

安倍再度执政后的中日关系展望

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[摘要] 2012年12月安倍晋三再度执政后,手中握有改善中日关系的机会,但在日本政治右倾化抬头背景下,其对华政策仍可能受到日本右翼和鹰派的影响。安倍内阁企图通过加强日美同盟,在中国周边开展所谓“价值观外交”,构建针对中国的战略格局,在钓鱼岛问题上迫使中方让步。安倍最大政治目标是修改日本宪法,为日本对外使用军事力量铺路。近期在对华采取强硬立场的同时,也会谋求缓解紧张关系,防止局势失控。若2013年7月自民党在参议院选举中获胜,很可能推动修改日本宪法。中日关系将进入新的历史阶段,前景不容乐观。2013年是《中日和平友好条约》缔结35周年。中日双方信守条约,妥善处理钓鱼岛争议,对未来的中日关系和东亚和平稳定是至关重要的。

[关键词] 安倍晋三;中日关系;钓鱼岛;日本政治;日本外交;政治右倾化

[中图分类号] D831.30 [文献标识码] A [文章编号] 1003-7411(2013)02-0003-(12)

[收稿日期] 2013-01-15

[基金项目] 2009年度教育部哲学社会科学重大课题攻关项目“中国国际战略环境预测与国家应对战略研究”(09JZD0040-2)

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在2012年12月16日举行的日本大选中惨败的日本民主党下野。自民党一举夺得294席的绝对多数议席,安倍晋三在12月26日当选第96任日本首相。安倍内阁对华政策既具有全局性战略考虑,也会有一定灵活性。安倍一上任就围绕中国周边国家展开了一系列外交活动,企图构筑对日有利的战略格局。安倍决定修改2010年民主党政府制定的防卫计划大纲,追加防卫费,增强军事力量。为阻止中国在钓鱼岛的巡航,日本有可能利用靠近钓鱼岛的八重山各岛部署海空力量。另一方面,安倍再度组阁后仍联合保守中间势力的公明党一起执政,而未同石原慎太郎为首的日本维新会合流,说明目前安倍内阁并非日本最右的内阁,中日关系恶化也还没有见底。2013年7月参议院选举后,安倍内阁可能改组,今后的发展趋势仍值得我们密切关注。

一、日本政治右倾化抬头与安倍东山再起

中日邦交正常化以来的历程表明,每当日本国内政治右倾化抬头,中日政治关系就会恶化或倒退,两国民间感情也会受到影响。相反,每当日本国内政治右倾化受到抑制,中日政治关系就会得到改善,两国民间感情也会好转。外交是内政的延伸。因此,观察安倍的对华政策趋势,需要认清日本政治右倾化的大背景。

(一)日本政治右倾化,主要指日本右翼势力及其主张在政界逐渐占上风并影响政府决策的一种政治倾向,它是导致中日政治关系恶化的重要因素

日本政治右倾化主要表现为日本教科书问题、靖国神社问题等美化侵略历史的动向,主张通过修改宪法突破战后禁区和法律束缚,推动扩军,对外使用武力。日本政治右倾化虽然不等于军国主义,但在历史观、战争观方面则与战前的军国主义一脉相承。进入21世纪,伴随信息网络化和民族主义兴起,日本右翼势力竭力利用中日之间的历史问题、钓鱼岛问题等煽动民意,凝聚和提升人气。一旦右翼势力控制一部分政治权力和舆论导向,必然会把日本对华政策拉向倒退。

日本政治右倾化是日本的一股政治思潮。这股思潮在20世纪50年代就开始冒头,但不是主流。和平主义势力要求日本战后走和平发展道路,代表了日本的普遍民意。但是,冷战时期,日本一些亲美反共的右翼政客在美国扶持下重返政坛。他们从修改日本教科书、参拜靖国神社等问题入手美化侵略历史,但仍受到日本中左势力的一定制约。冷战后,日本政界整体保守化,右翼保守势力得势,中左势力受压,处于劣势。

21世纪初,日本政治右倾化主要表现为小泉首相参拜靖国神社问题。福田康夫、鸠山由纪夫分别从2007年、2009年开始执政,并试图顶住政治右倾化恶浪,但势单力孤,均好景不长。2010年菅直人执政期间发生钓鱼岛“撞船事件”,日本右翼势力借机迅速膨胀。野田佳彦内阁对钓鱼岛实行所谓“国有化”,与右翼势力同流合污,最终丢掉政权。

21世纪以来,伴随国际战略环境变化和日本政治右倾化发展,中日关系从“政冷经热”变为“政冷经冷”。日本对华战略基调,从20世纪80年代支援中国改革开放和现代化建设,变为经济上利用、政治上较量、外交上制衡、军事上防范、海权上争夺。这必定会使两国关系受到干扰,而对立趋于加深。

结果是,日本把通过政府开发援助经营了近三十年的中国贸易和投资市场,拱手让给竞争对手。2012年中日贸易下降了3.9%。其中,中国对日本出口增长2.3%,自日本进口则下降了8.6%。截至2003年日本曾保持了10年的中国最大贸易对象国地位,而2012年日本在中国大陆外贸中的地位已降至第五位,占8.5%,为3294.5亿美元,比当年中美贸易总额少了1552亿美元。发展下去,日本将在中国大陆外贸伙伴中下降到第六位,落在韩国之后。结果说明一切:日本政治右倾化不仅导致对华战略发生偏差,而且也是日本经济萧条、政局不稳的重要原因之一。

2012年12月日本大选前,日本前众议院议长河野洋平曾大声疾呼:日本必须阻止右倾化。

他指出：“最近，日本政治右倾化倾向十分明显。……东西方冷战结束后，共产党和社会党等左派的主张大为削弱，保守派不把左派当回事而信口开河的倾向增强。民主党政权也有人主张放宽武器出口三原则，研究行使集体自卫权。执政党和在野的第一大党朝着同一方向竞相发展，必然导致右倾化。与过去的社会党不同，现在制约机能已不复存在。……照此发展下去，温和自由派势力可能灭绝，坠落悬崖后选民可能才会发现，可那时则有悔之晚矣之虞。”^[1]

河野洋平的忠告十分中肯，但在日本却未得到多数认同，反而遭到日本右翼势力的人身攻击。2012年末大选后，河野洋平又指出：现在国民中也有约三成支持过去自民党鸽派力争实现的政治，但根据现行的小选区制度，三成的支持是无法当选的，不能在议席数中反映，“有活力的鸽派”难以产生。^[2]其实，除了选举制度因素外，如何扭转日本约七成选民不支持自民党鸽派势力的现状，恐怕才是问题的关键。

(二)2012年日本大选结果表明，日本政治右倾化进一步发展，日本政坛格局发生新的深刻变化

2012年12月日本大选后，日本鹰派势力和右翼势力得势，而温和自由派则进一步削弱。在众议院480个议席中，自民党获294席，公明党获31席，两党联合执政，共有325席，超过众议院2/3。公明党相对温和的立场虽然仍会对自民党内鹰派构成一定牵制，但相当有限。目前，自民党在参议院尚未获得过半数议席，而一旦2013年7月参议院选举后自民党的议席超过半数，则未必与公明党继续联合执政。这次大选后，主张维护日本宪法的日本共产党只有8席，社民党只有2席，而主张修宪的日本维新会则获54席，成为日本众议院的第三大党。民主党虽为第二大党，但仅有57席，原野田内阁的8个阁僚落选。在无人出山情况下，民主党的温和派海江田万里当选民主党代表。

目前，日本众议院再度出现自民党“一党独大”局面。所不同的是，过去自民党内对华友好的原田中角荣派、大平正芳派不复存在，而原岸信介派的政治传人安倍晋三则再度成为日本首相。安倍所属的町村信孝派的众议员也从大选前的43人升至选后的70人，成为自民党内最大派系。对华友好人士——自民党前干事长加藤紘一（日中友好协会会长）、田中角荣女儿田中真纪子、民主党内温和派仙谷由人等纷纷落选。前首相福田康夫、鸠山由纪夫退出选举。日本右翼势力代表人物石原慎太郎则时隔18年再度当选众议员，并摇身一变成为第三大党的代表。

(三)安倍内阁主要成员的历史观偏右，参拜靖国神社的阁僚将增多，自民党及其内阁成员结构的右倾化值得关注

安倍内阁19名成员中，有14人是国会跨党派“大家一起参拜靖国神社国之会”的成员。过去一贯鼓吹参拜靖国神社的稻田朋美成为安倍内阁行政改革担当大臣。具有同样思想体系的高市早苗担任自民党政策调查会长。因此可以预料，2013年参拜靖国神社的日本国会议员和内阁成员将比2012年明显增加。如果日本首相、官房长官、外相或防卫相有人前往参拜，必定会遭到中国和韩国强烈谴责。

值得注意的是，安倍晋三在2012年竞选自民党总裁时提出，如果自民党掌权将全面重新考虑“反省历史的三大谈话”。所谓“三大谈话”是：第一，1982年的“宫泽喜一官房长官谈话”，提出日本修改教科书内容要考虑邻国的感情和中日联合声明精神；第二，1993年的“河野洋平

官房长官谈话”，承认日军强征慰安妇的历史事实并道歉；第三，1995年的“村山富市首相谈话”，承认日本过去国策发生错误，走上战争的道路，使国民陷入了生死存亡的危机，殖民统治和侵略给许多国家特别是亚洲各国人民带来了巨大的伤害和痛苦，并表示道歉。

2012年12月26日安倍内阁官房长官菅义伟表示：可以重新研究“河野谈话”，但安倍晋三首次组阁时曾表示在历史问题上坚持“村山谈话”精神，新政权也将采取同样方针。^[3]然而，2013年伊始，安倍首相则发出非常令人担忧的不同声音：“村山富市声明是社会党首相村山富市发表的。我希望发布适用于21世纪的前瞻声明。”^[4]这是自1995年以来，日本领导人第一次提出修改“村山讲话”。尽管安倍表示2013年春季大祭不会参拜靖国神社，但安倍有关修改“村山讲话”的表态，则似乎是为历史问题翻案而发出的一个信号。

