bears the feeling of resentment. In term of relationship with China, he advocates separation of politics and economy, and establishes Sino-Japanese relations based on interests rather than friendship. His administration exerts pressure on the DPRK and wins the support of domestic public opinion by taking advantages of DPRK issue. Generally, Abe holds retro national views. He has the toughness

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specific to hawkish politicians, as well as the extremely pragmatic side of a realist. Abe's political ambition is to get rid of the post-war system, and he is committed to promoting a double transformation of strategy and decision-making mechanisms. He focuses on economy, but attaches greater importance to diplomacy and security with the intention of making Japan a rising power in all-round aspects. The international community should pay long-term attention, maintain due vigilance and conduct in-depth study of the Japan under Abe's administration.

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Recently, the ruling headwind has lingered on, but Abe's absolute dominance still goes on. The high-profile general election of members of the House of Representatives in Japan has settled and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) won once again. Having won this key battle,^① Abe is expected to be re-elected for the third time in the election of the President of LDP in September 2018 and hopefully rule until 2021. Thus he will surpass not only Eisaku Sato, the longest-serving Prime Minister (PM) in the postwar period, but also the pre-war PM Katsura Taro, to become the longest-serving PM in the history of the Cabinet of Japan.

A week after the election, the 98th Cabinet headed by PM Abe formally sets sail. Recalling the governance process since the second Abe Cabinet in 2012, it is clear that Japan has significantly accelerated the historic pace of double transformation.^② Japan's changes in its overall strategic pattern and decision-making system have important strategic implications for

^① Shinzo Abe announced the dissolution of the House of Representatives. The author and colleagues went to Japan for eight-day interview with major Japanese politicians, scholars and media professionals who have long been engaged in front-line political reporting. The majority of interviewees believe that this election is very important, with landmark significance. It is of great significance both for Shinzo Abe who is President of the LDP and Prime Minister, and for Japan's politics.

^② Double transformation refers to the strategic transformation and system transformation Japan is experiencing, indicating breakthroughs in framework of existing thinking, legal system, and conventions on major issues involving foreign strategies as well as major changes in decision-making mechanism. This issue runs through the author's researches in recent years, such as Zhang, Y. *Foreign Affairs Review* (外交评论), (3) (2014); Zhang, Y. *Foreign Affairs Review* (外交评论), (6) (2015); Zhang, Y. *Foreign Affairs Review* (外交评论), (6) (2016).

itself and for the peace and development of its neighboring countries, which deserves long-term attention and study. In the process of the profound double transformation, where will the Abe-ruled Japan eventually head for?

Before the Second World War, Japan, an Island Country,^① finally chose the path of foreign expansion and thereby incurred desperate situation where the country was on the verge of collapse. After the Second World War, its leaders represented by Shigeru Yoshida had to embrace the defeat in helplessness and began to pursue the country's new course. Since the end of the Cold War, Japan is now once again standing at a turning point in history. In particular, new generation of politicians represented by Abe are far from happy to see Japan becoming a "Tier-two country,"^② but strives to build new strategy of "maritime nation." Its core objective is to get rid of the post-war system and ultimately achieve Japan's all-round rise in economy, diplomacy, and even military services. In the future, Japan's such exploration will undoubtedly continue.

As the steersman of the Ship of Japan, Shinzo Abe is the highest policy-maker of Japan's diplomacy, both nominally and actually. The

^① As a country composed of many islands, Japan naturally possesses the geographical attributes of maritime nations. However, historically, Japan has positioned itself as an island nation rather than a maritime nation in real sense, and there is no macro strategic guidance on foreign policy in line with a maritime nation. Whether a country should be regarded as a maritime nation depends not only on its natural geographical environment, but also its national development strategy and foreign policy on the basis of its intention and capacity. The Japan Forum on International Relations, a well-known think tank, has established Maritime Nation Seminar which consists of Japan's practical experts, to explore Japan's identity, future development trend and other theoretical and practical issues concerning with its state form, such as the following researches. See 伊藤憲一監修『日本のアイデンティティ: 西洋でも東洋でもない日本』、日本国際フォーラム、(1999); 伊藤憲一監修『21世紀日本の大戦略: 島国から海洋国家へ』、日本国際フォーラム、(2000); 伊藤憲一監修『海洋国家日本の構想: 世界秩序と地域秩序』、日本国際フォーラム、(2001).

^② In 2012, the U.S. researchers of Japan's policy, like Richard Armitage, Joseph Nye, and Michael Green, discussed, in writing form, whether Japan would become a Tier-two country. In this regard, Shinzo Abe made a speech titled "Japan is Back" at the U.S. Center for Strategic and International Studies to respond to the above argument. "Here is my answer to you. Japan is not, and will never be, a Tier-two country. That is the core message I am here to make. And I reiterate this by saying, I am back, and so shall Japan be." See https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/0223speech.html.

studies exploring factors that determine Abe's diplomacy usually pay much more attention to policies carried out by the Abe Cabinet than to Abe's personal factors, which are often overlooked or even ignored. The author believes that Abe's personality traits shape the logic of his external behavior to a large extent. The key to the problem is to find Abe's traits. The study of his traits will help to gain in-depth understanding of Abe and his role as PM, as well as the changes that Japanese diplomacy is experiencing.

What personality traits does Abe have? Based on the understanding of his traits, how much can we understand Abe's foreign policy preferences? Driven by the strong belief of getting out of the defeat, what specific form of Abe's foreign strategy preferences will be? More importantly, Abe's distinctive personality traits are placed in the era of changes, and the intricate relationship between people and the times is examined so as to provide new insights into structural in-depth understanding of Japan's diplomacy in the transition period.

1 Individuals as the core of diplomacy

"Who has the final say for Japan's diplomacy? Abe Shinzo!" This was the definite answer the author got from a senior official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan on "Who on earth does Japan's diplomacy listen to?" The candidness of diplomatic officials surprised me somewhat. The reason is that in traditional Japanese decision-making system, the PM, in spite of having power nominally, is often called jokingly as an honorary driver of a driverless car. There were many occasions when he has the power but cannot use it effectively, especially when facing officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan who had the capabilities of information collection and analysis as well as policy-making.

Looking at the studies on Japan's diplomacy in the academia, the explicit use of the theoretical framework of Foreign Policy Analysis is not the mainstream.^① The special study based on personality traits and

^① Representative or related achievements: 細谷千博、綿貫謙治『対外政策決定過程の日米比較』. University of Tokyo Press, (1977); 有賀貞など編『日本の外交 4(講座国際政治)』. University of Tokyo Press, (1989); 外交政策決定要因研究会編集『日本の外交政策決定要因』. PHP Institute,

foreign preferences of representative diplomatic figures, especially the PM, is even more deficient.^① Of all the Chinese researches on Japan, few scholars have touched this field systematically.

Then the scope is extended to studies on domestic and international relations as well as diplomacy. Most of the previous studies consider leaders as rational actors who formulate and implement foreign policies based on the cost-benefit analysis of national interests. In traditional strategic studies, leaders are always the most important role. However, in the appeal for scientific behaviorism, the analysis of individuals has gradually been marginalized and existed only in some early documents on foreign policy analysis.

Some scholars further point out that in the mainstream studies of international relations, the status of individuals has been seriously degraded. Specifically, firstly, the analysis level of studies is basically confined in system, the state and society, while theoretical studies on small groups or individuals are relatively rare. Secondly, different individuals are made homogeneous.^② The problem is that if we neglect the role of leaders as a major factor, we will have difficulty in understanding actions of the state. After all, it is the leaders who perceive external threats as well as plan and discuss strategies. Therefore, we must reintroduce leaders into the research on international politics.^③

Recently, editorial office of *Foreign Affairs Review* and China National Knowledge Infrastructure have jointly held the frontier academic salon themed as leaders' personality traits and foreign policy preferences, which is exactly at the right time. The awareness of the problem originates from the fact that individuals do not receive due attention in studies of international relations and foreign policies. But in the 21st century, leaders

(1999); Shinoda, T. 『冷戦後の日本外交: 安全保障政策の国内政治過程』、ミネルヴァ書房、(2006); Banno, M. 『現代外交の分析: 情報 政策決定 外交交渉』 . University of Tokyo Press, (2013); 井上寿一など全編集委員編『日本の外交第6巻日本外交の再構築』 . Iwanami Shoten, (2013).

^① Representative achievements: 宮城大蔵『現代日本外交史: 冷戦後の模索、首相たちの決断』 . Chuokoron-Shinsha, (2016).

^② Lu, L. & Lin, M. *World Economics and Politics* (世界经济与政治), (3) (2015).

^③ Zuo, X. & Tang, S. *Social Science in China* (中国社会科学), (11): 194 (2012).

with distinctive characteristics, personal charisma have come to power and they implement prominent strongman politics, which has affected the development and changes in international situation more deeply as well as changed the state's foreign policy and even the direction of international relations profoundly. In this context, the study on individuals, if revived, will motivate more scholars to pay attention to non-structural factors such as personality and characteristics of individual leaders and explore the shaping and influence of their personality on foreign policies, which will be one of the blessings of studies on international relations in China.

The author writes this paper based on the above question. Then why Abe is selected as the research object? The answer lies in the following four respects: Firstly, it has specific academic significance. Focusing on this question may provide a new paradigm for studies on Japan's diplomacy. Secondly, Abe is the highest decision-maker of Japan's diplomacy in the transition period and he determines the current status or even future of Japan's diplomacy. Thirdly, Abe is a politician with unique personality and distinctive thinking. Fourthly, Abe is implementing the Abe Doctrine different from Yoshida Doctrine. The two are both connected and differentiated.

