

ation ist seit E. Durkheim, den wir als einen Begründer des Fache Soziologie einstufen, ein relevanter Schwerpunkt des Fache Soziologie. Um dabei die Weichen richtig zu stellen,

Making and Un-Making Modern Japan

Ritu Vij (ed.)

werden. Die Mitgliedschaftstheorie und Mitgliedschaftssoziologie nimmt einen besonderen Anschritt vor, der zu skizzieren ist, da soziale Integration als eine Differenzierung von Mitgliedschaftsordnungen eine bestimmte allgemeine Theorie voraussetzt. Unter „Ordnungen“ sind dabei die Regelung der Mitgliedschaftsbedingung und damit die Teilnahme an Kommunikationssystemen in der Ausübung von bestimmten Rollen und Statuspositionen zu verstehen. Die Mitgliedschaftstheorie faßt die System-Umwelt Relationen nicht als einkonstitutiert (Niklas Luhmann), sondern als die selbstreferenzielle Entscheidung über Mitgliedschaftsbedingungen und ihre Selektion, die keine Resonanz in der nicht-sozialen Umwelt hat. Der Verweilungs Zusammenhang von Sinn, wenn wir das einmal unterstellen, ist in diese Differenzstruktur einzuordnen. Gehen wir von der Mitgliedschaftstheoretischen Selbstkonstitution sozialer Systeme aus, so sind soziale Systeme souverän. Damit geht einher, dass die soziologische Theorie die folgenden Annahmen aufgeben sollte:

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Making and Un-Making Modern Japan

Edited by Ritu Vij

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ETHNO-POLITICS IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN: THE MUTUAL-OCCLUSION OF ORIENTALISM AND OCCIDENTALISM

Kinhide Mushakoji

Abstract

This essay offers a critical reading of Japan's attempt to craft a modern identity. Eschewing the conventions of most scholarly writings, however, the essay builds on a personal history of political and intellectual engagement with key figures in post-war Japan to outline a counter-narrative about the ethno-politics of contemporary Japan.

In distinction to both Orientalist and Occidentalist versions of Japanese modernity, the essay draws attention to the invidious return of notions of ethnic supremacy in Abe Shinzo's contemporary state project and the occlusion of a long-standing tradition in Japan of pluralistic co-existence among diverse communities. In drawing attention to the occlusions shaped by the entanglements of Japanese colonialism and state-building with American hegemony, this essay attempts to locate practices of exclusion within Japan (and vis-à-vis its Asian neighbors) in an account of what the essay contends is a civilizational project, best thought of as "Smart Occidentalism", dominant in contemporary Japan.

Introductory Remarks

The present article is not a scientific report. It is a personal report by a Japanese intellectual. In the good old days tradition, when cultural anthropology was a science of the West on the Rest, there used to be a distinction between the researcher and the 'informant'. The scholar from the west was writing his or her scientific report on the basis of information provided by the informant, a narrator of the exotic happenings in the rest of the world for the western scientist to analyze.

I am making this point not as an Occidentalist statement criticizing this Orientalist situation. It is rather because I wish to be allowed to narrate my story as freely as I can, and not be burdened by the need of "scientific" writers to be "objective". I will tell my story based on an historically unproved interpretation of modern Japan. This will permit me to tell a story of Abe Shinzo in the context of my own personal history. I will use my personal academic contacts with Shimizu Ikutaro to develop a pseudo theory on what I call ethno-politics

which took place in Post-Occupation Japan. Shimizu Ikutaro will be my reference point to understand Occidentalism. I will try to propose a possible happy ending for my narrative by giving some hints about the likelihood of a possible reconciliation between Japan and the other Occidental states in the Region.

As an informant, I have, first of all, to tell you candidly what I feel about Abe in the context of this second radical *volte facie* of contemporary Japanese history which is bringing back ethno-politics to the forefront of Japanese domestic and international politics.

The Emergence of Abe Shinzo as a Smart Occidental

Let me first state bluntly the problem posed by Abe Shinzo as I see it'. He represents a reaction to the Orientalist modernists who dominated until the 1980s Japanese ethno-politics. He represents the smart Occidental movement which emerged after the end of the Japanese "bubble age" corresponding to the collapse of the socialist bloc at the end of the 1980s.

I define the ideological orientation of Abe Shinzo as a "smart" revisionist version of "Occidentalism", a concept proposed by Ian Buruma, a Dutch intellectual who had an interesting experience living in Japan with the avant-garde theatrical movements of the 1960s as a member of the Karajuro group. I will not use this concept as it was coined in the West. Occidentalism, as I understand it, is just the reverse of Orientalism, and puts the blame for all modern contradictions on the Occident.

The West universalistic and eurocentric interpretation of the Rest is called Orientalism, well defined by Anouar Abdel-Malek as the tendency, represented by Orientalists, to impose universal values as defined by the West as the only true "universal" values.² Now comes in Occidentalism³ which denounces the West for its Orientalism, and puts all contradictions of the modern global age on the shoulders of the West as a consequence of its Orientalism. This ethno-political reaction to West dominated modernity became the ideological

- 1 As an attempt to put Abe Shinzo in the context of the emerging Occidentalism, see "Abenomics to Hashism;Giman-Rengo no Shihai no Kouzu(Abenomics and Hashism: The Perspectives of a Falsification Alliance" *Impaction*, 189 (2013) pp.18-96.
- 2 Anouar Abdel-Malek, *La Dialectique Sciale*, Editin du Seuil,1972.
- 3 Buruma, I. and Margalit, A., *Occidentalism: A Short History of Anti-Westernism*, Atlantic Books, London, 2004.

attitude of an ethno-political movement opposed to colonial domination of the Rest of the world by the West.