同年1月6日，安倍晋三首相、菅义伟官房长官、下村博文文部科技大臣与所谓民间人士组成教育制度改革会议。其主要目的之一是，落实自民党竞选承诺提出的日本的教育要“使孩子们对日本传统文化感到自豪”，修改1982年日本政府确定的教科书审定时必须遵守的“近邻诸国条款”。^①这很可能为日本出版美化侵略历史教科书开方便之门，给日本同亚洲邻国及整个国际社会制造新的摩擦。

安倍的上述动向再度引起美国舆论的谴责。美国政府也对安倍内阁在历史问题上右倾化表示关切。在这种情况下，下村博文文部科学相表示：修改教科书审定规定“不是应该马上着手的问题”。^[5]在这个问题上，安倍内阁就像一只伸出触角悄然爬行的蜗牛，遇阻后会立即收回触角，而很快还会再探路前行。

（四）安倍政治的最大目标是修改战后日本宪法，摆脱战后秩序束缚。为此，首先企图通过灵活解释宪法行使“集体自卫权”

战后日本放弃了军国主义，走和平发展道路，很重要的是由于坚持在《日本国宪法》框架内行事。《日本国宪法》第九条规定：日本“永远放弃以国权发动的战争、武力威胁或武力行使作为解决国际争端的手段。为达到前项目的，不保持陆海空军及其他战争力量，不承认国家的交战权”。因此，尽管中日两国围绕钓鱼岛尖锐对立，但发生武力冲突和战争的可能性不大。日美虽为同盟，但日本不能行使与美国联合作战的“集体自卫权”。然而，一旦日本修改宪法第九条，或通过灵活解释宪法来行使“集体自卫权”，今后便很可能自动卷入美国发动的战争，进而与北约加强军事合作，助长“暴力的多边主义”。那样的话，日本能否继续走和平发展道路就会充满变数，中日关系面临的风险也会增大。

修改战后日本宪法，是安倍晋三的政治夙愿，也是以其外祖父岸信介为代表的自民党内鹰派势力追求的政治目标。安倍晋三2007年执政期间曾推动国会通过了修宪所需的国民投票法。目前，在参议院252席中自民党只占83席，为第二大党。自民党若能赢得2013年7月下旬

^① 1982年在日本文部省修改历史教科书问题上与中国、韩国等发生矛盾。同年8月，铃木内阁官房长官官泽喜一表示：关于日本的历史教科书“将以负责任的态度进行审定。”同年11月，日本文部省规定：在审定教科书过程中，“处理与近邻亚洲各国之间发生的近代和现代历史上的事实和现象时，要从国际理解和国际协调的观点出发，给予必要的考虑。”这就是一直遭到日本右翼反对的所谓“近邻诸国条款”。

的参议院选举,就可能联合日本维新会、大家之党等,修改修宪第96条,即把修宪要件从国会2/3以上的门槛降低到过半数即可。然后,再争取修改宪法第九条,把自卫队改为“国防军”,为大力扩军、在海外作战、与美军联合作战等铺平道路。安倍再度执政后的首个国会施政演说重点强调恢复经济和面临的危机,而未提修宪等争议比较大的问题,其目的或许主要是为赢得今年7月的参议院选举胜利。

据日本《朝日新闻》与东京大学谷口研究室共同调查结果显示,在2012年12月大选中新当选的国会议员中有89%的议员赞成修宪,75.6%赞成修改第九条,78%赞成日本行使“集体自卫权”。^[6]从这个角度看,日本修改宪法的可能性明显增大。一旦日本修改宪法第九条,中日关系的不确定性和受到的负面影响也将增大。

二、钓鱼岛之争与安倍对华政策倾向

2012年9月野田佳彦内阁“购岛”行为遭到中方坚决反对。中国政府宣布了钓鱼岛的领海基点基线。中国海监船实现了在钓鱼岛海域执法巡航的常态化。日方所谓对钓鱼岛的“实效统治”已不复存在。另一方面,石原慎太郎等日本右翼势力利用钓鱼岛争议大造反华舆论,煽动中日民族对立,在大选中扩大了右翼势力。中日钓鱼岛争议与两国关系正进入一个新的历史阶段。

(一)安倍内阁在钓鱼岛问题上不会改正野田内阁的错误,甚至可能变本加厉,但近期仍受到日本现行宪法制约,不能不有所收敛

安倍担心,在钓鱼岛海域“中国舰艇数量会超过日本。届时,中国很可能会对外宣称实际控制了有关岛屿。中国或许不会独自占有,而是退一步要求与日本共同管理,进行共同开发……为了防止这种事态发生,有必要以法律对付侵犯了领海主权的中国船只。另外还须增加防卫预算,利用海上自卫队的旧军舰巡海”。^[7]他宣称在钓鱼岛问题上“没有谈判的余地”,^[8]还下令修改2010年制定的日本“防卫计划大纲”,与美国协商重新修改“日美防卫合作指针”,效仿美国设立“国家安全委员会(NSC)”,强化由首相官邸主导的危机管理机制。其针对中国的一面将进一步凸显。

安倍内阁防卫相小野寺五典表示:钓鱼岛“毫无疑问是日本的固有领土。我们会坚决应对中国公务船和飞机进入日本领海和领空的问题。但是,日中两国在战略互惠关系中向前发展符合双方利益。双方保持对话十分重要。”^[9]

安倍执政后表示暂缓在钓鱼岛常驻公务员,但并未放弃这一主张和政策选项。据自民党副总裁高村正彦称:“安倍是想说,如果中方强力侵入,以建立实效统治,而常驻可保卫这些岛屿,或许会采取这种措施。但若未发生这种情况却特意常驻,刺激中国的国民感情,在外交上并非上策。”^[10]日本政府很清楚,一旦采取鲁莽行动,势将造成更加严重的后果,这不符合日本的国家利益。为避免不测事态,与自民党联合执政的公明党代表山口那津男提出,两国军机都不进入钓鱼岛上空。

安倍晋三在日本《文艺春秋》2013年1月号发表文章中称:“有民主党的某阁僚抹黑我,说‘安倍晋三当了首相,中日就会发生战争’。这实在是一个非现实的担忧。别忘了,我第一次执

政时,首个访问的国家就是中国。为了崭新的中日关系,我还与中国领导人达成构建‘战略互惠关系’的共识……两国有必要坚持为这个共识,并且以此作为考量,去解决发生的政治课题……中日两国以海为国界,为追求其中利益,自然会有起冲突的时候。不过,中日两国在经济上有着切也切不断的依赖关系。日本企业投资中国,要从中获益,而日本的投资也为中国创造出超过1 000万个就业机会。……中日之间的老关系是‘友好第一’,即便那不利于日本的国家利益也要维持‘友好’。不过,我认为友好应该是通往利益的一种手段,并非目的。若将本来是手段的东西当成是目的,那就是本末倒置。”^[7]

上述这段话既说明安倍对中国缺乏真正友好的感情,但也有务实、现实、灵活的一面。在日本经济的现实利益面前,不排除安倍对中国做些“友好表演”的可能性,但不会因经济利益而在钓鱼岛问题上做实质性让步。

(二)安倍对华战略基本思路是,强化日美同盟,从中国周边乃至全球寻找针对中国的合作伙伴,造成对其有利的外交态势与战略格局,但很难实现

安倍赢得大选后就外交政策方针表示:“仅从日中关系的角度出发来看待日中关系,是不能够促进和改善两国关系的。日中关系是21世纪日本外交的最大课题。从这一观点来讲,我认为需要把世界地图打开来进行俯视,在此基础上进行战略考量,这才是一条必需的捷径。”^[8]

2013年伊始,安倍内阁成员纷纷出访,意在制衡中国。同年1月,副首相麻生太郎访问缅甸;财务相额贺福志郎访问韩国;外相岸田文雄首次出访的国家是菲律宾、新加坡、文莱和澳大利亚;自民党众议院外务委员长河井克行出访英国、法国和比利时,向北约秘书长转交了安倍首相的亲笔信,企图拉北约联手对付中国;安倍首相则首先出访了越南、泰国和印尼,展开所谓“战略外交”。安倍内阁这一个月“突击访问”,虽未明显提及中国,但目的都是给中国“演戏”。然而,其并未完全达到预期目的,反而在世人面前凸显了中日确实存在钓鱼岛领土争议。

首先,安倍本想把美国作为第一个出访的国家,“首先要修补受损的日美同盟关系。在恢复强大外交实力的基础上,再来改善与其他各国的关系。”^[7]但安倍没等与美国事先商妥就宣布于1月访美,把美国当“外交牌”来打,结果反被延期至2月下旬。不过这似乎只是美国操控美日关系主导权的一种外交策略。我们看到,2012年12月4日,美国参议院表决通过了2013财年国防授权法修正案。该法案明确写到将钓鱼岛作为《日美安保条约》第五条的适用对象。这虽遭到中方强烈谴责,但于2013年1月2日经美国众议院认可和美国总统奥巴马签署而生效。这是对中国领土主权的又一次严重侵犯和损害。于是,美国本能地要在中日之间搞以上有倾向性的微妙平衡,提醒日本保持克制。

安倍则希望通过访美,从美国总统口中获得《日美安全条约》适用于钓鱼岛的承诺,争取美国支持日本修改宪法及行使集体自卫权,要求美国反对中国在钓鱼岛海域执法巡航而支持日本行使管辖权。为安倍访美打前站的岸田文雄外相已从克林顿国务卿那里得到部分口头承诺。然而,尽管美方表示希望中日就钓鱼岛主权对话协商,而安倍却高调拒绝同中国谈判。如果日本既要美国为其撑腰又要利用美国对中国搞冒险,将意味着美日同盟已被日本所主宰。

其次,安倍内阁为摆脱在东北亚的孤立,刻意缓和同韩国的岛争,提出与韩国加强“拥有自由

与民主主义、基本人权、法治等相同价值观的两国间的关系”。然而,在历史问题上安倍内阁与韩国很难有共同的价值观。韩国慰安妇的人权问题才是日本应该考虑的。早在 2007 年安倍第一次执政结束后,时任东京大学教授田中明彦就曾指出:安倍“自身保守民族主义的理念与外交现实有内在矛盾”。因为保守民族主义观念有关于日本侵略及殖民统治正当性的主张,存在着反自由主义、反人权的一面,必定与美国舆论发生对立。安倍外交的招牌之一是自由、民主的普世价值观,但这与其保守民族主义历史观的关系并不明确。^[11]朴槿惠政府将更重视美国和中国,而不愿被日本所利用。2013 年 1 月首先向中国派出特使便体现了韩国加强同中国关系的意向。

