

# Rhetorical Strategies in Political Texts of "Indo-pacific Strategy" of the Abe Government

WeiQi Tian<sup>1</sup>, Hongmei Chai<sup>2, \*</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Northeast Study Center, Dalian University of Foreign Languages, Dalian, China

<sup>2</sup>Comparative Culture Research Base, Japanese College, Dalian University of Foreign Languages, Dalian, China

## Email address:

[lankivanilla@gmail.com](mailto:lankivanilla@gmail.com) (WeiQi Tian), [1955963659@qq.com](mailto:1955963659@qq.com) (Hongmei Chai)

\*Corresponding author

## To cite this article:

WeiQi Tian, Hongmei Chai. Rhetorical Strategies in Political Texts of "Indo-pacific Strategy" of the Abe Government. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 7, No. 6, 2019, pp. 277-285. doi: 10.11648/j.ijll.20190706.15

**Received:** September 9, 2019; **Accepted:** September 27, 2019; **Published:** October 28, 2019

---

**Abstract:** Since the second ruling of Abe, the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" has gradually come into being and being regarded as a key strategy to instruct Japan's acts on maritime security. In that this strategy is of vital importance to the freedom of China's oceanic movements, the study on this subject is significant to the Sino-Japan relationship. Drawing on ideological rhetorical criticism and corpus-assisted methods with software of SPSS, by combining "ideographs" and "policy triggers", this paper aims to explore the ideology under the discourse construction of Japan's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" from 2012 to 2018. Moreover, by analyzing the rhetorical strategies based on Burke's identification theory, we have tried to examine how the audiences' ideology are being manipulated. The study shows that Abe's government has constructed an ideological rhetorical system to curb the China's rise, build a new maritime order, and concealed the ideological undercurrent of nationalism by terministic screens. At the same time, the Abe government indoctrinated and manipulated the audiences' ideologies by rhetorical strategies of "identification by sympathy" and "identification by antithesis".

**Keywords:** Abe Government, Indo-Pacific Strategy, Ideograph, Policy Trigger, Terministic Screen, Rhetorical Strategy

---

## 1. Introduction

With a long-term favorable maritime strategy, marine countries are likely to rank among the marine powers. In the second year of 2<sup>nd</sup> ruling period, Abe delivered a speech "*Japan Is Back*" and put forward Japan's strategic content in the Indo-Pacific region for the first time: "Japan should build its own international order in Asia-Pacific and Indo-Pacific regions, and act as a guardian of the international public regions represented by the oceans [1]." The speech above indicates that the conceptual framework of "Indo-Pacific" might be an indicator of Abe government's maritime strategy. In 2016, Abe formally put forward the "Open and Free Indo-Pacific Strategy", which marked the formation of Japan's "Indo-Pacific Strategy".

From the 21st century, China began to move towards to the oceans with the growth of comprehensive national strength in order to expand interests and spaces overseas. Japan and the United States feared that a rising China would weaken their

influences in the Asia-Pacific regions and break the inherent maritime order in the Asia-Pacific regions [2]. The Indo-Pacific strategy covers the region from the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean to the East Indian Ocean, links South Asia, the Indian Ocean and the traditional Asia-Pacific regions, which is close to vital ocean passages—the Strait of Malacca, the Sunda Strait and the Bashi Channel, and covers important waters such as the South and the East China Sea. Obviously, once the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" is implemented, it would surely control China's throat passage to the sea and form a siege to China. As Leo mentioned, Japan's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" attempted to establish "an Asian security circle centered on Washington to isolate China systematically" [3]. Therefore, the analysis on Abe's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" from various aspects will contribute to the recognize the "false" from "true" in "Indo-pacific Strategy" to have a clear understand of the Sino-Japan relationship.

With the rapid development of political linguistics, scholars start to study the linguistic function of political texts and discourses, as well as trying to find out the way of political

discourse construction and the ideological and political strategies behind it. According to Mclellan, ideology hides in the internal structure of language [4]. Therefore, it is of vital importance to analyze the Abe's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" from the perspective of ideological rhetorical criticism for its research value and practical significance to the discourse construction and ideology. In this paper, data collected from Japan's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" political texts from 2012 to 2018 were processed with software of SPSS. Drawing on ideological rhetorical criticism approach, this paper analyzed the rhetorical operation of the Abe Government's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" to explore the ideology behind and the way how the ideology being spread and manipulated.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