More narrowly defined today, it is the doctrine of putting all the blame imaginable on the hegemonic domination of the world by the United States. This Occidentalism is represented by the Islamic fundamentalists, defined by the West as “terrorists”. This brutal Occidentalism is quite alien to Abe Shinzo, whose attitude towards the United States and the West is more “sophisticated” and “smart”. He accepts American hegemonism to the extent that it can be used to promote the national glory of the Japanese state. Abe rejects human rights and other universal values coming from the Occident. He accepts the logic of power (*homo politicus*) and greed (*homo economicus*) composing the logic of colonialism of the West (White Man’s Burden), as long as it permits Japan to play its role of potential non-Western Great Power. To vanquish the enemy one must imitate the enemy! This great power Japan will, when the opportune time comes, turn into a declared Occidentalist state, anti-West and anti-American. Yet until that day, it finds it more smart to use western technology, institutions and colonialist universal discourse as long as this facilitates the power struggle, both political-military and economic-financial, now subsumed under Abenomics and Abe style “proactive peace” strategy. I call this “smart” in the sense that it distinguishes between the West as a universalistic civilization which imposes “universal values” as defined by the West on the Rest, and the West as the power centre of the world, in terms of technology, of military power, of financial market domination and free-market global standards.

Abe is Occidentalist in refusing universal values of Enlightenment, which have become North-Atlantic values through the US-British Declaration of the North Atlantic Charter. These became international values declared by the United Nations, including all treaties composing international Human Rights. These principles of peace and democracy were officially recognized by the postcolonial emerging states in their Bandung Ten Principles, which begins by recognizing the legitimacy of the UN and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is also at the basis of Post-war Japan’s constitution. This is why I call Abe an Occidentalist; he is Occidentalist especially in constitutional terms, because his political platform has always been the abolition of this constitution and a de-facto return to the Meiji state constitution, which insists on the national duties of the people of Japan to contribute to building a strong and prosperous state, even by sacrificing the civil rights of the citizens. Their rights will be legal only to the extent that they meet the national objectives of the state as defined by the government’s enlightened bureaucracy.

He does not accept the Western or American critique of this cult of the war

heroes, especially opposed to the fact that Yasukuni Shrine includes among its “gods” some “victims” of the Tokyo Trial, a Western or rather American Court which penalized wrongly his grandfather, Nobusuke Kishi. In this sense, we will have to put Abe Shinzo on the present ethno-political stage of contemporary Japan. We cannot separate his leadership from the fact that he is, in a sense, the culmination of the second *volta facie* of Post WWII Japan. The first occurred during the Occupation when we Japanese decided that Japan had to accept international standards and be readmitted as full members of the international community.

A second *volta facie* prepared in the 1990s is going to transform Japan back to its pre-Occupation mode.⁴ I have lived through the two radical “change mind” periods closely connected to the ethno-political shift in orientation that has taken place. The present report is simply a narrative of a drama into two acts. The first was the emergence in Japan of one ethno-political trend which I define here as an Orientalist phase which began during the Occupation years. The second is an Occidentalist phase which is deploying itself with Abe Shinzo as the major figure on the ethno-political stage.

We will not refer to the richness of mangas (comic books) and magazine articles dedicated to the visibilization of the occluded memory of the Japanese people⁵. It is in the 2010s that a counter-occlusion campaign began with the Abe Shinzo government. The problem of its campaign is that it creates a new type of occlusion which is no more soft as the 1955 regime of occlusions. This Occidentalist occlusion was not “soft” like the Orientalist. The new Occidentalist occlusions are based on legally enforced interdictions of the transmission of certain information judged harmful to national security. It includes the abrogation of the Constitution to limit the rights and add the obligations of the citizens of Japan. The de-occlusion of all discourses contradicting the universal standards is typically symbolized by the official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine by Abe Shinzo which creates complaints from neighboring countries.

The national superiority of Japan has become part of the official discourse of the state and a priority subject for public media diffusion. The Abe Shinzo Occidentalist political style generates domestic ethno-political opposition especially from the ecological movements opposed to nuclear electricity generation.

4 The Abe Problem is that he opens the road to a resurgence of the Japanese claim to ethnic-superiority developed since the Meiji State-building and reached its paroxysm in the 1930s. Beside this potential resurgence of Japanese fascism, he is the symbol of a new generation of rightwing youth. He has his own Twitter campaign supported by the so-called Net-Uyoku or right-wing internet SNS companions.

5 Yoshinori Kobayashi, *Gomanism Sengen Extra: Chousen-teki Heiwa-Ron, Gomanism Declaration Extra: a challenging peace theory*, 2 Vols, Togensha, 2005.

It also generates tension between Japan, which wants to justify its potential colonialist intrusion in the affairs of its neighbors, and the latter who are also becoming Occidentalists under pressure from Japan. With this plot in mind, let us first return to the first Act, the emergence of Orientalist intellectual leaders.