再次,安倍对东南亚表示希望在安全保障方面加强合作。然而,除了菲律宾外长实用主义地鼓动日本修改宪法,增强军备,对抗中国以外,东盟绝大多数国家都不愿在军事方面同日本联手对抗中国。

2013 年 1 月 16 日,安倍首相以首访越南为开端展开其所谓“战略外交”,但阿尔及利亚发生劫持日本人质事件则迫使他提前结束印尼之行匆匆回国。于是,安倍只好在联合记者会上发表了对东盟外交的五项原则,即所谓的“安倍主义”。

其要点是:1.日本与东盟共同创造和扩大自由、民主等普世价值观;2.共同全力保卫自由开放的海洋权益与航行自由,欢迎美国重视亚洲的政策;3.促进贸易与投资,实现与东盟各国共同繁荣;4.共同保护亚洲的多种文化与传统;5.积极推进青年交流,深化相互理解。其主旨是推行所谓“价值观外交”,推动构建日美与东盟共同制衡中国的战略格局。这似乎是一种针对中国的“意识形态+地缘战略”外交。

这与 1977 年 8 月福田赳夫首相提出的日本“不做军事大国”而与东盟建立“心心相印”平等关系的“福田主义”大相径庭,反映出日本外交战略的重大调整,结果会适得其反。据报道,1 月 18 日,越南驻华大使阮文诗在纪念中越建交 63 周年招待会上明确表示:包围中国之说很荒唐。无论是从现实还是从历史角度讲,越南从未有过与日本或美国联合抗衡中国的行为。越南不会忘记二战前后与日本那段不愉快的历史。中越双边问题可以通过双边协商解决。^[12]安倍访泰期间,泰国上议院议长尼空访华并表示,“泰中一家亲”名副其实。印尼等东盟国家对钓鱼岛问题希望中日双方根据国际法对话协商解决。言外之意是认定中日之间存在岛屿领土争议,拜托日本不要再逼东盟选边站。总之,亚洲要团结不要分裂。

正如日本国际政治学者所指出:1977 年的“福田主义”强调与东南亚“心心相印”;现在应该与包括东北亚在内的所有亚洲人都实现“心心相印”。这应该成为日本亚洲外交的目标。^[11]遗憾的是,如今的“安倍主义”也好,“日本战略外交”也罢,却恰恰偏离了这个目标,而且可能越走越远。

(三)近期安倍对华将采用软硬两手、软虚硬实、以硬为主的政策,今后其会否进一步接受右翼势力和防卫省鹰派的主张值得关注

今后,日本有可能在强化军事硬实力的同时,继续谋求“软突破”,即设法修改战后日本在军事领域自我约束的法律法规。2013 年 7 月 21 日参议院选举后,若自民党大获全胜,而且联合日本维新会等主张修宪的政党可超过 2/3 以上多数,安倍内阁必将争取一举实现战后最大的“软突破”——修改宪法。为此,不排除届时安倍内阁在钓鱼岛问题上对中国采取更强硬立场和

措施,一些阁僚集体参拜靖国神社,利用中方强硬言行煽动日本国内民族情绪,形成支持修宪的国内氛围。

安倍执政期间,日本右翼和自卫队鹰派势力将增大对政府决策的影响。日本原自卫队统合幕僚学校副校长川村纯彦称:一旦钓鱼岛被中方占领,日本在美国军事介入前必须单独应战。在左右作战胜负的空战方面,日本航空自卫队拥有可以在钓鱼岛周边凌驾中国空军的军事优势,将造成中国继续作战的困难。在海战方面,从舰艇战斗力、水兵训练、情报指挥通信管理能力等看,日本海上自卫队对中国海军具有压倒优势。特别是起关键作用的反潜作战能力是中国在钓鱼岛周边海域作战的软肋。只要日本潜水艇能够切断中国的海上补给,中国就不可能持续进行钓鱼岛的实效统治,终将被驱逐。

川村认为:中国核潜艇一旦进入太平洋深海和南海,有可能对美国构成第二次核打击力量,抵消美国的核威慑。因此,日本要倾全国之力打造保卫钓鱼岛的防卫体制,与美军共同巡航,防止中国控制南海。^[13]

日本其他一些对安全、外交决策有影响的人也主张:日本为防止中国对钓鱼岛采取行动,要在钓鱼岛部署自卫队,同时坚持与美国的同盟关系;^[14]日本要与“专守防卫思想诀别”,把保卫主权线改为“保卫利益线”,采取“战略守势、战术攻势”;修改宪法第九条;修改无核三原则,允许运入核武器;对中国采取“远交近攻”战略,为弥补同中国的实力差距,通过多边联手对付中国;强化海空军力和水上与空中的打击能力,创建海军陆战队,建设航母部队;提高情报能力和网络攻防能力;为把中国拦截在第一岛链,在强化日美同盟的同时,与东盟各国海军相互配合,实现共同训练常态化;为防守第二岛链,与日本曾经统治过的南洋诸岛强化关系,建立海上自卫队的军事合作港口,确保海上自卫队随时可以进驻南太平洋;^[15]日本要在增加海上保安厅装备和人员的同时,大幅增加防卫费,采取新的立法措施,日美在东海、南海联合巡航,部署美军鱼鹰战机;^[13]日本作为海洋国家,加强同海洋国家、半岛国家的战略联手,共同对付中国;^[16]日本要从“普遍价值”角度,提出自由、民主、人权等价值观外交,以赢得世界各国支持,共同“对抗中国的霸权行动”;^[17]为建立“对中国的软包围”,与印度、澳大利亚、东盟等国建立并扩大“有志者联合”,甚至可以根据“敌人的敌人就是朋友”的兵法,可从战略上考虑与俄罗斯、中亚各国的关系。^[18]从安倍执政后的一系列动向看,上述某些主张已被采纳或今后有可能被采纳。

此外,日本右翼反华势力还主张利用“无限量宽松政策”促使日元进一步贬值,造成在华日资企业大举撤资。以此“形成在华外资撤资引发中国失业激增与中国国内暴动的恶性循环”。然后在2013年7月参议院选举后改组的新内阁成员全体参拜靖国神社,以此刺激中国,造成“中国全国难以控制的暴动局面”^[19]。

这已涉嫌鼓吹颠覆中国,可谓居心叵测。其逻辑是建立在中国的反日游行主要是中国国内矛盾造成的,所以要加剧这一矛盾。这完全是日本右翼的一厢情愿。

三、促进中日关系改善急需扶正压邪

目前,中日关系陷入邦交正常化40年以来最严峻的局面,根本原因是日本国内右翼势力抬头。目前日本社会邪气太盛,正不压邪,反被邪欺,而且身在邪中不知邪。如果邪上加邪,日本

必定走上一条邪路,并把中日关系引向更加危险的境地。可以认为,中日关系能否改善,关键在于日本能否扶正压邪,迷途知返。

(一)今年7月参议院选举将是对日本选民政治平衡感的一次考验。日本政治右倾化能否受到抑制,中日关系能否得到改善,还要看参议院选举结果

从表面上看,去年12月日本大选右翼得势,但这次大选投票率为战后以来最低,仅为59%,有40%以上的日本选民没有投票。因为他们对现在日本政坛的各党均不看好。未来大选中,这些潜在选票的流向则值得关注。另外,2013年1月14日进行的日本民调显示,安倍内阁的支持率达到68%,较刚上任时的65%上升。这主要是由于安倍推行刺激经济的量化宽松政策,日元贬值有利于日本扩大出口和股市回升。此前日本民调便显示,期待安倍内阁恢复经济的“景气对策”占首位,为40.3%,而修改宪法的仅占2.1%。^[20]

目前与日本自民党联合执政的公明党是1964年成立的日本老牌政党,在众议院现有31个议席,在参议院有19席。该党曾奉行所谓“中道路线”,提倡和平主义,为1972年实现中日邦交正常化发挥过积极作用。公明党与自民党长期联合执政,政策主张大同小异,但对修改日本宪法持慎重态度。该党前代表太田昭宏现任安倍内阁国土交通大臣,负责海上保安厅与日本观光旅游事业及国土开发利用。估计太田昭宏任内不会批准在钓鱼岛现场采取过激行动。该党现任党代表山口那津男于2013年1月22日访问北京,并向中方转交安倍首相的亲笔信,作为修复两国关系的第一步。山口表示:中日两国因钓鱼岛问题而导致关系冷淡,这是双方都不愿意看到的,将从大局出发,寻找改善关系的道路。尽管不可能一蹴而就,但公明党为中日关系再度实现正常化所做的努力值得赞赏。在中日关系遇到困难的时候,中方加强同日本政界的交往,双方相向而行十分必要。

目前,由海江田万里率领的民主党要恢复元气相当困难。今后,如果民主党能接受失败的教训,重新振作,坚持和平发展道路,在历史问题上继续与右翼政党划清界限,在外交方面积极推进与中韩关系的改善,仍有可能成为日本政坛一支重要力量。在2013年7月参议院选举时,民主党若能保持现有88个议席甚至取得更多议席,则有可能对日本政治右倾化产生牵制作用。但是,如果民主党在钓鱼岛问题上继续坚持野田内阁犯下的错误,迎合右翼势力,很可能在参议院选举中再度败北,使石原慎太郎为首的日本维新会乘势而上。

(二)在钓鱼岛问题上日本一些有识之士开始站出来,敦促日本政府同中方对话,但安倍内阁根本立场未变

正值2013年1月安倍首相访问越南等国期间,日本前首相鸠山由纪夫则以个人身份访问了中国并特意到南京参观了日军南京大屠杀遇难同胞纪念馆。此举得到中国媒体高度评价,但在日本则引起截然不同的反应。鸠山1月17日就钓鱼岛问题向记者表示:“如果看一下历史,是存在争议的……如果坚持说‘不存在领土争议’,那就永远也找不到答案。”^[21]对此,安倍内阁官房长官菅义伟立即提出批评称:“这是违背我国立场的发言,对于前首相说出此番言论感到非常遗憾”。^[22]日本防相小野寺五典称,鸠山的话会“被中方制造国际舆论的口实”,甚至使用“国贼”字眼抨击这位日本前首相。^[2]这种前所未有的失态,战后以来实属罕见。已退出政界

