

**Conservatives and Right-wings in Contemporary Japan**

**Three-Layered Structure of Japan's Conservative Political Shift**

| PARK Cheol Hee

This article claims that Japanese politics reveals more conservative shift than before in three senses. First of all, in the domain of inter-party competition, liberal or progressive political parties are on the wane while conservative political parties turned more resilient. The advent of Japan Restoration Party attests the case. Second, in the intra-party space, conservative liberals or moderate conservatives have been either divided or weakened while conservative hawks are on the rise. Even within the DPJ, a major opposition party, conservative politicians stand out while progressives have lost their seats. Third, if we analyze Diet members' study groups after the mid-1990s, a number of conservative hawks' meetings have been constantly increasing with bipartisan membership.

• **Keywords:** conservative shift, liberal conservatism, right-wing conservatism, centrist conservatism

**Long-Term Recession, Structural Reform, and Livelihood Conservatism**

| LEE Jung Hwan

Japan has fallen into the pit of long-term recession for almost two decades, which has dismantled its postwar system of social integrity and political stability. During this period, the system of economic growth and social protection under the state intervention has stopped functioning. This article argues that the livelihood conservatism, which intensified the inward-oriented nature of political and public spheres, has emerged and been strengthened in Japan because of the long-term recession and structural reforms. The livelihood conservatism, the most prominent response to economic hardship in contemporary Japan, is originated in institutional legacies of postwar political economic system. Rather than voicing exclusive opinions to others, the livelihood conservatism has a tendency to concentrate on introvert issues. However, the livelihood conservatism cannot play the role as the countervailing forces against neo-conservatism or neo-liberalism in contemporary Japan.

• **Keywords:** Long-term Recession, Structural Reform, Livelihood Conservatism, Neo-Liberalism, Neo-Conservatism

## **Xenophobic Voices in Japan: A Case Study of Anti-Korean Demonstrations by *Nettouyoku* and *Zaitokukai* | HWANG Seong Bin**

Thousands of protesters in Tokyo and other major cities rallied against the use of nuclear power on June 11, 2011, three months after a devastating tsunami set off a nuclear crisis. The demonstration was remarkable not just because of its size, but because of the way in which it was organized. It was actually called upon by a famous blogger without organized support, thus many people in the crowd were protesting for the first time. Meanwhile, in that summer, there was another, a bit peculiar set of protesting rallies against Fuji TV airing “too many Korean dramas”. When a Japanese actor Takaoka Sousuke tweeted anti-Korean wave sentiments in 2011, his message had stirred up many attentions, especially on the biggest Internet bulletin “2 channel” and other online video distribution sites, which eventually led to several protest rallies. So-called *Nettouyoku*, a small but very vocal on the Internet that mostly have strong xenophobic views, have come out to the area such as Shin-Okubo, a mecca for fans of Korean Culture, in full support of the *Zaitokukai* (“Citizens Against Special Privilege of Zainichi-Korean residents in Japan”)

I have examined how Japanese media have framed these protesting rallies by *Nettouyoku* with a special interest and how the protesting voices have been mediated by the media. The result is as following. First, both liberal and conservative newspapers have been indifferent to the rising of ultra-nationalism and xenophobic voices on the Internet. Second, there was no significant difference between the liberals (*Asahi* and *Mainichi*) and the Conservative (*Yomiuri*) in terms of how they framed those group’s activities. Yet, the difference between the conservatives, namely *Yomiuri* and *Sankei*, was more remarkable and unique.

It has been pointed out that the recent rise of ‘Internet nationalism’ especially among younger generation in Japan might be an ‘unwanted child’, but it is also a logical consequence of sensational coverage of Japanese media regarding the conflict issues such as territorial disputes between Japan and neighboring countries.

• **Keywords:** Internet nationalism, Xenophobia, public opinion, Japan, Discourse Analysis

## **Beauty and Nation in Abe Shinzo’s *Toward a Beautiful Country*: The Aesthetics of Postwar Conservatism through the Lens of Mishima Yukio | NAM Sang Wook**

This paper analyzes the concept of “beauty” in Abe Shinzo’s *Toward a Beautiful Country: My Vision for Japan* by comparing with Mishima Yukio’s political aesthetics, in order to address the problem of aesthetics in recent Japanese conservatism.