According to Kenneth Burke's definition of rhetoric, "rhetoric as persuasion, as inducement to action" [5]. As we can tell from Burke's definition, first of all, he believed that rhetoric is a symbol designed to induce cooperation or action. Secondly, he believes that human beings belong to the rhetorical animals. People enter a rhetorical world once they speak. Burke believes that the use of linguistic symbols was aimed at influencing, persuading, inducing cooperation and promoting actions. Edwin Black pointed out that it was the duty of a critic to observe, record and notarize [6]. In rhetorical criticism, "critique" refers to the act of observing and judging rhetorical products or behaviors. The purpose of critique was to "observe and evaluate human behaviors and products in order to understand human beings themselves" [6]. The philosopher Dewey pointed out: "Criticism is not about finding mistakes. It is not about pointing out bad things and correcting them. Critique is to judge value differentiation. The impulse to criticize is based on understanding" [7]. Therefore, rhetorical criticism aims at observing and evaluating the rhetorical discourse of persuading others and deconstructing the artificial design of so-called "knowledge" or "truth" in the process of judgment. From the linguistic perspective of ideological rhetorical criticism, the analysis of the rhetorical operation and discourse construction of Abe's political text of "Indo-Pacific Strategy" will contribute to deconstructing the artificial operation behind the so called "knowledge", "rationality" and "truth", breaking the illusion of rhetorical operation and revealing the games between ideological manipulation and power behind the rhetorical discourse.

Since there exist more than one ideology in a specific society, one of them is supposed to be at the position of dominance. The process of the dominant ideology to achieve dissemination leads to the "presence" and "missing" of the discourse. "Presence" stands for hegemony, and "absence" refers to being dominated. The "presence" and "absence" of such discourse are directly reflected in the "terministic screen" constructed by the rhetorical operations. According to Burke's definition of the terministic screen, any language symbol will constitute a screen to show the world [5]. The "world" displayed is not a real world, but a world that has been processed, highlighted, disguised, and even distorted. That is,

"any terministic screen will direct attention to a specific field. All terministic screens contain the choices of continuity and non-continuity principles implicitly or explicitly" [8]. Then, the dominant ideology plays a spreading and leading role for the audiences under the joint action of the terministic screen construction and conceal.

With the development of the rhetorical theory, Burke's "identification" replaced the "persuasion" of classical rhetoric and occupied the core of the rhetorical theory system. Burke's "identification" rhetorical strategy was achieved based on the dialectical features of "substance." There is no complete identity and no complete separation in the world because different people tend to be the same or similar in some "substance" aspects. Then, "identification" and "separation" constitute a dialectical existence. Burke believed that in order to induce cooperation and achieve rhetorical purpose in the process of persuasion, the rhetoric make use of the audience's language, gestures or in terms of tone, attitude and thoughts to achieve the identification and reach a certain "substantial" consensus with the audience.

In Burke's rhetorical system, identification can be reached from the following three aspects: geometric substance, familial substance and directional substance. Geometric substance refers to the quality named by the environment, emphasizing the nature of the surrounding and location. The familial substance contains derivation because it includes the biological concepts such as pedigree and family, as well as the spiritual concepts of the same people and beliefs. The directional substance emphasizes the power from the inside and discerns things according to the tendency of things [9]. The rhetorical strategies of "identification" mainly refer to identification by sympathy, identification by antithesis, and identification by inaccuracy. In general, "identification by sympathy" means that both parties have a common "substance", and the speaker highlights the "common substance" between the two, making the two sides "ideal" in ideology [5]. "Identification by antithesis" is "the most urgent form of congregation through segregation" [5]. In other words, "identification by antithesis" emphasizes the identification in appealing to common opposites such as enemies or harsh environments. The so called "identification by inaccuracy", usually causes the audience to unconsciously agree with the rhetor's point of view by the rhetoric use of "we" and other non-verbal methods.

## 3. Data Processing

### 3.1. Data Collecting

In that the objective of this study is to investigate the rhetorical operations in political texts of Abe Government's "Indo-Pacific Strategy", the data were selected from official documents related to the subject of "ocean" and "security" from the year of 2012 to 2018, including "East Asian Strategic Review", "Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Staff College Review", "Defense of Japan (Annual White Paper)", "National Security Strategy of Japan", "Japan-India Security Dialogue",

etc. Furthermore, the final database is extracted according to the "Indo-Pacific" theme from the above documents and being divided into seven datasets chronologically, each of which comprises 50,000-80,000 Chinese characters on average.

### 3.2. Method Construction

This paper is based on the research method of rhetorical criticism. In order to clearly understand the ways for the official Japanese to display ideology dissemination and manipulation in the "Indo-Pacific strategy", based on the ideological rhetorical criticism centered with "ideographs", the concept of "policy trigger" was introduced in this paper. According to McGee, "Ideographs are one-term sums of an orientation, the species of "God" or "Ultimate" [10]. That is to say, the ideograph is a word that can express a particular ideological tendency. The "policy trigger" derives from the "predictive trigger" in pragmatics, which used to refer to regions or countries. As an ideograph can be linked to a variety of terms to form a cluster of ideographs to reflect different ideologies [11], different cluster of ideographs reflect different ideologies. Thus, combining the ideology tendency represented "ideographs" with "policy triggers", and analyzing collocated network centered with "policy triggers" in the political text, will help to explore the different ideological tendencies of Abe government towards a specific region or country.