The Revisionist Orientalists of the Post-Occupation Japan

The political history of Post Occupation Japan can be interpreted as an ethno-political process, if we define ethno-politics, as it emerged in Japan since the Meiji Restoration, as a process where the key issue is the ethnic supremacy of the Japanese people. This claim for ethno-superiority is counteracted by an ethno-inferiority claim made by the Orientalists who emerged as champions for a democratic and pacific new state of Japan with an exceptionalist “Peace” Constitution. Engaged in a fight, often, interpreted as a Left vs. Right contest, are on the one side the Orientalist exceptionalists, and on the other, the Occidentalists revisionists (including the smart ones), both sharing a single objective to define the unique role of the Japanese ethnic identity community.

The Left is in fact ethnically Orientalist in that it accepts unconditionally the universalist values proposed by the West, albeit with a common agreement to accept traditional values and beliefs only if duly concealed and occluded in any public discourses by the state, by the bureaucrats, the politicians and the press. The Right is against Orientalism and is politically composed by a tacit majority ready to play the game of the Orientalists provided that their objectives are reached *de facto*. An increasingly vocal minority has existed from the beginning until now. They are the right-wing Occidentalists, mostly rogue Occidentalists lacking the smartness of Abe.

In post-Occupation Japan, ethno-politics has been one key issue studied by quantitative behavioral political science. It studied the polarization of public opinion between the traditionalists and the modernizers, which led to a polarized Parliament Democracy, with a majority Liberal Democratic Party and a minority opposition Socialist Party. Before the successful Income Doubling Period, public opinion studies and electoral surveys were indicating a clear geographical difference between the Liberal Democratic Party supported mainly in the rural areas and the Japan Socialist Party in the urban centres beginning with Tokyo and Kyoto. This geographic division in electoral politics disappeared during the 1960s as a consequence of the rapid economic growth accompanied by rural to urban massive migration. The polarization then became part of the

parliamentary processes between the LDP and the JSP. We will focus our discussion later on this Diet politics which became the arena of an ethno-political accommodation between the ruling party and the opposition.

It will suffice here just to point out the fact that this polarization was reflecting a more “longue duree” ethnic-religious opposition between the state Shinto belief in Japanese ethnic supremacy. This trend existed since the Meiji Modernization of the rural regions, and gave birth in the 1920s to the rural Asianist “nohon-shugi” (agro-centric ideology) traditionalism studied by Masao Maruyama as the root of Japanese fascism. We will discuss later the rise of eco-regionalism in the 1990s which was no more dedicated to national glory insisting on their local-specific identities.

The opposition to the claim of Japanese ethnic supremacy has been the political platform of the so-called modernists I define as Orientalists. They share a basic common ground, the New Constitution, on the basis of which marxism and pragmatism agree to develop a modernist and orientalist⁶ left-wing ethno-political project based on the belief in the national dedication to build a modern “civilized” State, which became defined after the Occupation as a no-war State. This project was based on a common belief in the fact that since the Meiji Restoration, Japan has been, as a State and as a nation, aiming at emulating the West. Japan and the Japanese people under the Emperor wanted to become a “civilized” country accepted by the West on an equal footing.

The brief period when Japan was ruled by the “Militarists” was a period when Japan failed to develop in the right direction this national project, and began a practice of aggression against its neighbours. The Japanese adopted the historical interpretation of the Allied Forces well represented at the Tokyo Trial. All the blame was put on “War” and not on colonialism or on human rights violation⁷. This belief was inculcated in the young generation by public education as well as by the public media, and was part of the social common-sense of the Japanese citizens in spite of the fact that Meiji Japan had been, from its formative stage, moved by an Occidental motivation to fight against the Western colonial powers by developing a counteractive colonial expansion. I

6 The scientific paradigms share a common objective, namely to point out the Asian patriarchal and /or clientelist culture that is, they claim, the principal impediment to the embrace of (Western) universal values.

7 I have been associated with the “Peace Osaka” Museum which organized in the early part of the 1990s a special exposition on Auschwitz. I had to intervene to modify the inscription at the entrance which stated “Let us learn the atrocities accompanying war and renew our decision to avoid any wars.” Such interpretation of the Holocaust ignoring human dignity would have not been accepted by the Auschwitz Museum whose Director arrived later after this inscription was modified.

believe that three national orientations existed in modern Japan since the time of the Meiji Restoration. One was to build a colonialist state capable of competing with Occidental Colonialist Powers. Another was to build a new state accepting Western universalist values and institutions. A third was to keep the pluralistic co-existence of local traditions which existed under the Tokugawa Shogunate. Besides those who did not accept the new modern state there was another orientation which accepted to build a central government, but wanted it to respect local traditions and build a pluralistic State. This pluralism would become the basis of a culturally diversified decentralized state in solidarity with other Asian communities. These three civilizational projects were, so to speak, inherited by the Post-Occupation three political forces, the Occidentalists, the Orientalists, and the third force of localist decentralization.

Yoshida Shoin, the ideological mentor of the Choshu clan was at the root of the colonialist project and included in his plan for Japan's future expansion in his "Yushu-Roku" (Prison Notes) all the colonized and occupied territories during the War in the Pacific. Japan was admitted to the Bandung Conference under the Chinese interpretation of the Japanese aggression committed by the militarists and not by the people of Japan.