It has been understood that Abe’s doctrine of “post-postwar regime” is merely his way of idealizing or emulating his grandfather, Kishi Nobusuke. In this regard, this paper problematizes Abe’s attempt to overcome the limits of Kishi’s technical politics by bringing the controversial concept of “beauty” into the field of politics. His attempt to accomplish this

through “patriotism,” an emotion which cannot be converted into visible value such as “beauty,” is problematic. This is why Abe appears to have radical understanding of postwar democracy, yet on the other hand it can also be understood as a very conservative viewpoint, in light of Mishima Yukio who also advocated the necessity of political aesthetics.

Though it was an important political role of the pre-war Emperor (Ten-no) to bestow beauty on the war dead, Abe, deviating from the old understanding of the political role of the Emperor, only acknowledges Emperor as a figure who prays for the safety of life.

After all, this shows that Abe’s concept of “beauty” falls into victim of the postwar legal order which paradoxically internalized the conflicting aspects of radicalism and conservatism. Lacking any awareness on the matter, Abe revised the law in order to intensify the legal enforcement under a false pretense of “the safety of life,” which led to further transcendence of the law. In this sense, Abe is more threatening than Mishima, who placed his hope on the beauty in order to suspend the enforcement of the law.

• **Keywords:** Far-right, conservatism, political aesthetics, Abe Shinzo, Mishima Yukio, Legal violence

### **Kobayashi Yoshinori and Caricaturing Japanese Populism | HAN Jung Sun**

This paper explores the strategies and workings of Japanese populism by focusing on the caricatures of Kobayashi Yoshinori. Kobayashi is a well-known cartoonist and his works have been influential in shaping popular opinions on various issues of contemporary Japanese society. In this paper, I limit the scope of analysis on the piece entitled Sensōron, since this is the piece that has been widely received by people in and outside of Japan and has made him a popular social pundit. In analyzing Kobayashi’s strategies of narrating “history issues” and of visualizing such narratives, I identify three strategies respectively for the narrative and the visualization. As for the narrative strategies, they are 1) anti-establishment, 2) common-sense centrism, and 3) nation centrism. As for the visualization strategies, they are 1) deformation, 2) symbolization, and 3) complanation.

• **Keywords:** Caricature, Anti-establishment, Common sense, Nation, Deformation, Symbolization, Complanation

### **The Defense Framework in Postwar Japan: The Design and Practical Procedures of the SDF by the Japanese Right-Wings | SEO Min Gyo**

This paper analyzes the process of rearmament in postwar Japan from 1948 to 1950s during which the Self-Defense Force was established, and tries to understand how Japan’s rearmament was designed and what characterized its practical procedures.

As the rearmament process became fully in progress in the 1950s, the recruitment of the military officials of the Imperial Army, the idea which was originally rejected, became inevitable. In this sense, it is essential to pay attention to the activities of the cooperative

organizations such as Hattori Group (formerly organized by Imperial Army officials) as well as military advisor to prime minister Yoshida.

On the other hand, even though both army and navy were “officially” dismissed after the war ended, the minesweeper units of the Imperial Navy remained undissolved. Unlike the case of the army, the networks of the navy personnel which centered around Japan Coast Guard was administered in a unified manner, and it is noteworthy that some of the former military personnel who assumed office had close personal connection with Yoshida. That is why this paper sheds light on the role of “Commission Y.”

Japan promised a large-scale rearmament to the US after the two signed MSA agreement in March 1954, which obliged the US to provide support for its allies and the US allies to strengthen their military capabilities. The SDF, often called “military without name” or “non-militaristic military,” which was the product of this agreement, began to function as a physical apparatus to take over Japan’s defense.