的鸠山由纪夫,作为普通日本人当然有受到宪法保护的思想与言论自由,而日本内阁成员高调封杀正义之声,不过是心虚惊恐的表现。

其实,早已被日本右翼骂为“国贼”的日本自民党前总裁河野洋平,也发表过类似鸠山的看法。河野指出:“包括1978年就缔结和平友好条约进行谈判时,中国核心领导层决定把尖阁问题先放一放,交给‘下一代的智慧’来解决。日方应该是接受了此事,但并未将谈判的详细经过充分告知国民。‘下一代的智慧’也一直没有产生,认为(有效控制的)现状是理所当然的,把问题想得太天真。我认为存在这个间接原因。”河野还批评野田内阁在钓鱼岛问题上不顾中方立场而鲁莽采取“国有化”的做法“在外交上很拙劣”。^[21]

此外,日本前首相村山富市、自民党前干事长加藤紘一也于2013年1月28日访华,为改善中日关系发挥自己的作用。近来,日本一些前外交官也强调,日本政府应就钓鱼岛问题与中国对话,而非对抗。例如,日本外务省前事务次官栗山尚一、国际情报局长孙崎享等人都公开承认,1972年中日邦交正常化时就搁置钓鱼岛争议达成政治默契或共识,甚至明确指出日本政府所谓没有领土争议的说法本身就是错误的,在国际上也不会得到认同,并主张采取和解路线。^[23]日本前驻华大使丹羽宇一郎公开批评野田内阁没有阻止石原慎太郎的言行,强调“有围绕领土主权的外交争议就应该承认,与中国对话”。^[24]

安倍再度当选日本首相后,长期从事中日关系研究的日本早稻田大学教授毛里和子指出:“日本每当政权易人,就相对比较容易采取新的行动,对中国来说也是如此。我认为,日本政府承认‘存在领土问题’是可能的。应该承认两点:一是存在领土问题;二是两国曾就‘搁置’争议达成一致。从迄今为止公布的政府间文件内容可以了解,两国政府曾非正式地就搁置争议达成一致,这是事实。其他的外务省官员也有人做过类似的表示,所以我认为如果处理得当的话,是可以以此作为出发点、开始改善关系。我认为极端的民族主义是日中两国最大的敌人,两国都应该走出狭隘的民族主义。”^[25]毛里教授的上述观点相当客观。问题在于安倍首相并未接受,他于2013年2月1日重申:“与中国之间不存在需要解决的领土主权问题,也不存在应该搁置的问题”。^[26]

在过去的一年,日本又出现一些在钓鱼岛问题上敢于发表正确观点的有识之士,对日本政府的立场提出质疑和批评。例如,日本第三书馆发行人北川明2012年10月再版了井上清的《钓鱼诸岛的历史解析——“尖阁”列岛》。野田峰雄先生在该书前言中,用历史事实批驳了日本政府在钓鱼岛主权问题上的错误观点。日本祥云出版社同年11月出版了日本评论家副岛隆彦的新著《回眸世界恐慌与军事冲突》,从历史和法理的角度批驳了日本政府在钓鱼岛主权问题上的错误主张,并指出有“日本造成与中国冲突”的危险性。

(三)通过正确信息的传播与影响,为中日关系改善注入正能量,有利于把中日战略互惠关系的精神落实在钓鱼岛问题上

安倍晋三与河野洋平同属自民党,但为何对问题的看法如此不同?野田佳彦与鸠山由纪夫同属民主党,但为何对钓鱼岛的态度截然两样?其中有多种原因,而最主要的原因在于他们长期以来接触的信息、情报来源不同。这可以追溯到家庭背景、教育背景、同学亲朋、赞助团体、不同人脉、政治派别、政策智囊和官僚体系内提供的信息历史积累。在这之中,他们形成不同的政治理念与自我认定。

例如,安倍晋三继承了其外祖父——甲级战犯嫌疑犯、日本前首相岸信介的“政治 DNA”,同时也受到其父——中曾根康弘内阁外相安倍晋太郎的影响,而在他从政后身边经常围绕一些右翼鹰派人物和政策智囊。安倍既被他们捧为政治新星,又受到他们巨大的精神压力。野田佳彦属于民主党内的鹰派,与其从小受到其父——日本自卫队空降自卫官的影响分不开。鸠山由纪夫的祖父鸠山一郎战争期间曾反对东条英机独断专行,1954年当选日本首相后曾积极谋求实现中日邦交正常化,努力同苏联建交。河野洋平的父亲河野一郎曾任鸠山一郎内阁农林相。他们都反对吉田茂(麻生太郎外祖父)对美一边倒政策,于1956年10月一起访苏,签署了《日苏联合宣言》,恢复了日苏邦交。至今,河野洋平仍把太平洋和平与自己的名字联系在一起,念念不忘周恩来总理生前给他的教诲,决心毕生坚持日中友好。鸠山由纪夫也继承了其祖父鸠山一郎提倡的“友爱”精神,主张“中日友爱和平”,共建东亚共同体。

物以类聚人以群分,日本社会尤其如此。日本人都是生活在自己特定的、近乎彼此隔绝的小圈圈、小集团里。在他们身边会长期聚集立场相近的人,他们往往看同一类报刊,彼此交换容易产生共鸣的信息,并对外释放。日本右翼势力中接触面越窄、越闭塞的人,观点会越极端、越片面。日本民族性中有一种从众倾向,在各种利益关系和政治及社会压力下,由于担心被另眼相看,很容易形成一种随大流的“沉默”现象。因此,中方就钓鱼岛问题的真相和中国对日政策方针等,做耐心细致的说明是非常重要的。

2013年1月25日,中共中央总书记习近平会见了日本公明党党首山口那津男。习总书记在会见时表示:“中国政府重视发展中日关系的方针没有变化。事实证明,两国间四个政治文件是中日关系的压舱石,应坚持遵守。新形势下,我们要像两国老一辈领导人那样,体现出国家责任、政治智慧和历史担当,推动中日关系克服困难,继续向前发展。……中方在钓鱼岛问题上的立场是一贯和明确的,日方应正视历史和现实,以实际行动,同中方共同努力,通过对话磋商找到妥善管控和解决问题的有效办法。”^[27]日本媒体对习总书记的这次会见普遍予以好评。

2013年是《中日和平友好条约》缔结35周年。中日双方可以抓住这一时机重温和确认条约精神,把握两国关系发展大方向,就使用和平手段解决两国的一切争端达成新的共识。今后,如果中日两国政府能就钓鱼岛领土争议进行务实谈判,并鼓励和支持两国地方政府和民间开展钓鱼岛海域观光旅游的共同开发,中日之间的这道坎也许就可以跨过去。这将有利于中日两国政治互信、安全保障、整体合作和东亚和平稳定;有利于把和平、发展、合作、共赢的中国外交方针和中日战略互惠关系的精神,具体落实在解决钓鱼岛问题上。

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(责任编辑 许 佳)

Outlook of Sino–Japan Relations after Abe’s Reelection as the Prime Minister of Japan

LIU Jiang–yong

Abstract: Shinzo Abe, the newly reelected Japanese Prime Minister in December 2012, is holding the opportunity for improving Sino–Japan bilateral relations. However, under the background of right–wing tilt in Japanese politics, Abe’s policy toward China will inevitably tilt to the right and emphasize hawkish claims. By strengthening Japan–US military alliance and taking "value–oriented diplomacy" against countries surrounding China, Abe Cabinet tries to construct a strategic pattern favorable to Japan and enforce China make concessions on Diaoyu Dao dispute. Abe’s ultimate political goal is revising the Pacifist Constitution so as to pave the way for Japan to legitimately use military forces. In short term, Abe will take a tough stance on China, while moderate actions will also be considered in order to keep the situation controllable. Should Liberal Democratic Party won the Upper House election in the coming July, the revision of Japanese Pacifist Constitution might be initiated. In that case, Sino–Japan relations would come into a new historical phase, though not optimistic. The year of 2013 is the 35th anniversary of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between China and Japan. For a healthy Sino–Japan relationship and the peace and stability of Northeast Asia, it is of great significance for both sides to respect the treaty and handle the dispute of Diaoyu Dao properly.

Key Words: Shinzo Abe; Sino–Japan relations; Diaoyu Dao; Japanese Politics; Diplomacy of Japan; right–wing tilt in politics

Research Project: "Forecasting of China’s International Strategic Environment and Research on Counter–strategies of China", the Key Project of Philosophy and Social Sciences Research, Chinese Ministry of Education; Project number: 09JZD0040–2.

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In the general election on December 16, 2012, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) crashed the ruling Democratic Party of Japan by winning a majority 294 seats in the Diet’s Lower House. As a result, Shinzo Abe was elected as the 96th Prime Minister of Japan without question on December 26. Abe’s policy toward China will be a hybrid of overall strategic considerations and diplomatic flexibilities. As long as Abe had taken office, a series of diplomatic actions were taken against countries surrounding China to construct a strategic pattern favorable to Japan. Besides, Abe attempted to expand national defense budget and strengthened military forces by revising the 2010 National defense Program Guideline made by the Democratic Party administration. In order to prevent China patrolling in waters of Diaoyu Dao, Japan may allocate navy and air forces in Yaeyama Islands adjacent to Diaoyu Dao. In another aspect, it is the conservative and moderate Komeito that Abe decided to align with, not the Japan Restoration Party led by Shintaro Ishihara. It means that Abe Cabinet has not been tilt to extreme right and there still might be possibilities for aggravation of Sino–Japan relations. After the Upper House election in the coming July, Abe Cabinet might be reshuffled. The development tendency of Japanese politics should be closely watched.

1. Strengthening of the right–wing tilt in Japanese politics and Abe’s reelection

History since the normalization of Sino–Japan bilateral relations has proved that political relations of the two countries are

very sensitive to right-wings in Japan. Right-wing tilt in Japanese politics will inevitably aggravate Sino-Japan bilateral relations and hurt national feelings of the two nations. On the contrary, Sino-Japan bilateral relations can be improved if the right-wings in Japan are suppressed. Diplomacy is the extension of domestic politics. Only by fully recognizing the background of right-wing tilt in Japanese politics can we deeply analyze the tendency of Abe's policy toward China.