Japan was an Oriental Country which was adopting Orientalism as its national project to "leave the Orient and join the West". This was the motto proposed already at the time of the Meiji Restoration by Fukuzawa Yukichi, the ideological leader of modernism in Japan and the founder of Keio University, one of the first private universities founded in the Meiji era. Japanese political history was described by those intellectuals who followed his intellectual path. Whereas the Occidentalists were led by the followers of Yoshida Shoin, the Orientalists developed their policy of modernization=Westernization on the basis of modernizers who did not belong to the hegemonic clans of Choshu and Satsuma. Fukuzawa Yukichi was one of them, being neither from the Choshu nor from the Satsuma clan. He saw, like Yoshida Shoin, the need for Japan to build a strong state which needed to counteract Western colonialism. His emphasis was, however, not like Yoshida to build a colonialist state, but a modern state which could be admitted into the world community.

To complete the picture of the civilizational projects of the Meiji State, I wish to point out the existence of a third project which was represented by one ideological leader from the Satsuma Clan, Saigo Takamori. He wanted to build Japan as a non-Western Confucian decentralized country. His motto, the same as the Korean East Learning Movement was *Kei Ten Ai Jin* in Japanese or *Kyong Chon Ein* in Korean. This meant to 'Respect heaven and love people'. This was a utopian thinking which wanted to build communities in

harmony with heaven and sustain solidarity between equal peoples. This non-state-centred approach, anti-colonialist and ecologist (to use a term which did not exist in the Meiji Period) was inherited by the Genyou-Sha whose logo was three concentric circles around Fukuoka, Seoul and Beijing.⁸ This symbolized the Project of the founders of this Kyushu-centred political association following Saigo's idealism, and wanted to promote local alliances between Fukuoka in Japan, Seoul in Korea and Beijing in China.

The Genyousha sent a group of guerrilla instructors to support the Donghak peasant revolution against the Chinese army which had come in support of the Korean Government to pacify the peasant rebellion. Genyousha, however, modified its logo to keep only concentric circles around Fukuoka, during the Sino-Japanese War when they turned into a right-wing group supporting the Japanese infiltration of China. I stress this point, because a new movement of ecological communities originated in Minamata Bay, in the same Kyushu as Saigo Takamori and the Genyousha. Local community based communitarianism was long occluded by the Orientalist Japanese state standardizing all local regions putting them under a strong State control by the Tokyo central government. In an over-simplified manner, we can trace back to the Meiji State, the three political tendencies which divide Japan today: the Orientalists, the Occidentalists and the ecological localism⁹.

The Soft Occlusions of the 1955 Regime and After

In order to understand "occlusions" in Japanese ethno-politics, it is necessary to put this concept in the dualist context of modernizing Japanese cosmology. For contemporary Japanese people, the individual's conscious mind is trained through public education to accept modern Western universal values, but the subconscious identification with traditional lifestyle remains strong. This is

8 I learned from Nagai Michio, Minister of Education of the Miki Government and Uchiyama Hideo, Professor of Keio University, the importance of Genyousha which was unfortunately construed as a practice by "foot-soldiers of the Japanese aggressions" but whose activities in the first instance were as non-statist Asianists. The affinity of Saigo and the Donghak Movement, I found to be an interesting entry-point into a revisionist reading of the modern history of Japan which has long distorted the image of Saigo Takamori. The occlusion of his path must be removed if we want to develop eco-regional pluralism in contemporary Japan.

9 The interpretation of the Project of Saigo Takamori and of Genyousha is an object of debate, and is not well established as the roles of Yoshida Hoin and Fukuzawa Yukichi. Their connection with the present ecological regionalism is an idea that warrants further elaboration.

why Kyogoku Junichi bases his analysis on politics in Japan on the combination of a formal state and civil society structure constructed around Western universal values and concepts and a cosmological sphere composed by traditional endogenous ideas and metaphors¹⁰.

I have discussed elsewhere the necessity to take into account the hidden values and beliefs whose motivations are strong in tacit personal communications but occluded from public discourse¹¹. Such occlusion makes possible in non-western societies cultural ambiguities which serve as psychological and metaphysical defence against cultural invasions from the “civilized” West, as Ashis Nandy’s psycho-historical studies on colonized India indicates¹².

The Orientalist orientation in the ethno-political development of Post-Occupation Japan was characterized by a soft type of occlusion which helped Japan to tame its ethno-political sense of superiority of the Japanese people which had to be removed from the public sphere if Japan wanted to be re-admitted to the international community. This is where, the “New Constitution,” often called the “Peace Constitution” had declared in its Preamble that the people of Japan recognized “the right of all nations to live in peace free from fear and want”¹³, a public recognition of the criminal nature of the colonialist expansion of the state of Japan which violated this right to live in peace by invading their lands. The public political life of Japan has been dominated by this principle whose corollary is Article 9 which indicates the will of the people of Japan to renounce the use of military force that would allow Japan to violate again the right to live in peace with its neighbors.