In order to more objectively examine the application of the rhetorical strategies by Abe government in the political text of the "Indo-Pacific Strategy", this paper uses SPSS, KHcoder and other softwares to conduct text data mining on relevant political texts. On the basis of data statistics, combining Burke's "identification" rhetorical strategy, this paper explores the specific rhetorical strategies for ideology dissemination and manipulation in Abe's "Indo-Pacific Strategy".

### 3.3. Data Processing

This paper cleared up the top 10 high-frequency ideographs and policy triggers respectively from the above 7 datasets chronologically (As the sudden high-frequency words in one year may reflect the domestic and foreign environmental changes or the Abe government's policy tendencies, the sudden high-frequency words are also counted as statistical objects). After comprehensive comparison and screening, the statistical results of high-frequency ideographs and policy triggers are showed as following:

[Ideographs]: Cooperation (「協力」), Security (「安全」), Defense (「防衛」), Common (「共同」), Peace (「平和」), Stability (「安定」), Dialogue (「対話」), Interest (「利益」), Support (「支援」), Communication (「交流」), Partnership (「パートナーシップ」), Strategy (「戦略」), Alliance (「同盟」), Worrying (「懸念」), Freedom (「自由」)

[Policy Triggers]: Japan (「日本」), India (「インド」), Australia (「オーストラリア」), Region (「地域」), International (「国際」), United States (「米国」), China (「中国」), Pacific (「太平洋」), Asia (「アジア」), Indian Ocean (「インド洋」), South China Sea (「南シナ海」),

Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

## 4. Rhetorical Context Reconstruction

The rhetorical context is significant in rhetoric. Bitzer defined "rhetorical situation" as a complex composed of characters, events, objects and relationships, which presents a kind of absence and can be completely or partially satisfied [12]. Different words in different situation can affect the audiences' thoughts or actions. Burke, a rhetorician, also believed that rhetorical discourse and context are symbiotic and inseparable.

Bitzer expressed that human relations were operated in the rhetorical context of a state of emergency in "Rhetorical Situations", that is to say, responses or agreements occur in the social, political, economic and ethical emergencies between people. Therefore, Bitzer believed that rhetorical context is composed of three elements: exigence, constraints and audience. Therefore, firstly, this paper analyzes the rhetorical context of Abe government's "Indo-Pacific strategy" according to the three elements.

As a geopolitical term, "Indo-Pacific" spans from the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean to the East Indian Ocean, linking South Asia, the Indian Ocean and the traditional "Asia-Pacific" regions. It contains vital sea passages such as the Malacca Strait, the Taiwan Strait, the Sunda Strait, the Bass Channel, etc. The South China Sea, the East China Sea and other important waters have realized the "convergence of the two oceans" between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. With the rise of China, India and other emerging countries, as well as the relative slowdown of economic growth in the old countries, "Indo-Pacific" region is gradually regarded as the "main engine" to promote global economic development and attracted attention.

The formulation and formation of Japan's "Indo-Pacific" strategy is influenced by many factors. In the 21st century, especially in the second decade, Japan had experienced two decades of economic depression. The domestic economic development was sluggish and the phenomenon of population aging was intensified. In order to stimulate the economic growth and alleviate the pressure of domestic public opinion on the government, the Abe government had to pay more attention to the international market and the regional role of "Indo-Pacific". At the same time, from the perspective of geo-security, since the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Japan believed that the Soviet Union was no longer the largest threat. Therefore, Japan had shifted its main strategic defense from the north to the southwest, especially at the beginning of the 21st century. China, which has always been regarded as a traditional land-right country, had been expanding with the growth of comprehensive national strength. To extend the overseas interests and access to broader space for development, China moved towards the sea gradually. This transfer of power brought tremendous pressure to Japan. Japan and the United States were worried that a rising China would weaken their influence in the Asia-Pacific region and break the inherent

maritime order in the Asia-Pacific region [2]. In order to maintain and enhance the political and economic influence in the Indian-Pacific region, establish a new maritime order and achieve its strategic goal of "a political power", Japan actively catered to the "Indo-Pacific" strategy of the United States and became a promoter of the "Indo-Pacific" strategy.