1.1 Right-wing tilt in Japanese politics, which is the main reason for aggravation of Sino-Japan relations, refers to a political tendency that extreme right-wing politicians in Japanese conservative parties are taking advantage in Japanese politics and have a strong influence on the decision of Japanese government

The Japanese right-wings have been trying to revise the history textbook, restore the traditional place of Yasukuni shrine, downplay the invasion history, break the post-war international order and law arrangement by revising the Pacifist Constitution, actively develop and use military forces, and etc. Although political tilt to the right is not equal to Militarism, the two is exactly the same on values of history and war. In 21st century, with the development of internet-based information technology and the rising nationalism, right-wings in Japan try to make voices by taking advantage of historical issues between China and Japan, Diaoyu Dao dispute, and Taiwan issue. As long as right-wings in Japan take control of the political power and public opinion in certain degrees, Japan's policy toward China will inevitably be pulled back.

Being one of the traditional political thoughts in Japanese politics, Rightism in Japan started in early 1950s, but far from mainstream. Pacifism, which stood for the wishes of Japanese people after World War II, required that Japan must stick to a peaceful road for development. However, in the era of the Cold War, some anti-communism but pro-American right-wing politicians returned in the platform of Japanese politics with support from the United States. They tried to turn the Japanese politics to the right by revising history textbook, visiting the Yasukuni shrine, and downplaying invasion history, but still constrained by the middle and left-wings. After the end of the Cold War, Japanese politics were becoming more and more conservative and the influences of the right-wings were also growing rapidly. On the contrary, the middle and left-wings were less influential.

In early 21st century, the former Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi's visit to the Yasukuni shrine could be seen as a typical symbol of the right-wing tilt in Japanese politics. Fukuda Yasuo and Yukio Hatoyama, who took office as the Prime Minister of Japan since 2007 and 2009 respectively, tried to prevent the right-wing tilt in Japanese politics. However, there was little effect. Then, the right-wings expanded fast by taking advantage of the "Vessel Collision Accident" in 2010 when Kan Naoto was the Prime Minister. The Yoshihiko Noda Cabinet compromised with the right-wings by initiating the so called "nationalization" of Diaoyu Dao and finally was replaced by LDP as the ruling party.

Since the 21st century, with the change of international strategic situation and the development of right-wing tilt in Japanese politics, Sino-Japan relations have changed from "politically cold and economically hot" to "politically cold and economically cold". In 1980s, the main tune of Japan's policy toward China was to support China's Reform and Open policy and the process of modernization. However, now it has turned into "economically used, politically battled, diplomatically contained, militarily defended, and maritime contended". Inevitably, bilateral relations of the two countries have been worsened.

As a result, the big Chinese international trade and investment market, which has been supported and developed by Japanese government and corporations for nearly three decades, will be taken by competitors of Japan. In 2012, volume of Sino-Japan trade decreased 3.9%. For China, export to Japan increased 2.3% and import from Japan decreased 8.6%. Up to 2003, Japan had been the biggest international trade partner of China for ten years. However, Japan dropped to the 5th in 2012. The total amount of Sino-Japan trade is 329.45 billion dollars, only 8.5% of China's overall trade volume and 155.2 billion dollars less than Sino-US trade. With this trend, Japan is going to drop to the 6th trade partner of China, behind Republic of Korea. All the above facts have demonstrated that right-wing tilt in Japanese politics has not only deviated Japan's policy toward China from correct orbit, but also been one of the main reasons for Japan's economic recessions and political instability.

Right before Japanese general election in December 2012, former speaker of the Japanese Lower House Yohei Kono strongly advocated a "brake" to the right-wing tilt. As he pointed, "Recently, Japan is trueing to the right apparently. Leftism,

like the Communism Party and Socialism Party, has been weakened since the end of the Cold War. The conservatives can say whatever they want without considering the Leftism. In Democratic Party of Japan, there are also some politicians who agree with easing the Three Principles on Weapon Export and discussing how to use the right of collective self-defense. The ruling party and opposition party are going together to the direction of right, and no self-constraint mechanisms can be found. With this trend, the moderates and liberates may extinct. The Japanese voters may suffer from the risk of founding that they have fallen down the cliff before they noticed. This is extremely dangerous.^[1]

Apparently, the above advices from Yohei Kono were fairly pertinent. However, they were not accepted by Japanese majority and Yohei Kono himself encountered personal attacks by the right-wings. After the election in the end of 2012, Yohei Kono has also pointed out that about three-tenths Japanese voters support the political goal of the pacifists and moderates in Democratic Party of Japan. While under the current Japanese voting system, it is not enough to elect a Leftism Prime Minister and "energetic pacifists" can hardly be fostered either.^[2] Actually, beside the voting system factors, the key issue is how to change the right-wing attitude of the rest seven-tenths Japanese voters.

1.2 The result of Japanese general election in 2012 has proved that right-wing tilt in Japanese politics has been strengthened and there are new profound changes in Japanese politics

After the general election in December 2012, Japanese hawkish and Rightism have been greatly strengthened. While on the other hand, the moderates have been weakened. In overall 480 seats of Japanese Lower House, LDP has won 294 seats and the Komeito 31 seats, which means the LDP-Komeito alliance has gained a two-thirds majority (325 altogether). The comparable moderate Komeito, ally of LDP, plays as a loose constraint to hawkish politicians in LDP. However, as long as LDP win more than half seats in the Upper House election in July 2013, it will be unnecessary for LDP to unite with Komeito. According to the result of the general election, Japanese Communist Party that support the Pacifist Constitution has only got 8 seats, while the SDP (Social Democratic Party) only 2 seats. However, the Japan Restoration Party who advocates revising the Pacifist Constitution has won 54 seats and has become the third largest party in Japanese Lower House. Being the second largest party, Democratic Party of Japan has completely lost and only got 57 seats. 8 ministers of Noda Cabinet have to resign. As the only nominee, Kieda Banri, the SDP moderate, is elected as the representative of Democratic Party of Japan.

LDP has gained dominance in Japanese Lower House again. However, this time is different. The pro-China Tanaka Kakuei clique and Masayoshi Ohira clique in LDP has been extinct. While Shinzo Abe, the political heir of former Gishi Shinsuke clique, now is the Prime Minister and also the big brother leading the Machimura Nobutaka clique which is the biggest clique in LDP and consists of 70 members in Lower House compared to 43 before the election. The pro-China Kato Koichi (former secretary-general of LDP and president of Japan-China Friendship Association), Tanaka Makiko (daughter of Tanaka Kakuei), Sentani Yoshihito (moderate in Democratic Party of Japan) have all lost the election. Former Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo and Yukio Hatoyama have quitted. On the contrary, the representative personage of right-wings in Japan, Shintaro Ishihara, who has been reelected as the member of Lower House after 18 years, now is the leader of Japan's third largest party.

1.3 Historical views of the main members in Abe Cabinet are typical to the right. In this case, the number of ministers visiting the Yasukuni shrine may increase. The right-wing tilt tendency of LDP and Abe Cabinet should be watched closely

14 ministers out of 19 in Abe Cabinet are the members of the trans-party "Association of Visiting Yasukuni Shrine Together" in Japanese Diet. Inada Tomomi, a strong advocator of visiting Yasukuni shrine, has been nominated as the Minister of State for Government Revitalization of Abe's Cabinet. Takaichi Sanae, another right-wing follower, has also been nominated as the Head of Policy Research Council of LDP. So compared with the year 2012, it is possible for more Diet members and ministers in Abe Cabinet to visit Yasukuni shrine in 2013. Such behaviors by Japanese Prime Minister, Chief Cabinet Secretary, Minister of Foreign Affairs or Minister of Defense will inevitably provoke strong protests from China and Republic of Korea.

What should be emphasized is that during the campaign for the leader of LDP in 2012, Shinzo Abe had referred to completely reconsider the "three introspective Talks", which are "Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa Kiichi's Talk" in 1982 for Japan to consider the feeling of neighboring countries and adhere to the China-Japan Joint Statement in revising history textbook; "Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohei's Talk" in 1993 to admit and apologize for the fact that Japanese army had forcibly recruited the "comfort women"; "Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi's Talk" in 1995 to admit and apologize for Japan's wrong national policy to war, military invasion, and colonial rule, which not only endangered the Japanese nation, but also brought huge damage and suffering to Asian countries.

On December 26, 2012, Suga Yoshihide, Chief Cabinet Secretary of Abe Cabinet, said that "Kono Yohei's Talk" could be examined again, while the new administration would adhere to "Murayama Tomiichi's Talk" as Shinzo Abe had mentioned when he reshuffled the cabinet for the first time.^[3] However, in early 2013, Prime Minister Abe has sent a rather disturbing signal: "The 'Murayama Tomiichi's Talk' was made by former Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi, the leader of Japan Socialist Party. I want to issue a forward statement suitable for the 21st century."^[4] This is the first time for Japanese leader to attempt to revise "Murayama Tomiichi's Talk" since 1995. Although Abe has said that he will not visit Yasukuni shrine in the coming spring, it seems that his attitude toward "Murayama Tomiichi's Talk" is a signal to draw back on historical issues.

On January 6, 2013, Conference on the Reform of Educational Institution was held by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, Chief Cabinet Secretary Suga Yoshihide, Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Shimomura Humihiro, and the so called non-government people. One of the main purposes was to live up to LDP's campaign rhetoric that "Education in Japan should make children be proud of traditional Japanese culture" by discussing the modification of the "1982-Neighbor Rule" ^① for history textbook revision. It is of great possibility that the door for publishing invasion-pretified history book is opened and new conflicts between Japan and the whole international community (mainly its Asian neighbors) can be expected.

Abe's right-wing moves were criticized by American press once again. Obama administration has also expressed concern about the right-wing tilt of Abe Cabinet over historical issues. Under this situation, Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Shimomura Humihiro pointed out that "modification of the '1982-Neighbor Rule' should not be implemented at once."^[5] Abe Cabinet is just like a slow crawling snail with feelers. Although the snail will draw in the feelers when being touched, it will try to move forward again in short time.