This official position of the state of Japan and the related political process in the formal structures of the post-Occupation Japan is characterized by the so-called ethno-political accommodation between the LDP and the JSP during the time of the 1955 Regime. From 1955 until 1992 Japan was ruled by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as a permanent majority party and the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) as a permanent opposition party. Ethno-politics was deployed in

10 Junichi Kyogoku, *Nihon n Seiji* (Politics in Japan), Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1983.

11 Kinhide Mushakoji, “Multilateralism in a Multi-Cultural World: Notes for a Theory of Occultation.” Robert Cox ed., *The New Realism: Perspectives on Multilateralism and World Order*, McMillan, 1996.

12 Ashis Nandy, *Exiled at Home* (Compressing *At the Edge of Psychology The Intimate Enemy Creating a Nationality*.) Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 106-109.

13 Kinhide Mushakoji, “Heiwa-teki-Seizon-ken to Ningen-Anzenhoshou: Tenkanki-koku-saiseiji no Heiwa-Kouchiku to Fuken-Shugi” (The Right to Live in Peace and Human Security: Peace-Building in a World in Transition and the Dissemination of the Constitution of Japan), Fukase Chuichi et al. eds, *Koukyu Sekai Heiwa no tameni*, (For Eternal World Peace), Keiso Hobo, 1998.

the Diet by the LDP and the JSP. The former's programme was to re-build a total-war-state based on Japanese People's "wa" (harmony) maintained by its cultural and national homogeneity. The latter's position was to build Japan as a modern state accepted by western powers as "civilized" by the adoption of exogenous universal principles and values of human rights and democracy.

To over-simplify this 1955 Regime, we can say that the LDP and the JSP played on the parliamentary stage a clever constitutional game enabling Japan to keep formally the public universal values, while permitting the state of Japan to take an ethno-political course in accordance with the orientalist state project. In fact Japanese ethno-politics used in full the LDP/JSP theatrical performance before it dissolved with the emergence of a temporary multi-party period in the early 1990s.

The gaps between public and private narratives kept hidden tacit perception of anything not related to "modernity", "civilization", thereby securing international legitimacy through occlusion of objects deemed unfit for 'modern' Japan. As a consequence, Japanese society occludes the non-western, un-civilized aspects of reality. I call this kind of occlusion "soft" in contra-distinction with "hard" occlusion which penalizes any divulgence of the occluded aspect of reality. We will later come back to the "hard" occlusion which accompanies the emergence of the smart Occidentalism of Abe Shinzo.

The "soft" occlusion of formally unacceptable realities under the 1955 regime¹⁴ which continued until early 1990s is typical in allowing Japan to adopt a policy, which seems contradictory to outside observers, but is quite acceptable to the Japanese citizens. The "Peace Constitution" with its Article 9 which forbids Japan from building a military force has been formally accepted unanimously by the JSP and the LDP. The former declared the importance for Japan to abide by the "Peace Constitution" and represented the public consciousness of the Japanese people. The LDP accepted the universal validity of the JSP statements, but did in fact take decisions which were contrary to the rules in rebuilding the Japanese Armed Forces, which took different names, first Reserve Police Forces and then Self Defense Forces. The illegality of these decisions were not put into question thanks to the soft occlusion to put into question such key problems for the state which needed to be decided not through formal logic but on the basis of subconscious calculations tacitly accepted by the public.

The visit to Yasukuni Shrine where war criminals are venerated as gods was publicly illegal. Yet many of the LDP Prime Ministers paid visits to Yasukuni in their private capacity. In the subconscious mind of the Japanese people, it was

14 Junnosuke Masumi "1955nen no Seiji-taisei(The 1955 Pitical-Regime)", *Shisou*, April 1964.

wrong to put into question such acts which should be kept un-noticed as part of the softly occluded world. Many dignitaries made racist or sexist statements. They then apologized publicly, and this added to their popularity, because in the unconscious mind of the Japanese people, their declaration should not be officially accepted, but could be appreciated as a frank expression of “uncivilized” feelings which should stay occluded but yet appreciated.

This kind of soft occlusion made it possible for Japan to keep its “Peace Constitution” and reinforce the conviction of the Japanese people about the exceptionality of the no-war state. Japan was no more the militarist Japan of the past, in spite of this occluded but growing military build-up. It was only when the true historical nature of racism in Japan was disclosed by Doudou Diene, the UN Special Rapporteur on ‘Contemporary Forms of Racism’, that the real harm this soft occlusion causes became evident¹⁵.

The Diene Report on the contemporary forms of racism in Japan was enlightening in many ways, by telling the Japanese people that their peaceful life was not shared by the minorities, who were discriminated against in many ways, culturally, socially, politically and economically. It pointed out to many well-intentioned intellectuals who believed in the basic virtue of the ‘no-war state-Japan’ that even without fighting wars abroad, the Post-Occupation Japan was generating inside Japan racist discriminations which violated the rights to live in peace of many minorities who had been “integrated” in Japan after their home-countries had been liberated from Japanese colonial rule.

All these discriminations were related to one historical fact which was left unknown to the public, i.e. colonialism, Western or Japanese. Doudou Diene enumerated the different minorities which are presently facing diverse cases of racist discrimination, the Buraku Communities, the Ainu indigenous communities, the Okinawa Communities, the over-seas Korean communities, the overseas Chinese communities and the diaspora communities of the so-called new-comer migrant workers from South-East Asia, South Asia and Latin America. The Buraku untouchable communities were institutionalized by the Tokugawa Shogunate as a measure to develop a society based on agriculture, which could be unified in face of Western colonialist pressures by the discrimination of an under-class the eta and hinin communities.