Then how to study Abe? Firstly, it is necessary to have conversation with Abe as an individual. In other words, we should analyze Abe based on the real Abe. Pitifully, the author cannot have an interview with the research object, Abe. However, by having conversation with him across time and space through systematically studying his works and referring to external evaluations, content analysis^① is conducted, and his inner world may be understood as much as possible. Secondly, it is of necessity to lift myself out of Abe to see Abe, namely to step back from the research object

^① Political psychologists used a good variety of analytical approaches, of which content analysis is one of the routinely used research methods. In political psychology, we have few opportunities to directly approach policy makers, so we analyze their speeches and infer their political psychology accordingly. This is content analysis. For a systematic analysis of contents, the researcher must determine the following: (1) In the study, what material he (she) will use (for example, what you investigate are the official record or public speech written down by others, or interviews); (2) How the material will be analyzed (or decomposed), that is, how to extract and record conclusions. For related contents, see Cottam, M. et al. *Introduction to Political Psychology*. Hu, Y. & Chen, G. (trans.) China Renmin University Press, 31 (2013).

to see the research object. Abe as an individual should be studied, but observing him in specific time and space is more important. We can look at Abe historically and examine him from concrete political and foreign policies. Thirdly, it is necessary to study Abe from the perspective of Chinese scholars. Studying Abe aims to gain deeper understanding of profound changes Japan is undergoing so as to facilitate China to formulate policies towards Japan, which are in better alignment with actual needs of the new era.

The data sources for this paper are: (1) publications in which Abe directly involved. And the most representative two books are *Toward a Beautiful Country* and *Determination to Protect This Country*. Many important details are revealed in these two books. (2) The original archives on Shinzo Abe's speeches in National Diet kept in the conference record system of the National Diet. In total, there are 702 statements made by Abe (questioning and questioned) from July 25, 1993 (5th year of Heisei period) to July 25, 2017 (29th year of Heisei period).^① The first speech made by Abe took place at the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. (3) Prime Minister in Action, videos introducing activities and important government policies, PM's speeches and press conferences, PM's instructions and talks, policies and Cabinet decisions, and talks with the Chief Cabinet Secretary of Abe Cabinet written in detail at the official website of Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. Since the website no longer publishes the data of the first Abe Cabinet (2006 - 2007), the author refers to the data collection about the first Abe Cabinet (第一次安倍晋三内閣・資料集)^②; (4) Different from the data about Prime Minister in Action, the PM in action column in *Asahi Shimbun*, *Kyodo News* and other media has recorded all the key information about the PM from getting up to bedtime (especially about the important people he meets), helping to more accurately observe Abe's concerns and relations

^① It is strongly recommended for the domestic academic community to fully explore this system for systematic research. See <http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/>.

^② The data cover Abe's actions, speeches at the National Diet, summit meetings, legislation and treaties, and it has 1067 pages in total. See Tosiyuki, S. 『第一次安倍晋三内閣 資料集』. 志學社, (2014).

with the outside world; (5) Politician/constituent survey data (UTokyo-Asahi Survey conducted by Masaki Taniguchi of the Graduate Schools for Law and Politics, the University of Tokyo and the *Asahi Shimbun*) are used.

2 Who Abe is: growth experience and development of personality

In Machiavelli's writing, an ideal prince must learn, like the fox, how to recognize the traps and, like the lion, how to frighten off wolves.^① It is noteworthy that the book *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* written by renowned American writer James MacGregor Burns, has also won several awards.

What about Abe, the Japanese PM?

The image that occurs to my mind is bird of prey.^② Gerald Curtis, a well-known American expert on Japanese issues, describes Abe as a cautious hawk.^③ Okazaki Hisako^④ is known as Abe's mentor of state and his motto is "birds of prey never go in pairs."^⑤ In the book *Determination to Protect This Country* co-authored by Abe and Okazaki, Okazaki also uses the motto to describe Nobusuke Kishi^⑥ and encourage Abe.^①

^① Machiavelli., N. *The Prince*. Pan, H. (trans.) Commercial Press, (1985).

^② "Bird of prey," is often used to refer to ferocious birds such as hawk, and vulture and owl. Besides, Bird of prey ("鸷") is similar to "执"(hold or grasp) in form, so it has the meaning of holding something with claws or holding firmly. See Gu, Y. 汉字源流字典. Huaxia Publishing House, 176-177 (2003).

^③ Curtis Gerald, "Japan's Cautious Hawks: Why Tokyo Is Unlikely to Pursue an Aggressive Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 92, No. 2, 2013.

^④ Okazaki Hisako, was born on April 8, 1930 in Dalian, China, and passed away on October 26, 2014. He served as Head of Intelligence and Analysis Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Thailand, and then Director of Okazaki Institute. He has amicable personal connection to Abe and he was once one of Abe's most reliable diplomatic and security think-tankers.

^⑤ "鸷鸟不群" (Birds of prey never go in pairs). It originated from 楚辞·离骚 (Li Sao (Encountering Sorrow) of *Ch'u Tz'u (Songs of the South)*) by Qu Yuan. The original sentence was "鸷鸟之不群兮, 自前世而固然"(Remote the eagle spurns the common range, nor deigns since time began its way to change).

^⑥ Nobusuke Kishi, Japanese politician and Abe's grandfather, was born on November 13, 1896 in Yamaguchi Prefecture of Japan and passed away on August 7, 1987. He served as the Prime Minister of Japan for 1241 days, respectively from February 25, 1957 to June 12, 1958 and from June 12, 1958 to July 19, 1960.

“In the heart of Abe lives a Nobusuke Kishi,” said Yoshihisa Hara, who is an emeritus professor at Tokyo International University and can be regarded as the top authority on the study of Kishi in the Japanese academic circle due the fact that he has interviewed former Japanese PM Nobusuke Kishi for more than twenty times. His remarks get the exact point.^② Abe’s mother, Yoko Abe also holds this view, saying that Abe resembles Nobusuke Kishi in term of policy and he is more like his father Shintaro Abe in handling the political situation.^③

Shinzo Abe, originally an ordinary person who happens to be born in a political family, does not have any intelligence different from ordinary people. At first he had no knowledge of politics, and even once wanted to muddle along in the society. However, after the conscious cultivation of the original family, which is politically prominent, and the continuous tempering in the melting pot of society, Abe became seemingly contradictory, with both the toughness of Nobusuke Kishi, and the concealment of Shintaro, namely, both the idealistic and even utopian side and also extremely pragmatic side. He is a bird of prey who knows well the tactics of concealing one’s true features or intentions.^④ As a bird of prey, he has the ambition of soaring to blue sky and what he really desires (that is, to eventually get out of the defeat through being truly conservative). However, due to constraints of time and space, he has to temporarily and tactfully draw in his claws, step forward steadily and wait for good opportunity. Abe was born after Second World War, and was elected as a member of the National Diet after the Cold War and the Japanese PM after the new millennium. He has different life experience and political fortune

^① Abe, S. & Okazaki, H. 『この国を守る決意』. Fusosha Publishing, 212 (2004).

^② Yoshihisa Hara believes that Abe and Nobusuke Kishi have common ultimate goals, both in terms of historic view and attitude toward the Constitution. See 朝日新聞取材班. 『この国を揺るがす男: 安倍晋三とは何者か』. Chikumashobo, 24 (2016).

^③ Abe, Y. 「晋三は宿命之子です」, 『文藝春秋』. 143 (2016). There is also another argument that Abe is like his grandfather in policy and resembles his father in personality. See 塩田潮 『安倍晋三の力量』. Heibonsha, 56 (2006).

^④ 韬晦 means to conceal one’s true features or intentions. It originates from *Book of Liang* (梁书 张充传), part of the *Twenty-Four Histories* canon of Chinese history. The original sentence is “顷日路长, 愁霖韬晦, 凉暑未平, 想无亏摄.”

from Nobusuke Kishi and Shintaro Abe. Nobusuke Kishi was born before Second World War, went through Second World War, and was imprisoned as a Class A war crime suspect. Soon after his release from prison, he entered politics and became a PM known as the Showa era monster. Shintaro Abe, a former tragic politician who once served as an important party and government official, was only one step away from the throne of PM. The time that the three persons were in also cannot be simply compared.

Who is Shinzo Abe?

Shinzo Abe was born in Tokyo in 1954. “Although our generation is often referred to as the indifferent generation, because of growing up in a family where my grandfather and father are politicians, and after long-time unconscious learning, I always have more national awareness compared with my peers.”^①

From 1960 to 1973, Abe studied at Seikei Elementary School, Seikei Junior High School and Seikei High School. In 1977, he graduated from the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law of Seikei University. Soon after graduation, Abe began his further study in the U.S. After returning to Japan, he kicked off his professional career as an employee at the Kobe Steel and was sent to the company’s New York office for advanced study and training. In his memory, he learned a lot from his predecessors during work. In particular, “we cannot be arrogant or humble in dealing with Americans. Even if the American is older in age or higher in position, we must also make contacts with him/her on an equal footing.”^② After finishing his work in New York, Abe began to work at Kakogawa factory in Hyogo Prefecture, and involved in business management to improve product quality and work efficiency.

Though the staff life was very rich, his father’s words changed his fate. Abe said that his true political life began in 1982. In that year, Shintaro Abe was appointed as Minister for Foreign Affairs in Yasuhiro Nakasone’s Cabinet, when Shinzo Abe worked in the export department of the Yaesu

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』. 文藝春秋, 19 (2006).

^② Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』. 30.

headquarters in Tokyo. One day, he was stopped by his father before going to work.

Shintaro: "Be my secretary."

Shinzo: "When?"

Shintaro: "Tomorrow!"

Shinzo: "I'm working in a company. This job demands accountability for billions of JPY every year."

Shintaro: "When I started to be a secretary, I quit my job with newspaper office within one day."^①

Even though he was surprised by his father's sudden words, the career was one of the thoughts that had once appeared in Abe's mind. So the decision was made quickly. "But I do not want to embarrass the company. After working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I went to the company office every day after finishing daily affairs, or at any time when I was free, to deal with the handover and remedial work. I was 28 years old then."^② The father-son dialogue was concise and intriguing. It first showed the expectation, education and training of Shintaro on his son. Furthermore, Abe was at least not ostensibly a rebel in front of his father, as he followed his father's arrangements.