1.4 Changing post-war international order by revising Japanese constitution is Abe's ultimate political goal, which requires a flexible explanation of the Pacifist Constitution so as to exercise the "Right of Collective Self-defense"

It is the Pacifist Constitution that ensures a peaceful road for Japan's development by abandoning the Militarism after World War II. According to the 9th article of the Pacifist Constitution, "The Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the proceeding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized". For this reason, although territorial dispute between China and Japan over Diaoyu Dao is rather fierce, the possibility of bilateral military collision and war is not big. Japan has established military alliance with the US, but the exercise of the "right of collective self-defense" with US military forces is prohibited by the Pacifist Constitution. However, as long as the 9th article of the Pacifist Constitution were revised or interpreted reversely for exercising the "right of collective self-defense", Japan might be involved in wars initiated by the US automatically. Military

① In 1982, the conflict on the issue of revising Japanese history textbook broke out between Japan and neighboring countries, mainly China and Republic of Korea. In August 1982, Miyazawa Kiichi, Chief Secretary of Suzuki Cabinet, pointed out that Japanese government would take a responsible attitude on revising history textbook. In November 1982, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) of Japan announced that "international understanding and coordination should be fully considered in dealing with the historical facts and phenomenon related with neighboring countries". This is the so called "Neighbor Rule" which has been opposed by right-wings ever since.

collaboration between Japan and the NATO might be strengthened and the "violent Multilateralism" might also be fostered. In that case, whether Japan would continue to insist a peaceful road for development were uncertain. Risks for Sino-Japan relations would also be increased.

Revising the Pacifist Constitution is not only Shinzo Abe's ultimate political goal, but also the ever lasting claim of hawkish politicians in LDP represented by Gishi Shinsuke, grandfather of Shinzo Abe. In 2007, then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe pushed the Diet to pass the Law of National Voting for revising the constitution. LDP, the second largest party, now occupies 83 seats out of 252 altogether in the Upper House. Could LDP win the Upper House election in July 2013, the 96th article of the Pacifist Constitution, which has set above two-thirds majority in Lower and Upper House as the precondition for revising the constitution, might be revised by a coalition of LDP, Japan Restoration Party, and Your Party. Then next step will be the revision of the 9th article so as to transform Japanese Self Defense Forces into "National Defense Forces" and pave the way for strengthening military forces and the preparation of maritime wars and joint-combat with the US. In Abe's first speech delivered in front of the Japanese Diet, economic recovery and the current crisis was typically emphasized, while controversial issues such as the revision of the Pacifist Constitution had not been mentioned. It is estimated that such actions are for the coming Upper House election in July.

According to the joint-investigation by Asahi Shimbun and Taniguchi's Lab of Tokyo University, among the newly elected Diet members in December, 2012, 89% agrees with revising the constitution, 75.6% agrees with modifying the 9th article, and 78% agrees with exercising the "Right of Collective Self-defense"^[6]. It is obvious that the possibility for Japan to revise the Pacifist Constitution is increasing. If the 9th article were to be revised, uncertainties and negative effects for Sino-Japan relations would inevitably increase.

2. Diaoyu Dao Dispute and Abe's Policy toward China

In September 2012, the so called "purchase of Diaoyu Dao" by the Noda Cabinet encountered strong opposition from the Chinese government. Afterwards, Chinese government announced the territorial sea base points and baselines for waters of Diaoyu Dao. Chinese marine surveillance vessels have been conducting regular law enforcement patrols in waters of Diaoyu Dao. Japan's "effective control" over Diaoyu Dao has been ended. On the other hand, the strength of right-wings in Japanese politics was enhanced by right-wing politicians like Shintaro Ishihara who attempted to stir China and aggravate Sino-Japan confrontation. Sino-Japan territorial dispute over the isle and the bilateral relations between the two countries have entered into a new era.

2.1 Abe will take a tougher stance on Diaoyu Dao dispute instead of modifying wrong decisions of Noda Cabinet. However, with constraint of the current constitution, aggressive actions have to be contained

What disturbs Abe is the following assumption. One day in the area of Diaoyu Dao, Chinese warships will be more than that of Japanese. In that case, China may announce that Diaoyu Dao has been effectively controlled by Chinese forces. Thereafter, China may not really engross the island but to suggest joint administration and exploit. In order to prevent this scenario, Japan should deal with Chinese vessels which have invaded Japanese territorial waters by law. Besides, national defense budget should be expanded so that old warships can be equipped in Japan Maritime Self Defense Force for patrolling.^[7] Abe has said that there is "no room for talks" on Diaoyu Dao territorial dispute.^[8] Further more, he has also given the instruction to modify Japan's 2010 "National Defense Program Outline" and to negotiate with the US for revising the "Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation" again. Besides, he also plans to learn from the US and establish National Security Commission (NSC) in order to strengthen the crisis-management mechanism led by the Prime Minister. It can't be more obvious that such moves are all pointed to China.

As Onoder Itsunori, Minister of Defense in Abe's Cabinet, has said, "Diaoyu Dao is undoubtedly inherent territory of Japan. We have been determined to cope with the incursion of Chinese administration vessels and aircrafts. However, joint-

development under the framework of strategic reciprocal relations is in accordance with interests of the two countries. Maintaining bilateral dialogues is of great significance."^[9]

Although Abe administration suspended the plan to send permanent government officer to Diaoyu Dao, the option to do so has never been abandoned. According to the announcement of Komura Masahiko, vice president of LDP, if China would invade Diaoyu Dao in purpose and try to set up "effective control", permanent government officer might be sent by Japan to the isle as a countermeasure. However, in other cases, such move which may agitate Chinese nationalism is not a wise diplomatic choice. ^[10]It's quite clear for the Japanese government that situation could only be worsened if such extreme action were taken. To avoid accidental collisions, Natsuo Yamaguchi, representative of Komeito, suggests that military aircrafts from both countries should not enter into Diaoyu Dao.

In the article published in *Bungeishunju*, Issue 1, 2013, Shinzo Abe pointed that "Cabinet Ministers from Democratic Party of Japan framed me up by saying that 'War between China and Japan will break out as long as Shinzo Abe become the Prime Minister of Japan'. This is definitely an unrealistic concern. Don't forget, China was the first country that I visited when I took office for the first time. For a brand new Sino-Japan relationship, I have constructed 'Strategic Reciprocal Relations' with Chinese Leaders. The two countries should adhere to the above consensus which is also the foundation for resolving political disputes. Japan and China are divided by sea. In the perspective of self interest, conflicts are inevitable. However, the bilateral economic interdependence between the two countries is so intimate that it can hardly be cut down. Japanese companies have benefited from investing in China, while the latter also get more than a thousand newly-created jobs. Japan will stick to 'friendship first' principle which is a tradition in Sino-Japan relations. However, I believe that friendship is not the final goal, but only a way to interest. The reverse should not be accepted."^[7]

The above article has demonstrated that Abe's friendship to China is unreal. His attitude toward China is practical, realistic, and versatile. For Japan's interests, it is quite possible for Abe to perform "friendship show". But compromises on Diaoyu Dao dispute can never be expected.

2.2 Abe's China strategy, though unrealistic, can be concluded as strengthening Japan-US military alliance first and looking for potential partners around China to create diplomatic environment and strategic pattern favorable to Japan

Abe has clarified his diplomatic policies after the general election. "It is not enough to evaluate Japan-China relations only from a bilateral perspective. For Japan's diplomatic and security strategy, how to deal with Japan-China relations is the biggest challenge bestowed by the 21st century. So we need a broad world-view to strategically re-examine Japan-China relations. I strongly believe this is the shortcut we must take."^[8]

In early 2013, Abe cabinet initiated a wave of diplomatic actions against China's neighboring countries aiming at diplomatically encircling China. In January, Aso Taro, Deputy Prime Minister of Japan, visited Myanmar. Nukaga Fukushima, Finance Minister of Japan, visited Republic of Korea. Kishida Humio, Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Philippine, Singapore, Brunei, and Australia. Katsuyuki Kawai, Foreign Affairs Chairman of Lower House, not only visited Britain, France, and Belgium, but also handed a letter from Prime Minister Abe to the general secretary of NATO, attempting to restrain China jointly with the latter. Prime Minister Abe visited Vietnam, Thailand, and Indonesia, initiating the so called "strategic diplomacy". The above one-month "sudden visiting" in which China was omitted in purpose is a "diplomatic play" against China. However, there are little effects. On the contrary, Sino-Japan territorial dispute over Diaoyu Dao has been fully uncovered by Japan to international community.

Abe's attempt to visit the US first is due to the belief that "strengthening Japan-US alliance is the only way for Japan to acquire powerful diplomatic strength." He plans to "fix the impaired Japan-US alliance first and then improve relations with other countries"^[7]. Abe tried to diplomatically manipulate the US by revealing his visiting plan in advance without negotiation with the latter. However, his visiting was postponed by the US to late February. The attitude of the US might just be a reflection of diplomatic tactics used by the US to dominate US-Japan relations. As we have witnessed, on December 4 of 2012, National Defense Authorization Act Amendments of 2013 fiscal year was approved by the US Senate. According to the act, Diaoyu Dao applies to the 5th article of the Treaty of Security and Safeguard between Japan and United States, which has

been strongly opposed by China. Anyway, the act which has been approved by House of Representatives and signed by President Obama comes into force on January 2, 2013. This is another severe violation and destruction to China's territorial sovereignty. And then, the US tries to keep a pro-Japan but delicate balance between China and Japan, and remind Japan to stay calm.

Abe was attempting to get the promise that Treaty of Security and Safeguard between Japan and United States was applicable to Diaoyu Dao by visiting the US. Besides, he was also trying to go after the US-approval of the revision of Japanese Pacifist Constitution and the execution of the right of collective defense, and ask for support for Japanese administration over Diaoyu Dao from the US. Kishida Humio, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, who made a preparation visit to the US, has partly got the oral promise from the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. However, Abe has toughly refused to negotiate with China on Diaoyu Dao dispute, regardless of the US announcement that dialogue and coordination should be the first choice of the two countries over Diaoyu Dao territorial dispute. By manipulating the strength of US, Japan has actually dominated the US-Japan alliance.