All the other minorities were related either to historical colonization, (the Ainu in Hokkaido, the Okinawa and Korea whose kingdoms were annexed by Japan), China with the colonization of Taiwan and the creation of the

15 Doudou Diene, Report of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, xenophobia and Related Intolerance. Addendum. Mission to Japan. United Nations, Economic and Social Council, E/CV.4/2006/16/Add.2. 24January2996.

puppet state of Manchukuo. The new-comers were migrating from countries where Japan was developing a neo-colonial type of economic dependence. This historical analysis made the Dienne Report an important reminder to the Japanese government and civil society of the fact that colonialism should become a key issue in the promotion of human rights in Japan. This indicates the importance to make visible “colonialism” which has been long part of the occluded realities in post-Occupation Japan. Why has “colonialism” been occluded in the 1955 LDP and JSP ethno-political balance of power is a question we must address here and now.

It is Dr. Roeling, the Dutch Judge at the Tokyo Trial, who provides the clue of what I will call the Orientalist occlusion of the history of the modern State of Japan.¹⁶ He mentions in his narrative of his experience as a Dutch judge at the Tokyo Trial, two important things, one an objective fact which pre-determined the nature of the Trial, the second a reflection on the very nature of the Trial. The fact he mentions is that McArthur defined the terms of reference of the trial, instructing the prosecutors to treat the crime against humanity only when it is combined with the crimes against peace. Roeling gives his own interpretation which is very convincing about this instruction.

If the crime against humanity could be treated separately from the crime against peace the American treatment of African Americans and the treatment of the colonized peoples by the Allied Countries, Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands would be used by the defence as a case of “*Tu quoque*” (you too) which would be very embarrassing for the prosecution. This is a very convincing argument. It occludes the question of colonial aggression which is now called Human Security, which was mentioned in the Japanese new constitution as the ‘Right of Peoples to Live in Peace Free from Fear and Wants’. We must add, as we can see the true purpose of the trial, to identify the militarist culprits with the exception of Emperor Showa who needed to be saved to facilitate the Occupation made possible by Him.

Then Roeling makes a very interesting reflection. The trial was necessary and just in penalizing those who were penalised, with the exception of Hirota who could not be said to have premeditated the aggressions since he wanted the Japanese domination of the Great East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere as a domination created by economic supremacy, and not through military aggression. The Tokyo Trial nevertheless ignored the fact that the Western powers recognized Japan to be a “civilized” nation only after it won two wars, the Sino-Japanese and the Russo Japanese wars. Japan was a latecomer non-Western

16 B.V.A. Roeling, Antonio Cassese, *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond: Reflections of a Pacemonger*, Politi Press, 1993,

colonialist power, and it was clear that Japan was judged by the other colonial powers for crimes which were denounced because they were combined with crimes against peace.

The root of Post-War Japan's Orientalism lies in this subtle interpretation of the Japanese colonialist aggressions. It was to limit the culprits to the "militarists" and to occlude the process of Western colonialist aggressions which preceded the Japanese colonialist expansion through the war with China and the creation of the puppet state of Manchuria.

It is necessary, at this point, to mention other aspects of the Orientalist occlusion which included several aspects of the historical and cultural aspects of Japan which could not be openly formulated due to a public lack of acceptability. Broadly speaking, we can identify three types of forbidden discourses¹⁷. We may classify these occlusions in their relationship with the Western universal principles¹⁸. Occluded narratives include expressions which discriminate against groups of peoples, or assert the superiority of one's own identity community, including Japan. A second category of occluded discourses are narratives concerning aspects of Japanese reality which makes Japan look uncivilized in the eyes of occidental foreigners. Thirdly, the object of occlusion includes any statement which discloses the existence of clientelist relationships, or creating situations contrary to the maintenance of such relationships in the formal structures and institutions.

The first category, best known and strongly disliked, are discriminatory statements against the Buraku people and other minorities. The use of discriminatory expressions against the discriminated Buraku people has been in the 1960s and 1990s the object of *Kyūdan* or public denunciation sessions where the culprits and their work-places were invited, under public pressure to recognize their mistake, present public apologies and promise not to permit similar discriminations to take place in the same institution (schools, factories, religious institutions etc.). The second category of occlusion includes discourses related to pre-modern practices and beliefs which may have negative and positive

17 In present day Japan, human rights is identified with "close your mouth and don't say anything discriminatory, or else!" This tendency developed through the struggle of the Buraku Liberation League in organizing self-critique sessions for those who had publicly committed any act of discrimination. The Buraku Liberation League stopped using this strategy in the 1970s because it realized that this practice inadvertently enabled people to harbor discriminatory opinions (while not voicing them publicly) and prevented a change in thought in line with the human rights education consistent with the UN approach.

18 Universal Human Rights is a concept difficult to understand in the Japanese political culture. This is why the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is officially mis-translated. It becomes in Japanese, "the World Declaration of Human Rights".

meanings, for instance many Shinto traditions have been the basis of the cult of Emperor and of gender inequality based on patriarchalism. On the other hand, ecologically healthy traditional knowledge and values also have been occluded until they provided local endogenous examples and good practices for the rebuilding of ecologically healthy community life in many parts of the Japanese archipelago, most recently in the aftermath of the tsunami and the nuclear plant explosion in North-East Japan in March 2011.