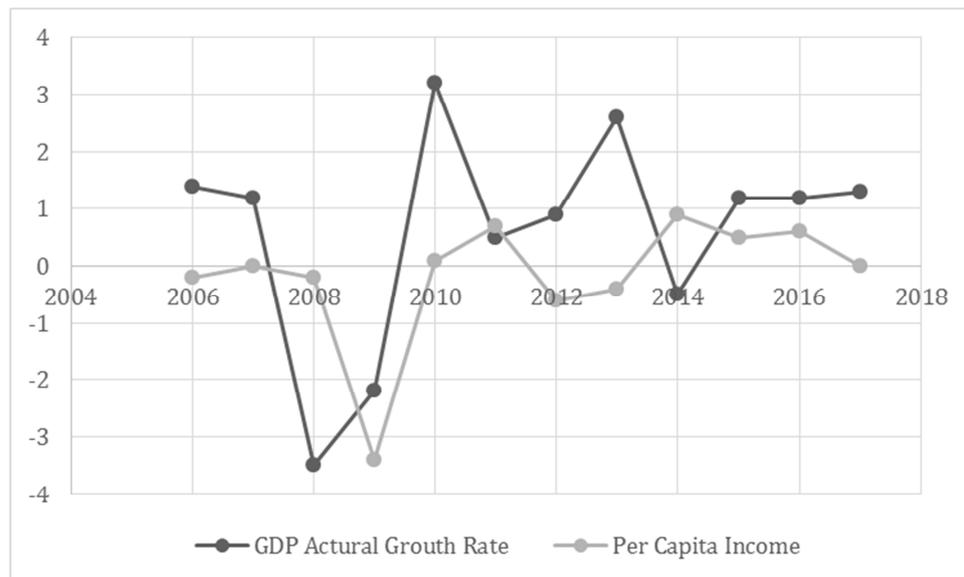
In December 2012, Abe took office again. At this time, domestically, affected by the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis and the East Japan Earthquake in 2011, Japan's economy suffered heavy losses, the GDP growth was slow, and the per capita income declined (as shown in Figure 1 below). Therefore, Japan urgently needed to expand its overseas markets, increase exports and stimulate consumer demands. In order to stimulate the development of productive forces in politics, Abe and the LDP held the political dominance again. The LDP's dominant ideological system of "the LDP's own stream" showed the political and ideological tendency of restoring pre-war ideology and social system. Many LDP leaders, such as Ichiro Ozawa and Nakasone Yasuhiro, embodied the conservative tradition of the ruling forces. Therefore, Abe cabinet showed the tendency of excessive nationalism in their administration, actively broke through the restraint of post-war order and realized the "generalization" of the country, which means that Abe government would take the "Indo-Pacific" strategy as an opportunity to break through the restraint of post-war international order and gradually expand the scope of action of the "Self-Defense Force". In addition, due to the relative scarcity of resources in Japan, most of the energy and resources were transported overseas, and the Indo-Pacific region took up the main maritime transport hub. Therefore, Abe government emphasized the importance of the region in the political text. In 2013, the second year of Abe's reign, the political ideal of Abe government began to be implemented gradually through political policies and means. Economically, Abe proposed "Abe Economics", which made GDP growth rate significantly higher than the same period last year, but per capita income still showed negative growth (see figure 1). In order to divert the domestic public dissatisfaction with the economic situation, Abe government has directed the public's attention to international security. In 2013, Abe government emphasized "the Indian Ocean and the Pacific as an integral" in the "New Five Principles of Japanese Diplomacy". At the end of May, Indian Prime Minister visited Japan. He mentioned the smooth navigation of Indian Ocean and Pacific maritime lines is of vital importance to the Indian Ocean and Japan. Moreover, due to the aftermath of Japan's "island purchase" farce in 2012, China's maritime police fleet made its first comprehensive inspection of the main islands of Diaoyu Island, Huangwei Island, North Island and South Island in September 2013, which demonstrated China's determination to safeguard its sovereignty. In the same year, three cabinet ministers and 102 parliamentarians visited the Yasukuni Shrine on 15 August. The Diaoyu Islands and historical issues made Sino-Japanese relations tense again in 2013. Therefore, in the political text of the Indo-Pacific maritime security strategy in 2013, Abe's government rendered the "China Threat Theory" in various fields, and

intensified the cooperation with India, Australia and the United States who would point the finger at China. In January 2015, Japanese Foreign Minister Hiroshima visited India and made the "Indo-Pacific Strategy" came into effect for the first time and laid the foundation for the formation of the "Indo-Pacific" strategy. In September of the same year, Hamada attended the meeting with foreign ministers of the United States, Japan and India. He pointed out the needs for the three countries to strengthen security cooperation in the Indian Pacific region in order to curb China's activities in the South China Sea. Therefore, China's "threat" on the South China Sea issue will be constructed out of context in the political text. In 2016, the implementation of Abe Economics for three years began to be questioned by all sectors of society. Japan's economy continued to struggle in the quagmire of deflation. In March 2016, Abe cabinet lowered its economic forecast for the first time in nearly five months, and admitted that Japan's economic situation was not that optimistic. Politically, the LDP once again won four consecutive national elections with more than half of the seats in 2016, in which the "constitution-amending forces" who were in favor of amending the Constitution controlled more than two-thirds of the Senate seats. In the same year, the tide of anti-globalization swept across the world, and nationalism once again became the focus of discussion. Under the influence of the overlapping and interweaving of the above backgrounds, Abe government inevitably created a threatened surrounding and regional environment in order to expand the scope of activities and operational capabilities of the Self-Defense Forces. In August of the same year, Abe formally put forward the strategic concept of "Indo-Pacific" in the 6th Tokyo International Conference on African Development and marked the formal launch of the "India-Pacific" strategy.