In order to step out of the awkward isolation in Northeast Asia, Abe Cabinet was trying to ease the tension with ROK over island dispute by suggesting a "bilateral relationship based on the same value of liberty, basic human rights, rule of law, and etc." However, it is hardly for Abe Cabinet to lay a foundation of common value with ROK in historical issues. It is the human right of Korean "comfort women" that Japan should seriously consider now. As early as 2007 when Abe resigned for the first time, Tanaka Akihiko, professor in Tokyo University, had pointed out that "Abe's conservative nationalism conflicts with Japan's diplomatic reality". The nationalism-supported legitimacy of Japanese invasion and colonial rule, which is anti-liberalism and against human rights, is definitely against the US public opinion. However, free, democratic, and universal values, which are the flag of Abe's diplomacy, are not closely connected with the historical views of conservative nationalism. The Park Keun Hae administration will continue to emphasize the relationship with the US and China instead of being manipulated by Japan.^[11]In January of 2013, ROK sent diplomatic envoy to China showing the intent of strengthening bilateral relations.

Further more, Abe has shown the attempt to strengthen the security and safeguard cooperation with Northeast Asian countries. However, except Philippines who has been agitating Japan to modify the Pacifist Constitution and confront China by strengthening military forces, most of the ASEAN countries are reluctant to confront China together with Japan.

On January 16, 2013, Abe started his "strategic diplomacy" by firstly visiting Vietnam. However, due to Japanese-hijack accident in Algeria, he had to return from Indonesia in advance. Then Abe had to deliver the five diplomatic principals against ASEAN countries, which was the so called "Abenism", at the press conference.

The main points of "Abenism" are as follows: First, Japan will create and spread free and democratic universal values with the ASEAN. Second, jointly protect the free and open marine right and freedom of navigation, welcoming the US strategy of "Pivot to Asia". Third, achieve mutual prosperity by promoting trade and investment with ASEAN countries. Fourth, jointly protect the various Asian culture and tradition. Fifth, deepen bilateral understanding by actively promoting communications among the adolescent. The above "diplomacy of values" which is the core of "Abenism" aims at constructing a Japan-US-ASEAN unified strategic pattern against China. It seems that it is a diplomacy of "ideology plus geographical strategy" pointing at China.

In August of 1977, Fukuda Takeo, former Prime Minister of Japan, raised the point that Japan would establish a "heart-to-heart" equal partnership with ASEAN countries in stead of "being a military giant", known as "Fukudanism". The so called "Abenism" which apparently contradicts with the above point is a reflection of Japan's adjustment of diplomatic strategy, being bound to fail. It is reported that on the reception of the 63rd anniversary of the establishment of Sino-Vietnam diplomatic relations, Nguyen Van Tho, the Vietnam ambassador to China, has expressed that rumors of encircling China are ridiculous; No matter from the perspective of history or reality, Vietnam has never confronted China with Japan or the US; Vietnam will never forget the unpleasant history around World War II; Bilateral problems between China and Vietnam can be resolved by negotiation.^[12]During Abe's visiting in Thailand, Nikhom, president of Thailand's Upper House, visited China and said that it's absolutely true that "Thailand and China belongs to one family". Other ASEAN countries like Indonesia have also expressed that Diaoyu Dao territorial dispute between China and Japan should be resolved by dialogue and coordination

according to international laws. It not only means that the dispute over Diaoyu Dao has been acknowledged by ASEAN countries, but also has signaled out that Japan's attempt to restrain China by hooking in ASEAN countries is not welcomed. In a word, Asia needs unity instead of split.

As some Japanese researchers of international politics have pointed out, "Fukudanism" in 1977 emphasizes Japan's "heart-to-heart" relationship with Northeast Asia; while now it is the time for Japan to establish such kind of relationship with entire Asian people and this should be Japan's diplomatic goal in Asia.^[11] It's a pity that the "Abenism" and "Japan's strategic diplomacy" have both deviated from this goal and might be even severe in the future.

2.3 Recently, a dual stance which is moderate outside but tough inside will be taken by Abe against China. In future, whether Abe will accept the claims of right-wings and hawkish politicians in Ministry of Defense needs to be watched closely

In future, Japan may continue to look for a "soft break-out" which is the revision of laws restricting Japan in military areas while strengthening military forces. After the Upper House election on July 21 this year, if LDP won a more than two-thirds majority united with parties supporting the revision of constitution, like Japan Restoration Party, Abe Cabinet would try to accomplish the biggest "soft break-out" which is the revision of the Pacifist Constitution. Then it is of great possibility for Abe Cabinet to take a tougher stance on China over Diaoyu Dao dispute, to visit the Yasukuni shrine collectively, and to agitate nationalism among Japanese people so as to create a domestic atmosphere favorable to the revision of the Pacifist Constitution.

In the period of Abe administration, right-wings in Japan and hawkish clique in Self Defense Forces will try to exert greater influences on the decision of Japanese government. As Kawamura Sumihiko, vice president of Joint Staff School for Self Defense Forces, has claimed, once Diaoyu Dao were to be taken by Chinese forces, Japan should alone fight with China before the military intervention from the US. In the perspective of crucial air-combat, Japan Air Self Defense Force is militarily competitive over Chinese air forces in the area of Diaoyu Dao, and it will make it difficult for China to fight continuously. In the perspective of marine-combat, Japan has also gained overwhelming advantages over China, especially in areas of combat effectiveness of warships, marine training, capability of intelligence command and communication management, and etc. What's more, Japanese antisubmarine technology is highly advanced compared with China. As long as China's marine supply chain could be cut by Japanese submarines, it would be impossible for China to maintain effective control of Diaoyu Dao.

According to Kawamura Sumihiko's opinion, if Chinese nuclear submarines went into deep Pacific Ocean and the South Sea, China's potential ability of second nuclear strike would counteract the nuclear threat of the US. As a result, Japan should construct the defense system to protect Diaoyu Dao with full strength, and co-navigate with US vessels in order to prevent China's control of the South Sea.^[13]

Some other influential Japanese politicians have also advocated the following claims: In case of China taking actions against Diaoyu Dao, Japan should deploy Self Defense Forces in Diaoyu Dao and strengthen military alliance with the US at the same time;^[14] Japan should abandon "conservative defense thoughts", and take a stance of "strategic defense and tactical offense" by "protecting the line of interests" instead of "protecting the line of sovereignty"; The 9th Article of the Pacifist Constitution should be revised; The Three Non-nuclear Principles should also be modified and the transportation of nuclear weapons should be allowed; In order to catch up with China in the area of military strength, a multilateral encircling net against China should be deployed; Japan should strengthen the capability of air and marine attack by establishing Marine Corps and Aircraft Carrier Forces; Japan should strengthen the intelligence strength and the capability of internet attack and defense; In order to intercept China from the First Island Chain, Japan should normalize joint military exercises with navy forces of ASEAN countries, while strengthening Japan-US military alliance at the same time; In order to protect the Second Island Chain, Japan should intensify the relations with South Pacific Islands that had been ruled by Japan in the past, and establish joint military port for Japan Maritime Self Defense Force so as to make sure that military reactions can be taken immediately in South Pacific Ocean;^[15] Japan should greatly expand the defense budget and enact new laws while increasing the facility and labors of the Japan Coast Guard, maintain co-navigation with the US in the Eastern Sea and the South Sea, and deploy the US V-22 Osprey fighters;^[13] Being a marine country, Japan should strengthen strategic ties with marine countries and

peninsula countries to jointly cope with China;^[16] Japan should gain worldwide support in "joint-fighting against Chinese hegemony" by implementing the "value diplomacy" of freedom, democracy, and human-right from the perspective of "universal values";^[17] In order to set "soft encircling against China", Japan should establish and expand the potential alliance with India, Australia, and ASEAN countries, and even strategically reconsider the relations with Russia and central Asian countries according to the military thought that "Enemy of enemies is friend".^[18] From a series of actions taken by Abe so far, it is possible that the above advocates have already been taken or will be taken in future.

Besides, the anti-China right-wings in Japan have also advocated devaluating Japanese Yen by implementing the "unlimited quantitative easing monetary policy" so as to force the Japanese corporations withdraw from China. Thereafter, a vicious circle of FDI withdraw, increase of unemployment rate, and domestic riot might be expected in China. Then after the Upper House election in July of 2013, the new Cabinet members should visit the Yasukuni shrine collectively to stir China into an "uncontrollable nation-wide rebellion".^[19]

This evil intent of subverting Chinese government was built on the logic that anti-Japanese demonstrations in China were due to domestic conflicts of China, which was definitely the day-dream of Japanese right-wings.

3. Improvement of Sino-Japan Relations Need to Enhance Friendly Tunes and Restrain Evil Intent

Currently, Sino-Japan relations have been stuck in the most severe situation in the past 40 years since the normalization of bilateral relations of the two countries. The ultimate reason is the strong right-wing tilt in Japanese politics. Nowadays, the whole society of Japan is immersed in the wave of extreme right-wing thoughts without clear-minded recognition. If Japan would go on the road of right-wing tilt further in the future, the Sino-Japan relations would be endangered. As a matter of fact, whether bilateral relations of the two countries could be improved or not mainly depends on how far would Japan go on the road of right-wing tilt.

3.1 The Upper House election in the coming July will be a test for the political sense of balance of Japanese people. Whether the right-wing tilt in Japanese politics could be restrained and whether Sino-Japan relations could be improved will both depend on the final result of the election

Though it seems that right-wings in Japan were the winner of the general election in last December, the 59% voting-ratio was the lowest since the end of World War II and over 40% voters had given up the right to vote due to pessimistic views on current Japanese politics. In future elections, the intent of those potential voters needs to be watched closely. Besides, according to the public opinion poll conducted on January 14 of 2013, the approval rating of Abe administration was 68% compared with the previous 65%, mainly due to the expansion of export and improvement of stock market as a result of the quantitative easing monetary policy implemented by Abe administration. According to earlier polls, ratio of recovering Japanese economy was 40.3%, while ratio of revising the Pacifist Constitution was only 2.1%.^[20]

The 1964-founded Komeito, current ally of LDP, is a Japanese party with long history and tradition. Now it owns 31 seats in Japanese Lower House and 19 seats in Upper House. Komeito who sticks to the "middle-road" and advocates Pacifist contributed a lot to the normalization of Sino-Japan relations in 1972. Being a traditional ally of LDP, Komeito holds nearly the same political goals as that of LDP, except on the revision of the Pacifist Constitution. Ota Akihiro, former leader of Komeito, is the current Minister of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism in Abe Cabinet in charge of Japan Coast Guard, Japanese tourism, and the utilization of Japanese land. It is estimated that Ota Akihiro will not approve aggressive actions in Diaoyu Dao during his tenure. Natsuo Yamaguchi, current leader of Komeito, visited Beijing on January 22 of 2013 and handed Prime Minister Abe's letter to China as the first step to repair bilateral relations. As Natsuo has pointed, China and Japan are both reluctant to witness the deterioration of Sino-Japan relations due to territorial dispute over Diaoyu Dao, and both sides will try to improve bilateral relations based on the overall situation. Though the recovery of Sino-Japan relations might be a long process, Komeito's attempt to renormalize bilateral relations of the two nations is highly laudable. In difficult

times of Sino-Japan relations, it is of great necessity for politicians from the two sides to strengthen communication and move forward to the same direction.