The third category is also ambivalent. It covers clientelist relations which are illegally mixing public functions and private intimacy. It includes mafia-type clientelism in the informal sectors on the fringe of urban civil societies. It includes, however, also social ties in local communities, such as ties among inhabitants of the informal sex districts which enable the survival of the foreign victims of trafficking. The occlusion associated with Orientalism, in this way, includes positive and negative aspects of history: instead of making history an object of critical analysis, the occlusion of non-modernist events and decisions has made Japan an arena of sentiments rather than of intellect. The critique of Western Enlightenment which accompanies the occluded traditional values and beliefs became the source of legitimacy for the Occidentalists who had lived a hidden life under the 1955 Regime.

It was however unexpected that the same occluded part of the Orientalist iceberg reappeared under a quite different emerging civilizational project, the ecological movement. The ecologists in Japan began with the Minamata bay mercury disease caused by water polluted by the factory of Nihon Chisso. To protect the victims, an anti-pollution campaign was organized all over Japan. Since then the ecological movement broadened its scope of activities, and formed cooperative ties with the local activists fighting against the dissolution of communal ties in local communities, rural villages or urban shopping streets¹⁹. They opposed modernization's destruction of traditional community values and the solitary life-styles that consequently developed. The local Shinto shrines festivals were precious occasions to reactivate the ancient traditions and ecologically healthy food, drinks and life-styles. Quite independent from state Shintoism which supported the cult of the Emperor, the old-Shinto traditions

- 19 Since the 1990s eco-communities or bio-communities have become the focus of bio-cultural citizen movements that have called attention to how the total war state mobilization of national capital by the unifying state is demolishing local communities, in economic, ecological and cultural ways. Jimoto (local community) began to claim their right to endogenous development resisting modernization projects of the state. See Tomio Yuuki, *Jimoto-Gaku karano Shuppatsu:kono tochi wo ikita hitobito no koe ni mimi wo katamukeru (Start from the Local Community Science: Listening the Voices of People who Lived There)*, No-bun-kyo, 2009.

became the source of a Japanese endogenous cultural project allowing localities to build ecologically healthy local communities. The activities of the ecological local movements were occluded by the national campaign aiming at the industrialization of the Japanese archipelago.

The 1990s saw the explosion of the bubble economy of Japan, and a new “green” campaign mobilized by the United Nations at the Rio Conference on Ecology and Development. More recently, efforts to galvanize ecological communities gathered momentum in the wake of the 3/11 North-east Japan Earthquake and the explosion of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant that followed. The 1955 Regime Orientalist occlusion of traditional values and practices was broken by local ecological movements that began to play an important role in ethno-politics, in the sense that they are opposed to Western universal search for growth based on industrial development.

I must explain the importance of this emergence of a critique of the Orientalist claim of the West to modernize the Rest of the world. Japan could not be affected by the global ecological movement which started in the early 1970s. The economic prosperity of the 1980s still occluded the increasing negative effects of the intensive process of industrialization, both in terms of the demolition of ecological environment, and of the growing gap between rich and poor local communities, who could not compete with the modern service industries in urban centres. The Rio de Janeiro Environment Summit was an occasion which helped the scattered local movements to develop networks. The Hanshin/Awaji Great Earthquake gave them an occasion to show their capacity to support the rebuilding of rural and urban traditional communities. Their activities were further strengthened by the UN Convention on Bio-Diversity (2010, COP Conference)²⁰. This was an occasion for the ecological movements to build a new awareness about the importance of reactivating traditional local communities through a return to their local animistic traditions more suited to live in peace with nature than the Western human-centered approach that treats nature as an object of manipulation for economic profits

The March 2011 East Japan Earthquake and the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear plant explosion that followed in its wake was another occasion for the Japanese public to become conscious of the necessity not to continue to seek the en-

20 I participated in a cyber dialogue which produced a statement addressed to the State Parties of the Bio-Diversity Convention which pointed out the necessity to develop a philosophical declaration where bio-diversity should be defined in the Asian traditional wisdom about Life as unified and diverse reality where humans are members with equal rights to other living beings. Concepts such as “biological resources” were treating life as an object of human exploitation and should be modified.

richment of the state but rather to develop local communities by reactivating traditional values and life-styles. The process of de-occlusion of local traditional values, already started in the 1990s, spread rapidly in the aftermath of the 3/11 crisis. An ecological local communalism put into question the Orientalist development project of the state of Japan. The anti-nuclear movement is, in this sense, a potential opponent of Abe's Occidentalist state project. The anti-nuclear movement is mobilizing village community local elites including Shinto shrine supporters who were defined by Maruyama Masao as the "pseudo-elites" of rural regions who were important supporters of the cult of the Emperor. With a very small exception the ecological local activities do not concur with occidentalist opinions, and play an important role of a third party in spite of their systematic occlusion from the Abe Government and the media supporting it.