The US presidential election was at the end of 2016. Since 2017, the United States has continuously withdrawn from TPP and abandoned the "Asia-Pacific Rebalance" strategy, resulting in a significant decline in the US international credibility. Since precedent Trump took office, uncertainty between the Japanese and American alliances has been increasing. Under the background of the dramatic international changes, the Abe government tried to break away from the United States, strengthen strategic autonomy in all aspects, and tried to complete the strategic vision without the help of the United States. For the first time, the policy trigger of "the United States (「米国」)" does not occur in the front rank in the statistics of the datasets. However, due to the common interests of Japan and the United States, at the end of 2017, the Trump government of the United States began to re-emphasize the "Indo-Pacific Strategy", which also corresponded to the frequency of ideographs and policy triggers. Meanwhile, due to the change of Japan-US relation in 2017, the policy trigger of "China (「中国」)" displayed another peak in the datasets after 2013. The Sino-Japanese relationship showed gradual signs of improvements. However, in the same year's political texts, the synchronous rising and falling of the symbolic frequencies of "China (「中国」)",

"South China Sea (「南シナ海」)" and "Worrying (「懸念」)" indicated that the dilemma between China and Japan was difficult to break. The diplomatic game between China and Japan was intensifying, while the contradictions and confrontations between the two countries were mainly concentrated on the South China Sea issue. The curve of the ideographs change in 2018 is roughly the same with that in 2013. The only difference is that ideograph "common (「共同」)" replaced by "support (「支援」)". The changing curve of policy triggers shows that "India", "America" and "China" are the countries that were highly valued. In 2018, under the influence of Japan-US relation and other factors, Sino-Japanese relation experienced changes. In May 2018, China and Japan formally signed the Agreement on Launching the Emergency Liaison Mechanism between the Sea and the Air. Japanese Navy and Air Force decreased the interception

times when the Chinese Navy Fleet passed through the Miyako Strait to the Pacific Ocean. In October of the same year, Abe visited China for the first time in six years and normalized communications between heads of state. Therefore, in the political text, the Abe government emphasized communication and cooperation with China. Compared with the year of 2017, the frequency of "the United States" appeared in dataset rise again, which demonstrated that strategic practice in Japan was difficult to break away from the United States. They shared the common interests of alliance. Japan cannot break away from the United States to form a complete strategy to maintain strategic balance and to achieve the goal of curbing the development in China in the long run. Thus, when confronted with the strategic interests, the balance between China and the United States to Japan will obviously incline to the US.



Source: Cabinet Office of Japan: National Economic Calculation.

*Figure 1. Changes in Japan's Economic Growth Rate.*

In terms of rhetorical audiences, the Abe government's political text on maritime security strategy was mainly aimed at two groups of people, some from domestic and some from abroad. Domestically, relevant surveys showed that due to the problems of "income and property expectation" and "social aging", the Japanese people lost confidence in the government generally, which caused a strong psychological worries and uneasiness in the public. In 2014, 70.2% of the respondents thought that they often or occasionally felt troubled [13]. The uneasiness of the domestic people led to the great desires to restore Japanese influence in the international order and the status as a political and economic power. At the same time, in order to appease the uneasiness of the domestic people, the government had to divert the attention of the people. Therefore, in view of the domestic audience, the Abe government's discourse choice in the political text emphasizes the "interests" and "strategies" of the "Indian-Pacific" marine security strategy. On the international level, the other three pillars of the Indian-Pacific maritime security strategy were

the United States, India and Australia. Therefore, the relevant political texts of the three countries were widely targeted by the governments and the people of the three countries. After the end of the Cold War, the connotation of the Japan-US Coalition of Maritime Rights was increasingly shown as building a new international maritime order under the leadership of the United States and Japan. For Japan, the United States was a protection umbrella. Because of the limited energy resources, the tense political and economic situation and the limited military situation in Japan, In order to restore its region, international influence and achieve the political and military objectives, Japan relied on the strength of the United States. For the United States, Japan was the main engine to fulfill its will and promote the realization of the new maritime order in the Asia-Pacific region. Therefore, in the political text, Japan should not only emphasize the common values and ideology with the United States, but also construct and exaggerate "imaginary enemies" as threats to the development of the United States in the Asia-Pacific region.

India, as a developing country with a vast market and an important position in maritime transport, needed the support of other countries for its development. At the same time, with the rise of the Indian Ocean plate, its increasingly important geographical location attracted more attention from many countries. Because of its vast potential market and important geographical position, Japan should not only focus on developing economic and trade exchanges with India, but also on military interoperability. In order to create a solid relationship between Japan and India, it was necessary to construct the "identification" in discourse with democratic countries as a breakthrough point, and to render the same threats faced by maritime countries, so as to complete the Abe government's strategic conception of building "a democratic security diamond in Asia" and forming a strategic encirclement against China. Australia and Japan are both maritime countries, located at the north and south ends of the Asia-Pacific region. According to the theory of sea power, the maritime countries should form a circle on the edge of Eurasia to resist the challenges from the mainland countries. To achieve cooperation with Australia was undoubtedly Japan's best strategic choice. In order to win Australia into a maritime alliance, the Abe government emphasized the commonalities in their ideologies and environment.