When Nakasone served as the PM, Shintaro Abe was appointed as the Minister for Foreign Affairs for four consecutive years, which lasted for three years and eight months. After starting the career as the secretary of Minister for Foreign Affairs, Abe frequently visited foreign countries with his father. "My father visited foreign countries for 39 times, 20 times of which I traveled along."^③

In 1993, after inheriting his father's electoral district, the 38-year-old Abe was elected as a member of the House of Representatives for the first time. In this year, Morihiro Hosokawa took office. In Abe's view, the LDP had split and lost half of the seats in the election of House of Representatives. In the nomination of PM next, the previous LDP

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』. 32.

^② Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』. 32.

^③ Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』. 33.

government lost to Hosokawa who declared non-LDP member and was supported by seven parties and one faction. Since the merge of two major conservative parties in 1955, the LDP, which had been in power for 38 years, eventually lost power. Abe was born in the year before the establishment of Japan's 1955 system, and he became a member of the National Diet in 1993, the year when the system came to the end. In the same year, parties other than the LDP united and came into power. The arrangement was probably fate-decided result. In the year when the LDP was forced to relinquish power, Abe learned a lot. The process of transformation to regeneration of the LDP also led him to experience spiritual baptism.

Since Abe began his political career, he was well on his way and reached the top of power to be PM in just a few years. As the descendant of a notable family, though Abe was still immature politically, he had a meteoric rise through effective political operations and the connections built up by his father and grandfather painstakingly. He served as a trustee of the Committee on Health and Welfare under the House of Representatives, the Director of the Social Affairs Division of the LDP in 1999, Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary (Second Mori Cabinet (Reshuffled)) in 2000, Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary (Second Mori Cabinet (Reshuffled)), Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary (First Koizumi Cabinet) in 2001, and Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary (First Koizumi Cabinet (1st Reshuffled)) in 2002. In 2003, he was appointed as Secretary General of the LDP. In 2004, he served as Acting Secretary-General and Chairman of Reform Promotion Headquarters of LDP. In 2005, he was appointed as Chief Cabinet Secretary (Third Koizumi Cabinet (Reshuffled)). In 2006, he served as President of the LDP and the 90th PM. September 21 of this year was Abe's 52-year-old birthday. Since he was elected as a member of the National Diet in 1993, Abe's career as a politician was only 13 years. In conservative LDP, such a junior president was rare. In the history of Japan, he was the youngest PM after the Second World War.

However, in 2007, Abe resigned from the PM because of scandals from Cabinet members and health. In the new edition of the book *Toward a Beautiful Country*, Abe said frankly: "As a politician, I have suffered major

setbacks.”^① In the five years of retirement, vast majority of people around him objected him making a political comeback and considered the odds unpredictable. “If I fail in the election, being a politician will be just a wishful thinking.”^② However, after inner struggles, Abe was determined to stand for election. In September 2012, he was successfully elected as President of the LDP and became the 96th PM in December. In December 2014 and November 2017, Abe's absolute dominance continued and he served as the 97th and 98th PM.

Factors affecting Abe's personality include the spiritual nourishment of his hometown Choshu Domain, Kishi DNA and heritage of Shintaro, as well as his education and work experiences, especially those in government which cannot be ignored.

2.1 Spiritual nourishment of Choshu Domain

If Ise city, where the Ise Grand Shrine is located, is the spiritual sanctuary for the Japanese, then Yamaguchi Prefecture is the spiritual homeland which provides Abe with continuous source of nourishment. Yamaguchi Prefecture was formerly known as Choshu Domain. In ancient times, it was connected to the Korean Peninsula and had close personnel and cultural exchanges.

Before Meiji Restoration, Choshu Domain had been secretly accumulated strength and was hailed as the birthplace of the Restoration. The thinker Yoshida Shoin in late Tokugawa period established a private school Shoka Sonjuku, and trained Restoration leaders such as Kido Takayoshi, Takasugi Shinsaku, Ito Hirobumi, and Yamagata Aritomo. Yoshida is known as the spiritual mentor of the Meiji Restoration and was termed as the first person who has rendered outstanding service to the Restoration by Liang Qichao (a Chinese scholar and reformist who lived during the late Qing dynasty). However, it should be kept vigilant that his thinking had strong national expansionism and also exerted certain

^① Abe, S. 『新しい国へ美しい国へ完全版』. 文藝春秋, 5 (2013).

^② Abe, S. 『新しい国へ美しい国へ完全版』. 文藝春秋, 4.

influence on the formation of Japanese militarism.^①

The politicians in Yamaguchi Prefecture have played important role in the history of Japanese politics through generations. Ito Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo, Katsura Taro, Terauchi Masatake, Tanaka Giichi, Nobusuke Kishi, Eisaku Sato, and Shinzo Abe have successively served as PMs. The number of PMs ranks first in Japan. In addition, Shinzo Abe's father, Shintaro Abe, is also seen as the candidate closest to the PM's throne.

The politicians from Yamaguchi are known as Choshu gang. One of their common features is that most of them hold the nationalist stance, evidenced by Ito Hirobumi who incited the First Sino-Japanese War and colonized the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Yamagata Aritomo who plotted and launched the First Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War, Terauchi Masatake who decided to annex DPRK, Tanaka Giichi, the initiator of Tanaka Memorial, or Nobusuke Kishi and Eisaku Sato who executed the pro-Taiwan and anti-Communist route after the Second World War, just to name a few. Yamaguchi also recorded the humiliation of the Chinese nation in late 19th century. The Shimonoseki in the Yamaguchi Prefecture was also called Bakan prior to 1902. After the First Sino-Japanese War, Li Hongzhang (Chinese politician, general and diplomat of the late Qing dynasty) signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki with Ito Hirobumi here, which has far-reaching influence on both China and Japan.^②

2.2 Kishi DNA and heritage of Shintaro

Although the Meiji Restoration overthrows the feudal regime, feudal factors are retained to a great extent. The system of large political families is one of the representative examples. Since the end of the Second World War, three major families, particularly the Kishi, Sato, and Abe, have

^① For related contents, see Wang, K. & Wang, Z. 安倍晋三传. Central Compilation and Translation Press, (2007).

^② The negotiation and signing process can be found in the memoirs of Japan's Minister for Foreign Affairs Mutsu Munemitsu during the First Sino-Japanese War. Mutsu, M. 蹇蹇录—甲午战争秘录. Xu, J. (trans.) Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, 2015.

firmly held ballots here. The three large families either unite by marriage or give adopted son to each other, forming a large and solid network of relations.^①

Nobusuke Kishi, formerly son of Sato Hidesuke, was adopted by the family of Kishi and then named as Nobusuke Kishi. His brother was Eisaku Sato, also a post-war Japanese PM. After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University (currently University of Tokyo) with excellent achievements, Kishi insisted on becoming a civil servant of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce regardless of rejection from people around him. In 1936, he became a vice minister of the industrial department of Manchukuo (満洲国, a puppet state of the Empire of Japan in Northeast China and Inner Mongolia from 1932 until 1945). In 1941, he was appointed as Minister of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in the Cabinet of Hideki Tojo. During the Second World War, he actively pursued a war-time economy and raised funds for aggressive wars. After Second World War, he was held at Tokyo Sugamo Prison for three years as a Class A war crime suspect by the order of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (also known as the Tokyo Trial). When the Korean War broke out, the U.S. government changed its occupation policy and decided to help Japan and build it into an anti-communist base in the Far East. Thus, a majority of war criminals in custody are no longer strictly investigated. The U.S. military generals saw the material that recorded a dispute between Kishi and Tojo over the Battle of Saipan. On this basis, they excused Kishi from prosecution. In 1948, although Nobusuke Kishi gained personal liberty, he was deprived of public employment. After he was released from Sugamo prison, he wrote a Chinese poetry to express his feelings: “After three years of gloomy imprisonment, I finally got freedom, and felt everything in the world fresh. On the war-torn land, the streams flow and the mountains stand, the spring scenery can be found everywhere (鬱屈三年意始伸, 还来今日万象新。谁云国破山河在, 满目是正天下春).”^②

^① Wang, K & Wang, Z. 安倍晋三传.

^② Yasui, K. NHKスペシャル 取材班『吉田茂と岸信介—自民党 保守二大潮流の系譜』. Iwanami Shoten, 55 (2016).

In 1952, Kishi was lifted from being purged, and officially resumed his political activities. In 1954, he supported Ichiro Hatoyama to form the Democratic Party and served as Secretary General. In 1955, he actively promoted the conservative coalition and served as secretary general of the LDP. In 1956, he served as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Tanzan Ishibashi Cabinet. In February 1957, Ishibashi resigned due to illness and Kishi assumed the post of acting PM and later succeeded as the PM.

The main concern of the Kishi Cabinet was the revision of the Security Treaty Between the United States and Japan (hereafter referring as Security Treaty). In his view, the old treaty stipulated that Japan should provide bases to the U.S. In spite of the commitments made by the U.S., it had no obligation to protect Japan or to negotiate with Japan regarding the use of bases. Kishi focused his efforts in revising this treaty. He used the majority seats in the House of Representatives and approved the revision of the Treaty through forced vote on May 19, 1960. On the day before voting, the National Diet Building and the PM's Official Residence were surrounded by 330,000 demonstrators.

The memory of staying together with his grandfather in childhood was particularly profound in the mind of Abe. When he was just six years old and had not yet gone to the elementary school, he once played with his brother, Nobuo Kishi, at his grandfather's house. The demonstrators outside the wall shouted the slogan of Against Security Treaty and threw stones and newspapers that had been bundled and lit up into the wall. In Abe's view, the chanting of the protesters in the distance was like the music at the sacrificial rites of temple fairs and quite interesting. So he and his younger brother also frolicked, stamping feet and shouting to Nobusuke Kishi: "Against Security Treaty! Against Security Treaty!" Abe's parents did not know what to do with their children, so they had to say in a half-joking and reproachful tone, "Support Security Treaty!" Abe later recalled that his grandfather smiled at him and looked very happy.