Currently, it is quite difficult for the Democratic Party of Japan led by Kieda Banri to rejuvenate from the big failure. However, it still might be an important strength in Japanese politics in future, if the failure were accepted and lessons were learned, which means that Democratic Party of Japan would stick to a peaceful road for development, draw a distinct line against the right-wings, and actively improve relations with China and ROK. In the coming election of the Upper House this year, if Democratic Party of Japan could preserve the current 88 seats or win even more seats, the right-wing tilt in Japanese politics might be restrained. However, if Democratic Party of Japan should stick to the mistakes made by Noda Cabinet and cater for right-wings, another failure could then be expected and the Japan Restoration Party led by Shintaro Ishihara might be strengthened in that case.

3.2 Recently, some wise Japanese politicians have tried to urge Japanese government to negotiate with China. However, fundamental standpoint of the latter has not been changed yet

In January when Prime Minister Abe was visiting Vietnam, Japanese former Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama visited China in his personal capacity and visited the Memorial Hall of the Victims in Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Invaders in purpose. His visiting was highly appraised by Chinese media but aroused completely different reactions in Japan. As Yukio Hatoyama said to the reporter on January 17 of 2013, "it is historically disputed ... and no answers would be found if 'no territorial dispute' were to be persisted".^[21] The above point was instantly criticized by the current Chief Cabinet Secretary Suga Yoshihide, who had said "that's a speech against the position of Japan and it's a pity that such a speech was delivered by a former Prime Minister".^[22] Minister of Defense Onoder Itsunori said that the words from Hatoyama "would be used by China to initiate propaganda internationally". He even assailed the former Prime Minister using the phrase of "traitor".^[23] The unprecedented gaffe is rather rare since the end of World War II. Yukio Hatoyama, a retired politician and ordinary Japanese, sure deserves the freedom of thoughts and speeches protected by the constitution. The noise from Cabinet Ministers is just the reflection of guilty conscience and panic.

As a matter of fact, Kono Yohei, former leader of Democratic Party of Japan and an earlier "traitor" assaulted by Japanese right-wings, had also issued the same opinion as Hatoyama's. As he had said, "Chinese leader decided to put aside the problem of Senkaku and leave it to the 'wisdom of next generations' since the negotiation between China and Japan on the treaty of peace and friendship in 1978. Japanese government should have accepted this, while without fully notifying the Japanese people. As a result, 'wisdom of next generations' has never been emerged. The belief that Japan's 'effective control' over Diaoyu Dao is reasonable is overly naive. I believe that there are such indirect reasons for the current dispute." Kono Yohei had also criticized the Noda Cabinet over the dispute of Diaoyu Dao that the reckless "nationalization" regardless of China's position was "diplomatically unwise".^[24]

Previously, former Japanese Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi and former secretary-general of LDP Kato Koichi visited China on January 28 of 2013 for the improvement of Sino-Japan relations. Recently, some former Japanese diplomatic officials had also claimed that Japan should negotiate with China over the dispute of Diaoyu Dao instead of confrontation. For example, former Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Kuriyama Takakazu and former Director of International Intelligence Bureau Magozaki Ukeru have publicly acknowledged that political consensus of putting aside the Diaoyu Dao dispute had been made in 1972 when Sino-Japan relations were normalized. They even pointed that the argument of Japanese government that there were no disputes over Diaoyu Dao was not true and would not be admitted by international community. As they advocated, peaceful negotiation was the first choice for both sides.^[25] Niwa Uichiro, former Japanese ambassador to China, had also publicly criticized that the Noda Cabinet was unable to terminate the improper actions of Shintaro Ishihara and negotiate with China on premise of admitting the diplomatic dispute over territory.^[24]

As Mori Kazuko, professor in Waseda University and researcher of Sino-Japan relations, had pointed out after Abe's reelection as the Prime Minister of Japan, "Newly elected Japanese leader is prone to take new actions. So it is in China. I believe that it is possible for the Japanese government to acknowledge the Sino-Japan 'territorial dispute'. Two points need to be clarified. First, there is territorial dispute between the two countries; second, consensus of 'putting aside' the dispute had been

made by the two sides. According to public government papers, the latter point is true. Some officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had also expressed the same opinion. In my opinion, if handled properly, the bilateral relations of the two countries could be improved based on this fact. The biggest enemy of the two nations is the extreme nationalism, from which both China and Japan should keep away."^[25] Though the above opinion from Professor Mori is fairly objective, it has not been accepted by Prime Minister Abe who reclaimed on February 1 that "there are no territorial dispute between China and Japan, nor issues need to be put aside"^[26].

In the past year, there were also some wise and forward-looking Japanese who had published correct opinions on Diaoyu Dao dispute and criticized the position of Japanese government. For example, Kitagawa Akira, publisher of the *Daisan Shokan*, republished Inoue Kiyoshi's *Historical Analysis of the Diaoyu Islands: "Senkaku"*. In the forward of this book, Noda Mineo refuted the wrong views of Japanese government on the sovereignty of Diaoyu Dao with historical facts. In November last year, Japanese Shoun-Sha publishing house published Japanese critic Fukushima Takahiko's new book *Review on World-wide Panic and Military Conflict*. The author also criticized the incorrect claims of Japanese government on the sovereignty of Diaoyu Dao from the perspective of history and jurisprudence, and pointed out the danger of "Japan-provoked conflict with China".

3.3 If correct information could be spread and positive energy be injected for the improvement of Sino-Japan relations, it might be helpful for applying the spirit of Sino-Japan Strategic Reciprocal Relations on the resolving of Diaoyu Dao dispute

Shinzo Abe and Kono Yohei are both members of LDP. Why do they have completely different political opinions? So do the Yoshihiko Noda and Yukio Hatoyama. The reasons for this phenomenon are complicated, while the key issue lies in the information and intelligence that they get in touch with for a long time. This could also be traced back to the origin of the whole family, personal education background, classmates and relatives, patron groups, different connections, political cliques, and informative accumulation provided by think-tanks and bureaucratic system. In such a complicated process, their different political values and self-recognition are gradually formed.

For example, Shinzo Abe has not only inherited the "political DNA" from Gishi Shinsuke, his grand farther, notorious Japanese class-A war criminal and former Prime Minister of Japan, but also has been deeply influenced by his farther Abe Shintaro, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nakasone Yasuhiro Cabinet. Being viewed as the rising star of the whole family, Shinzo Abe has also suffered a lot from the huge psychological pressure. Yoshihiko Noda, the hawkish in LDP, is also the political heir of his hawkish farther who was an officer of Japan Self Defense Force Paratroops. Hatoyama Ichiro, Yukio Hatoyama's grand farther, had opposed the dictatorship of Hideki Tojo during World War II. He also had tried to normalize the Sino-Japan relations and establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union after his was elected as the Prime Minister of Japan in 1954. Kono Ichiro, Kono Yohei's farther, had been the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in Hatoyama Ichiro Cabinet. Both the farther and the son is opposed to the extreme Pro-America polices of Yoshida Shigeru, grand farther of Aso Taro. They visited the Soviet Union together in October 1956 and normalized the bilateral relations of the two countries by signing the United Declaration of Japan and the Soviet Union. Even nowadays, Kono Yohei has always been relating his name with the Peace of Pacific Ocean and sticking to the Japan-China friendship by deeply memorizing the words from Chinese Primer Zhou Enlai. Yukio Hatoyama, who has also inherited the spirit of "friendship" from his grand farther Hatoyama Ichiro, supports the "Sino-Japan Friendship and Peace" and the joint construction of Eastern Asia Community.

Birds of a feather flock together. This is especially the case in Japanese society. Japanese people are always living in the self-predetermined and almost isolated cliques. People holding the same position are tend to stay together, to read the same type of newspapers and magazines, and to share and spread self-interested information. Among the right-wings in Japan, the more autistic the person is, and the more extreme his or her point of view will be. There is a tendency to pander public opinions in Japanese national characters. Living in complicated interests connections and the political and social pressures, the Japanese people are always afraid of being viewed as an odd and tend to keep "silence" on main stream issues as a result. So it is of great importance for China to illustrate the fact of Diaoyu Dao dispute and China's policy toward Japan in detail.

On January 25 of 2013, Xi Jinping, the General Secretary of CPC, met the leader of Komeito, Natsuo Yamaguchi. As

General Secretary Xi has said, "China's Japan policy emphasizing the development of Sino-Japan bilateral relations has not changed. It has been proved that the "four political papers" signed by the two nations, which are the ballast of Sino-Japan relations, should be conformed. In new situations, leaders of the two nations should learn from the wise predecessors by showing national responsibilities, political wisdoms, and historical liabilities, to overcome current difficulties and push forward the Sino-Japan relations. China's position on the issue of Diaoyu Dao is consistent and clear-cut. Japan should respect the history and reality, and negotiate with China on resolving Diaoyu Dao dispute by taking appropriate actions."^[27]The above meeting has been praised by most Japanese media.

The year of 2013 is the 35th anniversary of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between China and Japan. Both sides should seize the opportunity of reviewing the spirit of the treaty and hold the direction of bilateral relations so as to achieve new consensus on resolving all the bilateral disputes in peaceful solutions. In future, if the government from both sides would launch realistic negotiations over the territorial dispute of Diaoyu Dao and support local governments or non-government institutions from the two countries to jointly develop tourism in waters of Diaoyu Dao, the current dispute between China and Japan might be gone. This would be of great benefit for the political mutual trust, safety guard, and overall collaboration between China and Japan, and the peace and stability of East Asia. It's also favorable for applying China's diplomatic policy and the spirit of Sino-Japan Strategic Reciprocal Relations on the resolving of Diaoyu Dao dispute.

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