Recently, there have been two conflicting arguments regarding Japan’s right of collective self-defense. When we look at the overall framework of these arguments, however, most agree that Japan should provide defense to the US “in such times as the United States is under attack by a third party.” In this reasoning, however, there still remains a crucial question as to whether defending of the United States is to be classified as “individual” or “collective” self-defense. If Japan accords itself the right of “collective” self-defense, the possibility for Japan to get involved in international conflicts led by the US becomes higher, because virtually there would be no restrictions on the use of force.

After all, all these issues can be resolved if Japan takes on the constitutional revision. Yet there still remains a strong anti-revisionist sentiments among the Japanese people. Under these circumstances, it is crucial to pay attention how far the “interpretational revision” can suffice in dealing with Japan’s changing defense framework.

• **Keywords:** Japan’s rearmament, Japanese right-wings, Self-Defense Force, Japan Defense Agency, right of collective self-defense, Commission Y, GHQ

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## ARTICLES

### **The U.S. Role in Korea-Japan Normalization Talks: Focusing on the Claim Negotiation under the Kennedy Administration | CHO Ah Ra**

This article aims at analyzing the role of the U.S. under the Kennedy administration in the claim negotiation of Korea-Japan Normalization Talks with official diplomatic documents. Changes of the U.S. policy toward the claim negotiation were underpinned not only by the security logic in the Cold War context, but by the logic of economy. Facing the “dual task” of promoting economic development of Korea and minimizing its own economic burden, the

U.S. came to realize that Japan should contribute to the security of Korea and East Asia as a whole through means of assisting the economic growth of Korea. To begin with, the U.S. stayed in close contacts with both Korea and Japan, and played a crucial role in continuing the negotiation without serious ruptures. In addition, the U.S. tried to bridge the gap in terms of the figure of claim settlement, while neither staging a direct intervention nor using a coercive means to either of the parties. Therefore, it is safe to say that the U.S. was virtually “the third party” in Korea-Japan Normalization Talks and played an important role in making political compromises such as ‘Kim Jong-pil and Ohira Memorandum’ signed in late 1962.

Furthermore, this article sheds light on the “asymmetric pressure” of the U.S. toward Korea and Japan, despite the fact that the Kennedy administration devoted considerable efforts to resolve the claim issue and began to stage “cautious intervention.” Since Japan was the most important ally in U.S. security policy in East Asia, it enjoyed more freedom in making decisions against U.S. policy than Korea. Based on this relative advantage, Japan usually took the initiative in the negotiation. The U.S. did not oppose to the resolution in the form of economic cooperation and consequently, Korea was persuaded by Japan and United States. This article argues that the factors such as the characteristics of the claim issue, domestic situation of Japan, and Japan-U.S. relationship had all together resulted in this ‘asymmetric pressure.’

• **Keywords:** Korea-Japan Normalization Talks, claim negotiation, Kennedy administration, foreign aid policies, asymmetric pressure

### **Struggles and Challenges of the Zainichi Korean/Chosen Society: Focusing on the Relations between “Old” and “New” Comers | YOO Hyuck Soo**

This study sheds light on the process of integration between the “old-comers” and the “new-comers” in the zainichi Korean society, which recently has shown significant demographic diversity. While the number of “old-comers,” which consisted most of the zainichi population, has been decreasing every year as many naturalize to Japanese citizenship (estimated as 345,000), the number of “new-comers” has been increasing since the late 1980s and now reached 160,000, among which 60,000 now hold permanent residency. In addition, as the revision of Nationality Law in 1984 adopted the principle of equality between paternal and maternal lines in determining child’s nationality, an estimated 100,000 children of Korean descents possess Japanese nationality, calling for an urgent change in zainichi society. However, the zainichi society lacks any swift and effective measures to counter the variety of issues it faces today, as the merging of old and new comers are being delayed. This study takes the premise that Mindan must take on self-renovating measures in order to deal with the diversifying zainichi Korean/Chosen society, and provides several concrete suggestions as to what can be done while adapting to this newly-changing internal social dynamics.

• **Keywords:** zainichi Korean society, zainichi Korean/Chosen society, old-comers, new-

comers, Mindan (Korean Residents Union in Japan), Kanjin-kai, integration of the old- and new-comers