## 5. Analysis of Rhetorical Strategies

In order to explore and summarize different rhetoric strategies used by Abe Government in the dissemination of

ideology to key countries in the political text of the Indo-Pacific Strategy, this paper chooses the United States, India, Australia, the pillars of the Indian-Pacific maritime security strategy, and China as policy triggers. SPSS software was used to analyze the correlation between the policy triggers and the ideographs. According to the level of correlation displayed in the software, the top five ideographs with the highest correlation with each policy trigger were selected. If the correlation values were the same, they would be included in the statistical category side by side. Because the normal distribution test showed there was a non-normal distribution between policy triggers and ideographs, this paper chose Spearman rank correlation coefficient test for analysis using SPSS software. Since it is impossible to know whether the variables are positively or negatively correlated, the "one-tailed test" is chosen in the "significance test". In this paper, Pearson correlation coefficient "r" is measured to compare the degree of correlation. It is generally believed that the closer the "r" approaches to 1, the greater the degree of correlation, "r" value is positive, then there is a positive correlation between variables. If "r" is negative, then there is a negative correlation between variables. At the same time, this paper chose the "P" value of the significance test to determine whether the hypothesis of irrelevance among variables is valid. Statistical analysis shows that if  $P < 0.05$ , the hypothesis of irrelevant variables is negated, that is, the correlation between variables is significant. If  $P < 0.01$ , the correlation between variables is extreme significant. According to the degree of correlation, the following table was showed:

*Table 1. Statistical analysis of the correlation between key policy triggers and ideographs.*

India (インド)			Australia (オーストラリア)		
	r	P		r	P
partnership (パートナーシップ)	.893**	.003	Common 共同	.847**	.008
Interest 利益	.893**	.003	Strategy (戦略)	.821*	.012
Free 自由	.857*	.007	Communication 交流	.811*	.013
Security 安全	.857**	.007	Security 安全	.786*	.018
Support 支援	.821*	.012	Alliance 同盟	.775*	.020
Common 共同	.775*	.020			
Cooperation (協力)	.750*	.026			
Strategy (戦略)	.750*	.026			

*Table 1. Continued.*

China (中国)			The United States (米国)		
	r	P		r	P
Strategy (戦略)	.857**	.007	Common 共同	.937**	.001
Stable 安定	.857**	.007	Alliance 同盟	.901**	.003
Security 安全	.821**	.012	Strategy (戦略)	.893*	.003
Cooperation (協力)	.786*	.018	Security 安全	.857**	.007
Worrying (懸念)	.775*	.020	Communication 交流	.793*	.017
Interests 利益	.750*	.026			

\* The correlation was significant at 0.05 level (one-tailed).

\*\* The correlation was significant at 0.01 level (one-tailed).

Table 1 applied SPSS software to analyze the correlation degree ("r" value) between high-frequency policy triggers and signifiers in Abe Government's "Indo-Pacific" marine security strategy political texts. The "P" values of the statistical results show significant differences at the level of 0.01 or 0.05, which means they showed statistical significance.

Firstly, the relevant statistical data in Table 1 shows that the ideographs under the policy trigger of "India" are ranked according to the R value as follows: Partnership「パートナーシップ」, Interest「利益」, Free「自由」, Security「安全」, Support「支援」, Common「共同」、Cooperation「協力」、Strategy「戦略」. The relationship between Japan and India

presented by Abe government in the text was "for the purpose of freedom and security and the enhancement of the strategic partnership of stakeholders in cooperation". According to the data in the table, the "interests" of "partners" are the most relevant, followed by "freedom" and "security", "interests" that present the "Directional substance". Abe's government took them as the basis of cooperation between Japan and India. Political tendencies were to maintain freedom and security, thus rhetorical strategy of identification by sympathy was utilized in the political texts. At the same time, the ideologies carried by the ideographs of "peace" and "stability" are often the morals and values agreed by the audience. Then, the Abe government influenced the audience through "ethos" [5]. The audience thought that Japan was a country with noble character and values, and gradually accepted the successive ideological indoctrination.

Back to the Abe government's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" political text, the Abe government's "Indo-Pacific Strategy" political text emphasized that India and Japan were "countries that relies on each other in the security of sea lanes" [14]. It highlighted the threats to Japan's periphery and the Indo-Pacific region. On the one hand, Abe intended to appeal to emotional factors to arouse India's sympathy for Japan's "encounter". On the other hand, it emphasized that the threats Japan faced would affect India, the United States and even international peace or international maritime order.