In addition to the revision of Security Treaty, Kishi has another plan. That is to amend the constitution. With his great ambition and ability, coupled with his pre-war experience, opposition movements even took place within the party. As a result, he could only stop at revising the

Security Treaty. Seeing the downfall of the powerful Kishi Cabinet, the successive LDP leaders in the Cold War no longer dared to implement major policies involving the constitution and the Security Treaty. The LDP, which advocated creating an independent constitution, turned to focus on economic growth. This won the approval of the people and laid solid foundation for LDP's long-term governance.^①

Since his childhood, Abe has regarded Kishi as his idol, a respected politician who only considers the future of the country.^② Abe once commented on his grandfather: "He could confront public criticisms firmly and his great composure makes me proud from the bottom of my heart."^③ As his mother, Yoko consciously created more opportunities for interactions between his son and Kishi, which also helped to build an image of his grandfather who is worthy of respect and learning.

If Kishi shaped Abe spiritually, Shintaro sets an example for the grown-up Abe in terms of dealing with political affairs. According to Abe, conversations between he and his father were rare before he served as secretary to his father. After becoming his father's secretary, the father and son began to have the opportunity to be in close contact as the statesman and secretary as well as father and son.

Taking a closer look at Shintaro's diplomacy, especially that with major powers like the U.S. and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) deeply impressed Abe. He believed that the subject of his father was to promote groundbreaking diplomacy.^④ At that time, the Ronald-Nakasone relationship between US President Ronald Reagan and Japanese PM Yasuhiro Nakasone was very famous. His father and the Secretary of State George P. Shultz also developed a deep relationship of dependency. Japan-U.S. relations were very friendly during this period. It was these different levels of dependency that had played roles. Similarly, in Japan-USSR relations, Abe had met Mikhail Gorbachev with his father who had pancreatic cancer, and witnessed one of the important

^① Shinichi, K. 日本政治史：外交与权力. Wang, B. et al. (trans.) 143 (2014).

^② Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋. 24 (2006).

^③ Ibid.

^④ Abe, S. 『創造的外交をめざして』. 行政問題研究所, 1984.

achievements of creative diplomacy: the party-to-party exchanges between the LDP and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In the eyes of Abe, this was a diplomacy event at the cost of life. Shintaro's weight was reduced from 72 kilograms to 57 kilograms. Before meeting with Gorbachev, in order to make himself look stronger, Shintaro covered two layers of underwear in a suit, put some stuff between the two layers, and then left the hospital. "This was the last time my father appeared in a formal occasion. In the following month, he passed away." "In order to achieve goals, politicians cannot attempt nothing." The sentence was the valuable lesson Abe learned from his father when he served as a political secretary.^①

2.3 Education and work experience

Abe Shintaro and his wife Yoko have three sons. The eldest son is Kannobu and the second is Shinzo. The third son was named as Nobuo Kishi, who was adopted by Yoko's brother, NobuKazu Kishi. The name Kannobu is thought-provoking. Kan was taken from Abe's grandfather, Kan Abe, and Nobu was taken from Nobusuke Kishi. Obviously, as the eldest son, Abe Kannobu was endowed with high expectations by the family.

The Seikei Gakuen where Abe studied is composed of elementary school, junior high school, high school, and university. Abe and his elder brother had their schooling there. The reason for studying there was mainly that Nobusuke Kishi felt the spirit of Yoshida Shoin who established Shoka Sonjuku in the past, and strongly recommended it.

In fact, Kannobu was not enthusiastic about politics. Contrary to his elder brother, Shinzo Abe became increasingly interested in it. But even that, early in senior high school, he was surprised when hearing that there was a political party named the Conservative Party in the UK. Once, his teacher lectured on stage and suggested that the Security Treaty should be abolished by taking 1970 as an opportunity. At that time, Abe knew little about the Security Treaty, but he resolutely refuted it. He said to the teacher: "There are also economic provisions in the new treaty which

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋. 37 (2006).

advocates economic cooperation between Japan and the U.S.” Abe once heard from Kishi that this treaty had provisions of promoting Japan-U.S. economic cooperation, which had great significance for the development of Japan. The teacher was unhappy and hurriedly changed the topic. The criticism of the entire class seemed to target at Abe. As a result, Abe has gradually intensified an understanding that those who clamored for revolutionary and anti-regime simply criticized the content without in-depth reflections and this was inconceivable. After going to university, Abe fully read up the Security Treaty and was convinced that this is a treaty of vital importance to the future of Japan.^①

After serving as his father's secretary, especially in the last year of spending with his father, Abe saw his father's total devotion to politics even at the cost of his life and determined to take politics as his career. From 1982 till the death of Shintaro, Abe had always been with his father as his secretary. The long-term secretary career gave him chances to inherit his father's interpersonal relations, and also provided many politicians with chances to become familiar with Abe's personality, characters and political style. Abe once said that it is fortunate for him to come into contact with ideas and theories of many excellent intellectuals from the time when he was a secretary. At that time, the opinions of Hisahiko Okazaki and Nakanishi Terumasa, in particular, had a great influence on Abe. Taking Okazaki for example, when Shintaro was the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Okazaki was a director-general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, and Abe studied his books including *What is Strategic Thinking*. After being a member of the National Diet, Abe began to frequently participate in various study meetings for young member of the National Diet and actively discussed major issues concerning Japan. Recommended by Kaoru Yosano, Abe, who was a first-time student of the National Diet, also participated in the joint stay seminar of a group of non-government folks organized by Yoshiyuki Kasai. They gathered once or twice a year, choose one subject each time, and discussed it all night. All topics, regardless of constitution, finance or

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 21.

diplomacy came down to the theme of building a respected Japan.^①

3 Abe's personality traits

The above texts described Abe's life experiences and factors that influence the formation of his personality. It helps to summarize his basic characteristics as a person by following up the clue.

3.1 Character type ^②

The study of personality in political psychology has certain reference significance for analyzing Abe's political character. Based on the analysis of the book entitled *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*, leaders can be divided into four categories from two dimensions: job commitment and sense of accomplishment of the presidency. Active positive leaders are workaholics and enjoy the position of being the top leader; active negative leaders are enthusiastic about work, but seemingly do not like the position of leader; passive and positive leaders are not enthusiastic about work, but prefer the post of president; passive and negative leaders are not enthusiastic about work and does enjoy the treatment of the post.^③ The above practical division provides us with a more feasible framework for understanding Abe's personality, work style, and political actions. From the first dimension, Abe belongs to active positive type of leader. He believes that by working hard, we can change the direction of affairs, but also the fate of one person or even one country. Abe's being active and positive is also reflected in his ability to conduct comprehensive judgments based on large strategic vision, focus on decomposing goals and seek to achieve them one by one.^④ During the five years after he took office again at the end of 2012, he has devoted great enthusiasm, attention and dedication to his work. The data from the PM in action column strongly prove this point. Implementing the "diplomacy

^① For Related contents, See Yamaguchi, N. 『総理』. Gentosha Inc., 54 (2016).

^② See Yin, J. *Contemporary International Relations* (现代国际关系), (9): 20–21 (2016).

^③ See Barber, J. *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*. Zhao, G (trans.) China Renmin University Press, 10–15 (2015).

^④ See Yamaguchi, N. 『総理』, 123.

that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map,” Abe also became the PM who visits foreign countries most frequently. Judging from the second dimension, since the second term of office, Abe has begun to enjoy the sense of achievements brought by being a leader. His increased self-confidence is also one of the manifestations. To some extent, Abe completed the unfulfilled wish of his grandfather and his father. Furthermore, he has established a long-ruling LDP regime, freed Japan from the “one PM per year” situation since Junichiro Koizumi took office. By winning the election through retaining supermajority, the phenomenon of twisted Diet has been resolved to a large extent. In addition, Abe has maintained a relatively high approval rate for a long period of time with regard to the public opinion he particularly concerned about.

3.2 Political views and creeds

Abe once states frankly that he is not a liberal like that preferred by the U.S., but rather a conservative and further an open conservative.^① He always knows that his grandfather Nobusuke Kishi is known as incarnation of conservative and reactionary power as well as the dark side of politics. Probably because of everyone's rebellious psychology, Abe has always had a special sense of intimacy toward the word conservative. He further states that conservative is not an ideology, but a posture for thinking about Japan and Japanese people. We are responsible not only for people in the present and the future but also for people living in the past. In other words, why have the traditions that were born and formed in the long history of Japan survived for the past one hundred or one thousand years? Continuously having correct and penetrating views about this is the true spirit of conservatism.

Abe's political creed is to be a combative politician. He divides the previous and current politicians into two major types: combative politicians and non-combative politicians. For the sake of the country and the people, the former are ambitious and courageous, not afraid of any blame; the latter are politicians who agree with you, but dare not express

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋, 16 (2006).

themselves boldly for fear of becoming the target of public criticism. He believes that combative politicians are few in any era. Abe has often encouraged himself to be a combative politician since he was first elected as a member of the House of Representatives. “This is not to say that we can act recklessly, but we must listen to the voice of the people.” And “For Japan, speak out.”^①

“As long as the self-reflection is reasonable, even in the face of thousands of troops and horses, I will also go forward bravely (自反而缩，虽千万人吾往矣).” This is a sentence from the Mencius loved by Yoshida Shoin, Abe’s fellow townsman. In Abe’s opinion, if you believed that you are correct after thinking deeply and independently, you must be brave enough to face up to the criticism and move forward. When accepting question from the National Diet, Abe also quoted a sentence from his grandfather’s eulogy: politicians move by faith, “I have to uphold my own creed too.” “Even if many people object to it, I will not hesitate to do it.”^②

3.3 Leadership style

In his book titled *Leadership*, Burns divided leaders’ performance in giving play to the leadership into many categories according to morality, politics, knowledge, reform, revolution, heroism, public opinion, group, and party, legislation, administration. These categories are also summarized as two basic types, namely that of reform type and transaction type.^③ Speaking of reform type, Junichiro Koizumi, the former PM, highly matches with it. Because of his unique governance concept and style, he was compared to a wolf. In order to achieve goals of reform smoothly, he often pushed opponents to the opposite side, or directly regarded them as opponents. For example, for postal privatization, he did not hesitate to break up with his matrix, the LDP, to attract public opinion, and even proposed the slogan of smashing the LDP. Compared with Koizumi, Abe often seems to be less attractive and lack principles. For

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋, 3-5.