At the same time, Japan called India "the world's largest Democrat country, South Asia with a strong influence" [15]. Japan has repeatedly stressed the need to adhere to democratic values. Under the trend of emotional appeal to the "identification" values, Japan and India have formed the "identification". Then Abe government instilled its own ideology into India through the camouflage of "democracy" in order to induce the audience to achieve the purpose of cooperation. In addition, Japan emphasized that India was "a country with strong influence in South Asia". So Japan's subtext was that India should shoulder considerable international responsibility in South Asia.

Then, in view of India, Abe government used the rhetorical strategy of "identification by sympathy" to achieve the political purpose of ideological indoctrination effectively. Under the influence of this rhetorical strategy, India would be likely to voluntarily or under the pressure of value or public opinion to cooperate with Japan in fulfilling Japan's expected "international responsibility".

According to table 1, the data of the Abe government's correlation between "Australia" and "America" policy triggers are similar. Except for the order of correlation, the top five indicators of correlation are "common", "strategy", "communication", "interest" and "alliance". Thus, Abe government pays more attention to strategic and interest exchanges and cooperation with Australia and the United States. The Abe government emphasized in many political texts that Japan and Australia were allies of the United States and strengthening cooperation was indispensable. Although Japan and Australia were still two independent countries after

isolation, Japan and Australia shared the same quality of "American allies". Then, Australia should obey the will of Japan or the United States and cooperate with Japan.

According to the correlation ("r" value) of the four policy trigger collocations shown in table 1, the top five indicators all refer to "common" or "cooperation". It shows that, either because of Japan's own resources or national strength limitations, Japan emphasizes the need to unite with other countries in international or regional affairs. In addition, it is noteworthy that the word "worrying" reappears in the description of the "South China Sea". As table 1 shows that the word "worrying" is also used in the description of "China". Then, this paper analyzed the correlation between "China" and "South China Sea". The correlation analysis showed that the coefficient "r" was 0.786 and the significance "P" was 0.018, that is to say, "China" and "South China Sea" correlation coefficient "r" was significant on the degree of 0.05. In order to prove the objectivity of the study, this paper respectively makes a correlation analysis between other policy triggers and the word "South Sea". Except for the correlation coefficient  $r=0.875$  and the significance  $P=0.007$  of the word "India", other policy triggers and the word "South Sea" are both significant to the extent of 0.01, which is not relevant. As the analysis of the correlation between the words "India" and "worrying" shows no correlation, it can be explained that the Abe government described the South China Sea issue as a worrying security threat in the Indo-Pacific maritime security strategy, while "China" as a "worrying" image in the issue. India is bound to play a major role in solving this problem.

Abe government positioned "China" as "concerning security and stability and worrying, but they should strengthen the strategic relationship of interest cooperation", which was mainly manifested in the "South China Sea issue". It can be seen that the different positioning of Abe Government between "China" and other countries and regions in the Indo-Pacific region lies in emphasizing the "worrying" of China. Then, Abe government uses the rhetorical strategy of "identification by antithesis" to establish "China" as a common enemy. The audiences' observation of "China" in the world through the "language window" constructed by Abe government by means of ideographs and policy triggers in the political text of "Indo-Pacific Strategy". But what the "window" covers was the fact that China supporting the financing of developing countries and the image of fulfilling its international responsibilities.

Back to the political text of the Abe Government's "Indo-Pacific Strategy", the text emphasized on "safeguarding regional and maritime security" and "maintaining international peace and regional stability" many times. Therefore, "Japan should cooperate with the countries in the Indo-Pacific region and jointly strengthen defense" [16]. In fact, the government used ideographs collocation to achieve the same rhetoric strategy. Emphasizing "safety" means that there was a danger. Emphasizing "peace" means the existence of unstable factors.

As stated in the December 2012 issue of "Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Staff College Review".....人民解放軍

海軍の活動に主眼を置き、中国と海洋境界線を共有する国々に対する同海軍の野心的な挑戦に、主に焦点を置いている。さらに中国は日印間海洋協力で深い疑いの目を向けている。……」(It mainly focuses on the naval activities of the People's Liberation Army and the ambitious challenges of the Chinese navy to countries enjoying the common maritime boundary. Moreover, China deeply doubts Japan-India maritime cooperation [17].

The viewpoint basically laid the rudiment of the strategic thinking of Japan-India maritime security cooperation in the future. With the development of the international pattern or other factors, the strategy of Japan-India maritime security cooperation will be relatively adjusted, but the basic strategic thinking background will not change much. As can be seen from the text, the main factor of instability in Abe government was "Chinese Navy", which has been described as an ambitious and "threatening" national army that was ready to challenge countries enjoying common maritime boundaries. The choice of "ambitious" and "critical" ideographs put an ideological orientation on the Chinese navy. All navies had maritime activities. Under the ideological framework, China's naval activities would be deemed as "threatening". Countries with the same coastline as China were likely to be wary of China's maritime activities. In addition, the description of "China" and "worrying" in the article aggravated the Indo-Pacific region. As a result, "China" was constructed as a common "imaginary enemy" in the Indo-Pacific region. Abe government used the rhetorical strategy of "identification by antithesis" to complete its preparations for the strategic purpose of constructing the encirclement of China.