^② 「第 166 回国会衆議院予算委員会会議録」, 第一類第 14 号 (予算委員会会議録第 14 号), 2 (2007).

^③ Burns, J. *Leadership*. Liu, L. et al. (trans.) China Social Sciences Press, 1996.

example, after being elected as the PM, he restored the party membership of politicians who withdrew from the party during the Koizumi period, which was criticized by the people, and at one time affected the approval rating of the Cabinet. But Abe's toughness is more in his bones. The political gene of his family has been strong enough, and his experience of political frustration is also unforgettable, leaving Abe with a heart that promotes political and social changes under the peaceful appearance. Under the banner of getting out of the defeat, he did what previous Cabinets wanted to do but did not do. Even during the first term of office, he promoted the upgrading of the Defense Agency to the Ministry of Defense and established the Fundamental Law of Education. After the second term of office, he set up the National Security Council to formulate the National Security Strategy, the new National Defense Program Guidelines, and the Mid-Term Defense Program. Through passing "new security laws," he has dramatically broken the stance and actions of past PMs in security policies, including his own grandfather. Of course, Abe has transaction side. He once stated clearly: "I am often criticized as a hawk. I never care. In order to ensure the life and property of the people, the peace and stability of the country, this is the purpose. For the means, I will not rule out the option that shifts from the left wing to the hawk as the situation may dictate."^① In the recent five years of governance, Abe's characteristics in this aspect are particularly evident.

3.4 Demand for power

There is nothing wrong for politicians to pursue power. Abe's desire for power is gradually inspired. Aspirations and regrets of the family, such as his grandfather's embarrassing resignation and his father's death before victory, have greatly influenced Abe. Being election as the PM to complete the unfulfilled political work of his elders has, to a large extent, become the fate Abe can't get rid of. Just like his mother Yoko said, Abe was the son of fate. In 2007, he left the PM's Official Residence in the name of having ulcerative colitis. In 2012, he came back. The ups and downs made Abe

^① Abe, S. & Hisako, O. 『この国を守る決意』. Fusosha Publishing, 213 (2004).

have a better understanding of power and desire.^①

According to Abe, when considering standing for the election of the president of the LDP in 2012, nearly all the people objected, except his wife Akie Abe. However, after rational assessment, in particular, by listening to the evaluation of him within the LDP and his fellow townsmen, Abe decided to stand for election. If there is no strong demand for power (or desire to prove oneself through the exercise of power), Abe will not be what we now see.

3.5 Interpersonal style

Due to long-term study in U.S., Abe claims to be influenced by the concept of individualism, sometimes frankly speaks out his own opinions regardless of status and age, and he believes that any correct idea should be adopted immediately. Therefore, at first, there are evaluations that said he is arrogant. After taking office, Abe borrows experiences from Kishi in dealing with the world. The long-term work experience as a secretary to Shintaro also makes him pay more attention to understanding of worldly wisdom, the essential of politics. On the basis of insisting on his original intention, he tries to develop perfect relations people around him so as to gain more support.

With regard to the core interpersonal relationship, Abe obviously prefers small cliques, namely, helping his friends and relatives mutually. On some issues, Abe is willing to accept advice and suggestions. This is quite different from Koizumi, who insists on visiting the Yasukuni Shrine every year. Of course, the premise of accepting advice and suggestions is not in conflict with his main goals. After Abe served as the PM, especially in his first term, many old friends served in government and even joined the Cabinet. Therefore, Abe's cabinet was dubbed as the "Cabinet among friends."^②

^① For related contents, see 「第 183 回国会衆議院予算委員会会議録」, 第一類第 14 号 (予算委員会会議録第 12 号). 14 (2013).

^② In December 2012, at the press conference held by the second Abe Cabinet, a reporter specifically mentioned that Abe's Cabinet was the "Cabinet among friends" and stated that this was one of the reasons for the collapse of the Cabinet. In response, Abe said: "I attempted to bring together people who thought the same as I did, who were oriented toward the same direction as

3.6 Outside image and inside leadership

Abe thinks that outside image and inside leadership are both important, and in case of conflicts between the two, the latter has priority over the latter. Especially in major diplomatic occasions, whether the trotting to meet Russian President Vladimir Putin or the humility when meeting with US President Donald Trump, Abe shows his characteristics incisively and vividly, which is often criticized by outsiders. However, this is just the superficial appearance. Judging Abe's weakness according to these will be a big mistake. This is related to the exquisiteness of the Japanese when dealing with personal relations, but Abe's actions actually aim to achieve his goals.

4 Abe's foreign policy preferences

On the major policy issues of the country with spillover effect, Abe firmly adheres to the kernel in term of strategy and is relatively pragmatic in term of tactics, thus forming his distinctive foreign policy preferences.

4.1 Whether to revise the constitution and what revision procedures should be adopted.

In Abe's view, the revision of the constitution aims to restore Japan's independence, and is also one of the major incentives of his grandfather Nobusuke Kishi for merging two major conservative parties, for the final purpose to restore Japan's true independence. There are three specific reasons for Abe's commitment to resolving this major issue that Kishi has failed to solve. Firstly, the constitution was drafted within a short period of time and imposed on Japan by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan. Secondly, from Showa period to Heisei period, from the 20th century to the 21st century, the time and the world have changed greatly and terms of the constitution, especially Article nine have not been

myself, and who had the same aims as I. As a result of being too strongly disposed to realizing my ideas, it is in fact true that I received such criticism. From that perspective, for this Cabinet, I have taken a broad perspective in attaching importance to people's capabilities and included a wide range of people in the Abe Cabinet, not necessarily only those who share entirely the same views as myself." See Press Conference by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, http://www.kantei.go.jp/cn/96_abe/statement/201212/26kaiken.html.

able to keep up with the real needs. Thirdly, the Japanese must have the pioneering spirit of using our own hands to formulate a constitution that matches the new era.^①

According to Abe's recent speeches regarding the revision of the constitution, his preferences can be summarized as follows: (1) One of the LDP's founding spirits is advocating the establishment of an independent constitution. Therefore, as a goal since the founding of LDP, the revision of the Constitution has always been the election program. In this election, Abe has positioned it as one of the pillars and main items of the election program for the first time, and proposed four amendments to the Constitution. (2) The revision of the Constitution is not subject to the schedule. In May 2017, Abe proposed to take the year 2020 as the target, and the purpose is to make the discussion more fruitful. First of all, at meetings of constitutional review, all parties should come up with plans for revisions of the Constitution and seriously engaged in constructive discussions. This is very important. (3) In the future, "we will follow the basic thinking in the election program to discuss specific draft articles within the party. The summary plan after in-depth discussions in the LDP will be submitted to the constitutional review committee of the National Diet. Then, deliberations will be held in the National Diet to increase national understanding." (4) The revision of the constitution requires the approval of two-thirds of the Diet members. The ruling party has already won two-thirds of the seats. "Although we have won two-thirds of seats for three consecutive elections, I do not think we should confine ourselves to the ruling party or the opposition party. Instead, we should strive for reaching broad consensus. On such basis, we will continue to work hard to get the understanding of the people."^②

4.2 Whether to continue to visit the Yasukuni Shrine

The visit to the Yasukuni Shrine reflected Abe's erroneous historic view. In December 2013, on the first anniversary of his second administration, Abe

^① Abe, S. & Hisako, O. 『この国を守る決意』. Fusosha Publishing, 217 (2004).

^② http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/98_abe/statement/2017/1101kaiken.html

officially visited Yasukuni Shrine. Later, he threw out the PM Speech that had already been drafted, and listed several reasons to defend his actions: First, the purpose was to pay his respects to those who sacrificed their lives for Japan as well as pray for blessings and permanent peace; Secondly, it aimed to report the performance of the regime over the past year to the spirits of the martyr; thirdly, it had no intention of hurting the feelings of people in victim countries; and fourthly, he expressed his regret that the Yasukuni Shrine had evolved into a political and diplomatic issue.

Erroneous historic views lead to wrong actions. Abe's insistence on the un-established definition of aggression and his visits to Yasukuni Shrine show that he does not admit psychologically that this move is fundamentally wrong. In addition, he does not think the phrase Class A war crime suspect is correct, because it is essentially winners' judgments on losers. Even though it is wrong, it is Japan's internal affairs and other countries have no right to interfere. In his view, it was natural for each country to pray in accordance with their traditions and culture.^①

Junichiro Koizumi's continuous visits to the Yasukuni shrine and Abe's 2013 visit have caused great difficulties to Sino-Japanese relations. Abe's visit, in particular, has made war-torn countries such as China and South Korea to protest, and also made the U.S. officially express regrets and dissatisfaction to Japan. Even under current Abe's absolute dominance, it should be noted that in the course of Japan's diplomatic decision-making, it is still more concerned with the unified public opinion. In the circumstances that public opinions (especially the opinion of elites and the U.S.) are not conducive to Japan, Abe may make some adjustments in strategy.

On this issue, Hisahiko Okazaki has clearly offered Abe suggestions. Okazaki believes that Abe's proposal to get rid of the postwar system has two major goals: one is related to the historical issue, and the other concerns safety and security (also closely related to revising the Constitution). Both of these goals are very important, but the "two rabbits" cannot be chased at the same time. Otherwise, the pressure at home and

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋. 68 (2006).

abroad is too great, and the loss outweighs the gain. Okazaki's suggestion is to firstly sort out the order of priority, that is, first-hand benefits should come first, and reputation can be sought after gaining the benefits. According to the conditions in the past three years, Abe has accepted Okazaki's suggestions to some extent. Therefore, under normal circumstances, it is difficult for Abe to visit the Yasukuni Shrine as a PM. And if Abe chooses not to pay a visit, he will also have a demonstration effect on the future regime (regardless of who will be in office in the future).