## 6. Conclusion

In the 21st century, the strategic term "Indo-Pacific" gradually replaced the former "Asia-Pacific", which was promoted by Japan and the United States. Rhetoric played an important role in the ideological persuasion of Abe government to other countries. Our analysis found that the rhetorical operations played an important role for Abe government to proceed ideology spreading and manipulation. It is found that in the database, the four pillar countries, "Japan," the United States", "India" and "Australia", were often described as peace-loving countries with shared values, thriving to promote the regional cooperation and maintain regional stability and development. The descriptions about "China" were mostly "worrying", and the issues were usually related to the increase in Chinese military spending, the activities of the Chinese navy on the South China Sea and the East China Sea. The study found that the Abe government has constructed an ideological rhetorical system by the rhetorical operations of ideographs' collocation and terministic screens to curb the rise of China, build a new ocean order, and cover up the "nationalism" thought. At the same time, the Abe government achieved the purpose of instilling and manipulating the audience's ideology through "sympathy identification" and "opposite identification". Through the ideological rhetorical critical analysis, we have

exposed the ideology behind discursive construction and how the forces behind political discourse manipulate audiences' ideology implicitly.

## Funding

This work was supported by Social Science Foundation of China (No. 13BWW020), the Distinguished Professor Project of Liaoning Province, China, and the 2018 Innovation Program for Graduates of Dalian University of Foreign Languages (DUFL) (No. YJSCX2018-119).

## References

- [1] Abe, Shinzo. 2013. "Japan is Back". [http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96\\_abe/statement/2013/0223speech.html](http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/96_abe/statement/2013/0223speech.html).
- [2] Xu, Wansheng, Guangxin Zhang, etc. 2018. *Order Construction and Japan's Strategic Response*. Beijing: Current Affairs Press.
- [3] Leo, J. 2009. *Bush Legacy: Better US—India Relations*. Singapore: The Straits Times.
- [4] McLelland, David. 1986. *Ideology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- [5] Burke, K. 1969. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Burke: University of California Press.
- [6] Edwin, B. 1965. *Rhetorical Criticism: A Study in Method*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- [7] James, R. A. 1983. *The Practice of Rhetorical Criticism*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- [8] Perelman, & Leslie C. 1984. Gerald prince, *Narratology: the Form and Function of Narrative*. *Language in Society*, 13 (03), 377
- [9] Deng Zhiyong. 2011. "Rhetoric Theory and Philosophy of Rhetoric: A Study of Kenneth Burke, a Great Rhetoric Expert". Shanghai: Xuelin Press, 78-79.
- [10] McGee, M. 1980. The Ideograph: A Link Between Rhetoric and Ideology [J]. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, (66): 7.
- [11] Longaker, M. G. & Walker, J. 2011. *Rhetorical Analysis: A Brief Guide for Writers*. New York: Long-man.
- [12] Ritzer, Lloyd. *Functional Communication: A Situational Perspective* [A]. Ed. White, E. State College. *Rhetoric in Transition: Studies in the Nature and Users of Rhetoric* [C]. PN: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1980.
- [13] Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. 2014. *Annual Health, Labor and Welfare Report 2013-2014*. <https://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/wp/wp-hw8/index.html>.
- [14] Defense of Japan 2013 (25th Edition)—The Annul White Paper. [http://www.clearing.mod.go.jp/hakusho\\_data/2013/w2013\\_00.html](http://www.clearing.mod.go.jp/hakusho_data/2013/w2013_00.html).
- [15] Defense of Japan 2012 (24th Edition)—The Annul White Paper. [http://www.clearing.mod.go.jp/hakusho\\_data/2012/w2012\\_00.html](http://www.clearing.mod.go.jp/hakusho_data/2012/w2012_00.html).

- [16] Defense of Japan 2018 (30th Edition) –The Annue White Paper. <https://www.mod.go.jp/j/publication/wp/index.html>, 2018.
- [17] JMSDF Command and Staff College. 2012. Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Staff College Review. <https://www.mod.go.jp/msdf/navcol/SSG/review.html>.

## Biography



**Weiqi Tian** is PhD Candidate at the Center for Northeast Asian Studies at Dalian University of Foreign Languages, China. Her research interests include ideological rhetorical criticism, corpus linguistics, and critical discourse analysis.



**Hongmei Chai** is Doctoral Advisor at the Center for Northeast Asian Studies and Chair Professor of the Comparative Culture Research Base at Dalian University of Foreign Languages, China. She has published many papers in high-impact journals.