4.3 Strategic Diplomacy

The first is a “diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map.”^① This is Abe's vivid expression of strategic diplomacy. Since “I assumed the office of Prime Minister, I have been promoting strategic diplomacy with an eye on the entire globe.”^② “I stare at the world map” and “depict the globe in my heart.”^③ In his view, the “diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map” means Japan not only pays attention to bilateral relations with neighboring countries, but takes a panoramic perspective of the whole world just like staring at the world map, and carries out strategic diplomacy based on basic values such as freedom, democracy, basic human rights and rule of law.^④

The second is “Proactive Contribution to Peace.”^⑤ Abe compared “Proactive Contribution to Peace” to a new self-portrait of Japan and considers it a banner that will both represent and guide the Japan of the future.^⑥ On July 9, 2015, in a speech delivered at the Center for Strategic International Studies in the U.S., he said, “Since my administration was inaugurated, I have advocated Japan being a proactive contributor to

^① The Japanese phrase 地球儀を俯瞰する外交 is found by the search system of Prime Minister of Japan and his Cabinet and is mentioned for 156 times.

^② https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/1117naigai.html

^③ https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/0223speech.html

^④ https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement2/20130128syosin.html

^⑤ Its Japanese phrase 積極的平和主義 is founded in the search system of the Cabinet of Prime Minister of Japan, and it is mentioned for 356 times.

^⑥ https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/0930uk.html

peace based on the principle of international cooperation.”^① At the general debate of the 68th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN), Abe proposed this basic idea for the first time. He said, “I will make Japan a force for peace and stability, just as it has been until now—or rather, to a degree even greater than it has been thus far, given the increasingly tragic state suffusing the globe. Japan will newly bear the flag of “Proactive Contribution to Peace,” anchoring on the undeniable records and solid appraisal of our country, which has endeavored to bring peace and prosperity to the world, emphasizing cooperation with the international community.”^② Why should Japan pursue “Proactive Contribution to Peace”? Combined with the following specific cases, Abe’s logic can be slightly combed. Case A is on the scene of the UN peacekeeping force. Suppose the Japan’s Self-Defense Forces are fighting side by side with troops of another country, say country X. Suddenly there is an incident that X army is under attack. X army sent a rescue request to Japanese troops stationed nearby. However, Japanese troops are unable to carry out the rescue. According to the interpretation of the current Japanese Constitution, it is unconstitutional to rescue X army here. Case B takes high seas as an example. Assume that in the offshores of Japan, several Aegis ships of the U.S. Navy and Kongo-class Aegis destroyers of Japan are sailing to assist each other in preparing for defense against possible missile launches. In this case, because these warships and ships have focused their full strength on missile defense, defense forces against air attacks have become relatively weak. At this moment, Aegis ships of the U.S. are suddenly attacked by the aircraft. Even if Japan’s warships and ships have even greater strength, they cannot rescue U.S. warships. The reason is that once the rescue is implemented, it means exercising the right of collective self-defense. According to the interpretation of the current Constitution, it is an unconstitutional act. To solve the distortions between realities in cases A and B and the Constitution, Abe believes that it is necessary to revise the Constitution. As a first step, it is necessary to

^① https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/97_abe/statement/2015/0709csis.html

^② https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/26generaldebate.html

promote the formulation of new security laws. On July 1, 2014, the Cabinet of Japan made a decision to improve the basic policy of new security laws. The basic idea decided by this Cabinet is “Proactive Contribution to Peace” emphasized by Abe.^①

The Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy is an indispensable part of the “diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map” and “Proactive Contribution to Peace.” Recently, as Trump visited Japan, this expression has become a hot word for describing Japan’s new diplomatic strategy. On November 6, 2017, Abe and Trump confirmed that they would build an order from East Asia to Africa based on freedom of navigation and rule of law. In fact, as early as August 27, 2016, Abe formally proposed this strategic concept in his speech at the opening ceremony of the Sixth Tokyo International Conference on African Development. He pointed out that “When you cross the seas of Asia and the Indian Ocean and come to Nairobi, you then understand very well that what connects Asia and Africa is the sea lanes.” “What will give stability and prosperity to the world is none other than the enormous liveliness brought forth through the union of two free and open oceans and two continents.” “Japan bears the responsibility of fostering the confluence of the Pacific and Indian Oceans and of Asia and Africa into a place that values freedom, the rule of law, and the market economy, free from force or coercion, and making it prosperous.”^② The origin of a strategy is based on Abe’s judgment of the world situation. He believes that the next “Indo-Pacific Century” will be led by Japan and the U.S.^③ The logic of his conception is: In the “long chain” of “East Asia → South Asia → Middle East → Africa,” Japan expands its participation from infrastructure, trade, investment, development, and personnel training so as to make it become the important driving force of Abenomics. At the same time, the new strategy also involves security. Japan will first explore the establishment of maritime order from Japan, the U.S., Australia and India. It hopes to

^① https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2014/0701kaiken.html

^② http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/97_abe/statement/2016/0827opening.html

^③ https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/0925hudsonspeech.html

create a strategic dialogue between the four countries and concretize the cooperation. In the future, the UK and France will be added to build a wider regional security cooperation mechanism. In addition, the new strategy has the intention of competing with the Belt and Road Initiative proposed by China.

4.4 Cognition and policy preferences for the U.S.

Abe once said, “my first encounter with America goes back to my days as a student, when I spent a spell in California.” At that time he lived at Mrs. Catherine Del Francia’s. Her Italian cooking is “simply out of this world.” She is cheerful and friendly and deeply loved by everyone. She has different types of friends, which makes Abe very surprised. By then, he was deeply impressed that the U.S. was “an awesome country.”^①

New York is an unforgettable place for Abe. Over 30 years ago, his first job was in a New York office. He said that “the stimulating years with people who are open and fair is still occupying a special place in my heart today.”^②

The experience in the U.S. for further study has a great impact on Abe. At the same time, Abe often regards himself as an expert on the U.S. He believes that in the U.S. diplomatic traditions, the ideals advocated by the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution are mainly reflected in three modes of thinking. The first is isolationism; the second is realism that attaches greater importance to national interests than personal ideals and actively participates in international politics. The third is the sense of mission based on idealism and evangelism and the thinking mode of spreading the idea of the U.S. Constitution to the world. In different eras, these three modes affect the U.S. foreign policy in different ways and degrees, but they have always existed. Based on this logic, he might not think that the Trump regime was a very special one in American history.

In the years of Abe’s growth and political experience, the Japan-US alliance, especially its basis Security Treaty has left him a deep imprint.

^① https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/97_abe/statement/2015/0429enzetsu.html

^② https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2014/0922speech.html

When his father served as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, what he attached great importance was the Japan-U.S. relations.^① Therefore, with the foundation laid by his father and grandfather, Abe was confident in doing a good job on Japan-U.S. relations. After Trump won the election, Abe promptly took advantages of his interpersonal connections in the U.S. to collect all kinds of information about Trump, and met him in the U.S. This also showed the flexibility of the Abe Cabinet. Abe believed that it was necessary to strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance so as to make the vast sea areas from the Pacific Ocean to the Indian Ocean a peaceful sea implementing freedom and the rule of law. As one of the means, Japan needed to strengthen the security legal system to substantially improve its seamless response capacity. Consequently, the cooperative ties between the Self-Defense Forces and the U.S. military would be further strengthened and the Japan-U.S. alliance would be consolidated. Another way was a better cooperation mechanism, namely new “Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation.” He believed that this was a historic document drawn up to build a more secure peace.

Abe’s such policy preference has also been reflected the problem of Diaoyu Islands to some extent. In February 2016, a joint report issued by the Japanese and U.S. think tanks with official background stated that China’s toughness and combativeness on the problem of territorial sovereignty would increase until 2030. The common problem between Japan and the U.S. was the Chinese problem. It was necessary to strengthen deterrence and response capabilities to China. In practical terms, Japan and the U.S. revised the “Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation” in 2015, 18 years after the guidelines were formed, and confirmed that “Diaoyu Islands was the domain under Japan’s administration” and “within the scope of Article five of the Security Treaty.” Besides, it “objected to any unilateral damage to Japan’s administration to Diaoyu Islands.” Defense of Japan (annual white paper) revealed that in the future, Japan and the U.S. would jointly conduct drills, gather intelligence, raise surveillance, and carry out reconnaissance

^① https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2014/0922speech.html

operations to strengthen cooperation between the two sides in sea areas around Diaoyu Islands, and enhance the alliance's response capabilities.^①

With the declassification of diplomatic archives, the negotiating process during the revision of the Security Treaty by Nobusuke Kishi in 1960 is now becoming clear. Abe believes that it is those very weak efforts that transform the U.S. military in Japan from an occupying army into an allied army. This process can be described as the process of Japan's efforts to gain independence. However, Japan also needs the U.S. to exist as an ally, namely strategically using the U.S. The reason is that Japan cannot rely on its own strength to ensure security. In addition, in the market opened by the U.S. on its own initiative and the post-war economic system of seeking freedom for the world economy cultivated by the U.S., Japan was the country that gained the greatest benefits at the earliest time. Abe said that the dependence on the U.S. has not changed so far. His logic is to do his utmost efforts to defend the security of his country. And the spirit of defending one's own country on one's own is needed. However, if the regional balance under nuclear containment or the stability of the Far East is considered, alliance with the U.S. is still needed. If the influence of the U.S. on the international community, its economic strength, and the most powerful military capabilities are considered, then the Japan-U.S. alliance is the best choice. Although some people claims that Japan cannot fully obey the U.S. and should put forward more of its own ideas, However, Abe believed that actually increasing the two-way obligation in the Japan-U.S. alliance, including handling the issues about the bases, could just significantly increase Japan's right to say.^②

4.5 Policy preferences regarding China

In recent years, Abe regime's policies to China have undergone certain changes, embracing short-term positive trend, but we should not be blindly optimistic.

In Abe's opinions, in previous strategic reciprocal relations, the

^① For related contents, see 『平成 28 年版防衛白書』. DNP, (2016).

^② Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋. 129 (2006).

Sino-Japanese relations feature in “friendship first,” namely “being friendly simply for friendship,” which has damaged Japan’s national interests. Being friendly should be merely a means to achieve national interests. “Friendship first” regards the means as the purpose and has the order reversed. This places the unimportant before the important. Real strategic reciprocal relations are that both countries should pursue their own national interests.

Before and after his first administration, Abe believed that since the reform and opening up, the Chinese economy has maintained a long-term rapid growth. Therefore, China’s reform and opening up policy has achieved successful results. In Abe’s words, it has been suggested that China’s economic development is a threat to the Japanese economy. However, he believes that Koizumi’s views are more representative: China’s economic development is not a threat to Japan but an opportunity. He even believes that, in fact, the recovery of Japanese economy depends to a large extent on the development of China’s economy.

Given the complementary nature of Sino-Japanese relations, especially inseparable economic relations, efforts should be devoted to resolving political issues in order not to undermine this complementarity. In this regard, Abe’s prescription is separation of politics and economics. He has stressed that political issues should influence economic issues, and it is wrong to use economic means to achieve political purposes. The two countries should pay attention to and respect each other’s economic interests. If the two sides jointly uphold this principle, the deterioration of relations between the two countries will be stopped or curbed. Abe believes that in order to control the problems between the two sides, direct dialogue between heads of state is the top priority.

Under the principle of separation of politics and economics, Abe’s policy preferences to China reflect two contradictory aspects: contact and hedging. He seeks for economic engagement but adopts hedging diplomacy in security, demonstrating his strong will and capacity to oppose China’s changes in status and order through strength. Meanwhile, he claims that strategic reciprocal relations benefit the two countries, so both sides need to control the maritime and air crisis, and strengthen relevant dialogue and cooperation. Similarly, on the problem of Diaoyu

Islands, Japan focuses on exerting influence on gaming with China. Japan continues to renounce the “threat” of China’s military development and marine activities and regarded the subjective argument that “China changes its status quo with strength” as its “legal basis” for strategic adjustments related to Diaoyu Islands. In fact, its purpose is not simply to guard against “China threat,” but essentially seek for favorable strategic position for Japan by securing tactical advantages on the problem of Diaoyu Islands.

4.6 Policy preferences towards the DPRK

The problem of the DPRK is one of priorities of Abe’s diplomacy. Without DPRK, Abe’s tough side will not make people feel that he has good leadership through media’s reports.

In fact, as early as 1993 when he was elected as a member of the House of Representatives, Abe said that he would do his best to resolve the abduction issue. During the period of Koizumi’s Cabinet, Abe had promoted as the will of the country, the decision of preventing five victims of kidnapping from returning to the DPRK. This move was well received by most of the domestic public opinions, and they consider that Abe finally make Japan have the diplomatic initiative. In the election of the House of Representatives, Abe’s most important focus is the problem of the DPRK. He has repeatedly stated that Japan is now facing a national crisis.

In the next step, will Abe continue to exert pressure on DPRK or will he prefer dialogue instead? Abe’s basic logic is as follows: (1) Although DPRK’s future actions cannot be confirmed, Japan should continue to strongly demand that the DPRK strictly abide by the UN Security Council resolutions and must not commit any act of provocation; (2) The last 20 years has proved that there is no point in having a dialogue with DPRK just for dialogues. Japan must make future judgments in light of past experience and lessons from diplomacy to DPRK; (3) DPRK must be required to abandon all nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs in a complete, verifiable, and irreversible manner. To this end, it is necessary to unite with the international community and exert maximum pressure

on DPRK by all means till it requests for changing policies and dialogue.^①

5 Tokyo Tower and *The Lord of the Rings*

In the book *Toward a Beautiful Country*, Abe writes: “If the Tokyo Tower symbolizes post-war revival and abundance in material, the illusory ring is a symbol of value that cannot be bought with money.”^②

After the Second World War, the devastated Japan has ushered in a renewed transformation of the national strategy since the Meiji Restoration, freed itself from the shackles of militarism, and opened its arms to embrace the defeat. Since then, Japan has long focused on the development of national economy and achieved a Japanese miracle from the lowest point to the revival. What lays the foundation for the prosperity in post-war Japan is the Yoshida route (or Yoshida Doctrine) called Tokyo Tower advocated by the PM Shigeru Yoshida. Yoshida Doctrine took centering on economy, neglecting armament and leaning towards the U.S. as the three core principles. The vanguard of anti-Yoshida is undoubtedly Nobusuke Kishi, whose major goal is to have a strong retro component in the name of independence. At that time, Nobusuke Kishi was a Class A war crime suspect, and in essence, refused to confess to the war of aggression. On the contrary, under the erroneous historic view, Nobusuke Kishi was eager to get out of the defeat and rejuvenate Japan by revising the Constitution and strengthening the military. Meanwhile, he remembered to arouse the will of great power of the Japanese people. The Kishi Doctrine can be regarded to a certain extent as *The Lord of the Rings*^③ by British author J. R. R. Tolkien, both inspiring and dangerous.

Shigeru Yoshida and Nobusuke Kishi represented two major forces within the LDP respectively. The former is called conservative mainstream and the latter conservative side-stream. In a word, the former is a prosperity route, while the latter represents an independence route. The two routes are clearly divided, but they are not completely incompatible.

^① See http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/98_abe/statement/2017/1101kaiken.html and http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/97_abe/statement/2017/0920enzetsu.html.

^② Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』, 文藝春秋. 220(2006).

^③ Tolkien, J. *The Lord of the Rings*. Deng, J. et al. (trans.) Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe, (2013).

The key is the conditions for implementation! Pro-American realist Shigeru Yoshida and pro-American nationalist Nobusuke Kishi have no essential difference in the fundamental goal of how to strengthen Japan. What is different is the way to realize it and the judgments of situation.

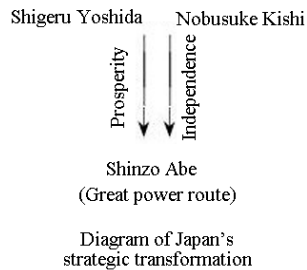
At present, the new round of strategic transformation that Japan is currently undertaking began in the 1980s when Yasuhiro Nakasone was in power. Japan began to make every effort to become a major power deserving the name. As the current PM, Abe is working hard to implement the Abe Doctrine. According to proponents of the Abe Doctrine, the signing of Treaty of San Francisco merely restores Japan's national sovereignty in form. However, for the structure in the postwar Japan, the non-independence of the Constitution is self-evident, even the Fundamental Law of Education as a fundamental principle of education was formulated during the period of Occupation of Japan. The original intention of the U.S. was to bind Japan's hands and feet to prevent it from rising again as a major power. Therefore, Japan's national framework must be constructed from scratch with the hands of its own people. Only in this way can it achieve true independence. In the 70 years after the Second World War, the LDP, as the most important ruling party, has achieved its first goal— recovery of the economy, through rapid growth. The goal of realizing national independence has been postponed.^①

To this end, Abe has put forward the diplomacy that takes a panoramic perspective of the world map as well as the Proactive Contribution to Peace, and committed to strategic diplomacy. In order to restructure the security system, Japan has established the National Security Council, and successively issued the three laws about security, and established the Act on the Protection of Specially Designated Secrets. In addition, Japan has also readjusted the Three Principles on Arms Exports as Three Principles on Transfer of Defense Equipment and Technology, and announced the lifting of the ban on collective self-defense. The next major political goal is to revise the Japanese Constitution formulated during the period of Occupation of Japan. The core goal of this new strategic layout is to get rid

^① Abe, S. 『美しい国へ』. 29.

of the post-war system and ultimately make Japan become a major country that realizes all-round normalization in economy, diplomacy and even military. In the specific implementation, Japan attaches particular importance to rectify a deviation in diplomacy and security. The specific goals can be divided into three aspects: enhancing proactive diplomacy, ensuring the construction of Japan's own security capacity, and continuing to strengthen the Japan-U.S. alliance. Japan's strategic intentions have become relatively clear. Specifically, through using the U.S. strategically, Japan has actively sought for its own rise, enhanced its position in the Japan-U.S. alliance, and further competed for the dominant power in East Asia.

After the Second World War, the evolution of Japan from Yoshida Doctrine to Abe Doctrine can be expressed as follows.



Among them, the Yoshida Doctrine as the conservative mainstream can be represented by the left line and the Kishi Doctrine as the conservative side-stream by the right line. The Abe Doctrine is the re-decomposition and integration of the two lines of prosperity and independence. It is a new national strategy guideline and its goal is to build Japan into a new maritime nation. This new form of national strategy has the following characteristics: First, it actively responds to the shock from the outside world. Abe believes that the international environment Japan faces is undergoing drastic changes, characterized by the relative decline of the U.S., the rapid development of China, and the prominent DPRK nuclear issue. More unacceptably, Japan is facing the trend of peaceful decline. In the view of Japan's strategic faction, the above factors are both severe challenges and rare opportunities for the strategy of building a new maritime nation. Japan wants to get rid of the fantasy of the 20th century

and build a new national strategy based on realism in the 21st century. Second, based on the above considerations, Japan will take a new line of great powers. Different from the prosperity line based on the Yoshida Doctrine that the Japanese LDP has long followed since the end of Second World War, the strategic concept of new maritime nation started at the time of Nakasone's administration and synchronized with Japan's strategy of becoming a "normal" country. However, due to the constraints of internal and external circumstances, a complete system of strategy—mechanism—action has not been formed yet. The baton of history has now been handed over to Abe. In particular, during the Abe's second administration, the grand strategy has formed into scale and begun to carry out 3D operations that are interlocked with one other. Thirdly, it relies on the New Right, the mainstream political trend in Japan. For achieving the goal of a great power, the New Right constituted Japan's core value concept after rejuvenation. The New Right as a core value concept and the great power as a national strategic goal are actually in cohesive relationship.

In the post-Cold War era, facing the transformation of international order and the profound transformation of national strategy, Japan is in full speed to explore new diplomatic subjectivity.

In his speech in December 1962, Dean Acheson, the former U.S. Secretary of State, expressed that UK has lost itself in diplomacy and used the ironic tone to claim that UK has lost its empire and has still not been able to find the new role it should play. The Japan in post-Cold War era was also considered to have lost its subjectivity in the international community.^①

Japan's diplomacy in the post-war era began under the guidance of Yoshida Doctrine mentioned above. Actually, as early as the Nobusuke Kishi administration, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan stated in the general remarks of the annual report on Japan's foreign policy and activities that UN first, coordination with liberal countries, and insisting on being a member of Asia were Japan's three principles of diplomatic

^① <https://www.nippon.com/ja/features/c00201/>

activities.^① Historically, the three principles partly inherited three major diplomatic policies of internationalism, Asianism, and cooperation with UK and the U.S. before the Second World War. Judging from the decision-making process, this was also the intention of three bureaucrat-led major forces: International Legal Affairs Bureau, North American Affairs Bureau, and Asian and Oceanian Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Based on the three principles of diplomacy, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs also established three major subjects for Japan's diplomacy, namely good-neighborly relations with Asian countries, economic diplomacy, and adjustment of relations with the U.S. Based on reflections on pre-war diplomacy, Japan tried to establish its post-war diplomatic coordinate by proposing the three principles of diplomacy. However, there is a gap that cannot be bridged between the concept and reality of the three principles of diplomacy, so Japan's diplomacy gradually becomes one principle of diplomacy, that is, a complete pro-American route.^②

During the Cold War, Shintaro Abe, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, advocated creative diplomacy. Shinzo Abe also used his father's legacy as one of the motivational forces for promoting diplomatic transformation. After the Democratic Party of Japan was reshuffled to the LDP, the primary task of Japan's diplomacy was determined to go beyond diplomatic defeat. In Abe's view, the three-year ruling of the Democratic Party of Japan was three-year diplomatic defeat.^③ He concludes that the reason why the Democratic Party of Japan failed in diplomacy is mainly due to the fact that Japan-U.S. relations and Sino-Japanese relations have plunged. With respect to relationship with U.S., equating the Japan-U.S. alliance with Asian diplomacy is regarded as a taboo. In the relations with China, Japan is weighed down with the problem of Diaoyu Islands. To reverse diplomatic defeat, three new pillars of Japan's diplomacy must be built, namely, strengthening the Japan-U.S. alliance, strengthening

^① <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/bluebook/1957/s32-1-2.htm#a>

^② Zhang, Y. *Foreign Affairs Review* (外交评论), (6): 62 (2016).

^③ Abe, S. 『新しい国へ美しい国へ完全版』. 文藝春秋. 246 (2013).

relations with neighboring countries, and promoting economic diplomacy.

In line with the above-mentioned changes in the strategic level, the “power situation”^① under Abe’s administration has also been reconstructed. People have their own personalities and so does the regime. Abe’s personality is an important factor in shaping his foreign policy preferences. But what cannot be overlooked is that the power situation Abe faces often determines whether his foreign policy preferences can be realized, how they can be implemented, and what limits will they face.

After this election, the Abe-led LDP’s regime clearly is still in a dominant position, which can be described as Abe’s absolute dominance. Abe’s absolute dominance has three meanings: Firstly, compared with Komeito and opposition parties, the president of LDP enjoyed superiority; second, the government enjoyed superiority to the LDP; and third, PM’s Cabinet enjoyed superiority to the government Ministries and Agencies.^②

The direct result of Abe’s absolute dominance is that it leads to further centralization of the decision-making process of policies. Among them, the role of the PM and the politicians and bureaucrats around the PM have increased.^③ This meant that in the relatively stable power situation, Abe’s personal factors become more prominent, and his personality’s influence on policies also increases.

Since coming into power for the second time, the Abe regime has actively promoted dominance of PM’s Official Residence and implemented reforms in economic, diplomatic, and security policies through powerful means. The governance ability of PM’s Cabinet to Ministries and Agencies has been significantly enhanced and overall dominated major political decisions.

Abe regards the period from the days of Japan’s defeat to the restoration of its independence in form as the source of evil that binds Japan. Whether to revise the constitution, or to strengthen the army, and even his attitude towards the war of aggression, are all related to the Tokyo

^① Barber, J. *Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*. 5.

^② Makihara, I. 『「安倍一強」の謎』. 朝日新聞出版社, 58 (2016).

^③ Takenaka, H. 『二つの政権交代: 政策は変わったのか』. Keiso Shobo, 58 (2017).

Trial and the U.S. transformation to Japan during the period of Occupation of Japan. To get out of the defeat, it is necessary to break the shackles of the above factors one by one, wipe the residue of war and occupation, and prepare a new and unblemished canvas for the new generation to freely draw their distinctive colors.^①

After a clear setting of strategic goals, the Abe regime not only wants to promote economic development (prosperity line), but also aims to get results in diplomacy, especially in security with the intention of achieving Japan's independence to a greater degree. The basic model is to promote security by economy. In other words, developing economy is to improve security capabilities more effectively. After the Cold War, the balance between economy and security guarantee tilts toward the latter continuously. In the era of Abe, the strategic focus that Japan put efforts to practice is no doubt security guarantee. Nowadays, with Abe's long-term governance, the ambitious strategy with diplomacy and security as the first thing to address has gradually been implemented. Japan has promoted the transition from "Passive Contribution to Peace" to "Proactive Contribution to Peace." In the next stage, Abe will take new steps and plans to change the pacifist Constitution drawn up by the U.S., especially Article nine, in order to finally get rid of the shackles of the post-war system.

In the specific implementation of Abe Doctrine, borrowing lessons from the failure of the first administration, the skillful management of targets of the current Abe Cabinet has significantly increased its ability to grasp the rhythm. It pays attention to the flexible use of the accelerator and the brake and can decisively accelerate or slow down. In addition, it knows that the battle line should not be stretched too long, the target should be focused on and one should stop when achieving satisfactory results. In this way, the results can be kept. Meanwhile, in the power situation of Abe's absolute dominance, Abe is both idealistic and pragmatic, but when the two are in conflicts, pragmatic considerations prevail in order to open the window of opportunity.^② With the skillful

^① Hisahiko, O. 日本外交史话. Zhang, Z. (trans.) TIPI, 296 (2009).

^② Remarks by Professor Yasuhiro Matsuda at the University of Tokyo, Institute of Japanese

technique on manipulating public opinion, his ability to create topics also significantly improves.

At present, under the Abe Doctrine, the new strategic jigsaw is about to be completed, and the spirit of pacifism of the current Constitution is facing severe challenges.

Dominance of the New Right in political circles coupled with the increasingly conservative atmosphere of Japanese society, Abe's absolute dominance will still be normalized for a certain period of time. Based on this, Abe said that "the task before us is nothing other than to execute, execute, and execute policies. Let us squarely confront the difficult issues facing Japan and carve out Japan's future together."^①

However, though the Abe Doctrine practiced in Japan is ambitious, it has its natural vulnerability. Japan's overall national strength has been relatively declining. This is what the New Right forces represented by Abe do not want to see or eager to change. Therefore, they have endeavored to reverse the trend by revitalizing Japanese economy to strengthen Japan's military and make it play a better role in the international arena. Meanwhile, Japan has regarded the influence of China's rise on the world's system as the biggest destabilizing factor. Under circumstances where the U.S. has been relatively declining and may ignore or even disregard Japan, especially when issues like DPRK nuclear issue intensify, Japan is bound to make greater and more independent choices in security. At present, Japan has gradually gone to the front stage. The theory of building a strong army and even the theory on possessing nuclear weapons that are discussed more frequently within Japan are representative examples.

Most people who take politics as their career want to achieve something in their lifetime, and even go down in history after death. As a PM who has gradually created the myth of Japanese politics through long-term governance, Abe is committed to becoming a greater leader. This has become one of the most important driving forces for Abe's governance. Where does Japan head for under the leadership of Abe? How

Studies of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences on November 24, 2017.

^① http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/98_abe/statement2/20171117shoshinhyomei.html

will future generations evaluate him? Perhaps it will be judged by history.

In short, Abe has both the tough side like the bird of prey and the pragmatic side. Through long-term governance, he is leading Japan get out of defeat and creating a new Japan. In this historical period, the international community should maintain sufficient vigilance. After the Meiji Restoration, although the ideas and propositions of foreign coordination had played roles to certain extent, with the development of militarism, Japan eventually embarked on the road to foreign aggression and expansion that has no return. This warning from Japan is thought-provoking. For Japan's final defeat in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression and the Pacific War, Nobusuke Kishi and Abe bear inexplicable resentment in their heart.^① This underlying cognition buried deep in heart is worthy of attention and research. While being vigilant, we must pay more attention to Japan, even if it is at the time when Japan gradually declines. Looking at the map of the world, it can be seen that Japan has larger national territorial areas and greater population than UK. More importantly, since the Meiji Restoration, Japan's will of great power has never been destroyed. Even during the period when Yoshida Doctrine was effectively implemented, in the eyes of Shigeru Yoshida, building a strong army was a natural thing when Japan had powerful economic strength. Today's world and China are faced with Abe, a PM who has both the ambition of great power and his unique personality and long-term governance. Rather than playfully interpret or label him, it is better to face him squarely and make a comprehensive study on him and his era.

At present, Sino-Japanese relations are at the critical stage of overcoming difficulties and undergoing transformation, and have shown a good prospect in the short term. Achieving this situation has never been easy, and should be cherished. China and Japan must both recognize history and embrace the future. It is necessary to abide by the principle and accumulate mutual trust. Through strengthening cooperation continuously, we will achieve mutual benefits and win-win results. In the

^① Soeya, Y. 『安全保障を問いなおす: 「九条-安保体制」を越えて』 . NHK, 19 (2016).

face of such profound strategic and institutional transformation that is going on in Japan, what spirit should the study on contemporary Japanese politics and diplomacy uphold? We must be sensitive to the personality in politics, its deep insights, and the dangers that accompany political power.^① We must also conduct in-depth exploration on international forces, systems, norms and values that prevent and contain evil. Only in this way, answering the above questions fundamentally may be a historical mission worthy of our conscious recognition and commitment.

^① For relevant contents, see 加藤节. 政治与人. Tang, S. (trans.) Peking University Press, 3 (2003).