The other social force which broke the 1955 Regime occlusion was the Occidentalist right-wing, opposed to the occlusion of the glorious history of Japan. The movement to produce a new text-book on the history of Japan, also founded in the 1990s, began to attack the texts which did not refer to the exploits of the Japanese heroes, including those gods of the Yasukuni Shrine. The 1990s and the 2000s became a period of de-occlusion of the so-far occluded non-modern and anti-modern cultural trends in Japan.

I can provide personal information about one of the forerunners of the Occidentalist movement which was part of the attempt to correct the Orientalist civilizational project to build a Western=modern State accepted as part of the Western Powers. The Master-Disciple relationship I had with Shimizu Ikutaro makes this statement a confession about the disciple having gone the opposite way to his master. After almost twenty years, I cut my relationship with my master, Shimizu. During the 1990s, a period when Shimizu led the Peace Movement in Japan, I had joined him in his picketing activities at American military bases, and at his speeches at the Zengakuren Student rallies during the Aomori Fight earlier in 1960 against the US-Japan Mutual Security Treaty.

Shimizu was preparing a book on Ethics he had promised to write long ago when the workers movement in Japan was very powerful. The defeat in the Mitsui-Miike Coal Mine General Strike where workers from all around Japan came to support their fellow workers but did not succeed in controlling the coal mines, made Shimizu aware of the necessity to write on Ethics not from the position of the workers preparing their liberation. He was, during the early part of the 1960s, interested in the new computer sciences, the behavioral sciences and futurology. This was a time I fully worked under him. Shimizu was considering a plan for his future book and confided in me about his

ideas²¹. He told me about his dissatisfaction with welfare economics which forgot the contents of welfare and was interested only in developing models of maximization of undefined target functions. He wanted to write on Ethics which would bridge the gaps between formal structures and the informal contents of ethics. This idea, corresponding to the dualism between the Western universal logic and the informal traditional value and customs occluded by the Orientalists, was also found in Occidental arts which were divided between abstract art and surrealist undefinable shapes.

Another concern which I shared was to define ethics in the new context of globalization of information. I was about to join the hegemonic movement of the Trilateral Commission where the questions of “governability of democracies” was promoted by Zbigniew Brzezinski and Samuel Huntington. The new global context was under the control of a meritocratic elite, the technocrats who needed, and still need now, some ethical principles to serve the interest of the citizens rather than of those who hired them. This is where Shimizu began to take a line I could not agree with, since he wanted to build his Ethics on the principle of “noblesse oblige”. He renounced universal values and focused on the contents of human relations. He concluded that ethics should be based on the traditional notions of “noblesse oblige” which was to return to the Emperor. He admired the young officers of the Self Defence Force for the pureness of their vision indicating their dedication to the nation. His Occidentalism went to the extent to argue that Hiroshima and Nagasaki should not make us Japanese anti-nuclear. We should claim the right to build our-own nuclear weapon²²! Shimizu chose to reject the Occidental formal universalism and wanted to build an ethics based on Japanese sensibility. I was, on my side, participating in building the Trilateral Commission where I hoped Japan could be admitted to the intellectual community of Europe and North America and thus participate in the Universalist experiment of the Enlightenment. Japan could express its own cultural specificity in close cooperation with Europe and tame American hegemonism. Zbigniew Brzezinski forced us to speak with one voice, obstructing my plans to develop cooperation with Europe to balance the American claim to represent the “industrial democracies”. After three decades during which time the UN University helped me join intellectuals from the global South intellectuals, I must confess that Stephen Gill was correct in criticizing the Trilateral Commission as a tool of American hegemonism²³. I had gone

21 Ikutaro Shimizu, *Rinri-Gaku Note (Notes on Ethics)* Kodansha, 2000,

22 Ikutaro Shimizu, *Nihon yo, Kokka tare: Kaku no Sentaku (Japan, be a State: the Nuclear Option)*, Bungei Shunju-Sha, 1988.

23 Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission*, Cambridge University

the way of the Japanese revisionists and was proud of having Japanese citizens join-in with American and European citizens as Fukuzawa Yukichi dreamed a century ago. It is with this self-criticism that I present here my criticism of my master's decision to ignore universal principles and appreciate only the "noblesse" of those who aim to be the winners in meritocratic competitions. It is not necessary to explain further the similarity between the Ethics of Shimizu Ikutaro, Abenomics and Abe's Proactive Peace.

Shimizu is then, for me, a kind of beacon who helps identify the orientation of Abe's civilizational project. The de-occlusion of the 1955 Regime led both Shimizu and Abe to unearth the ethical "achievements" of the Emperor-centred meritocratic Japan. It is important to take note of Abe's educational reforms. He wants to abolish the egalitarian education of post-Occupation Japan, and create a technocratic elite by a meritocratic selection of the best minds in Japan who will enable the country to be a winner in global competition. His model here again is that of modernizing Meiji Japan, which trained technocrats who were Occidentalists in their dedication to the Emperor, yet developed scientific technology capable of competing with the West.

Concluding Remarks: from Tu Quoque to Me Quoque?

In fact, the Abe Occidentalizer phenomenon is part of a triangle created by Japan under the American Orientalist impact in the Cold War period. The Japanese colonial expansion was stopped by the United States, but unrepentant Japan had provided the entry-point for an American expansionism in East Asia. The Peoples' Republic of China and the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea developed into Occidentalizer states, smart in China and plain in Korea. The two newly emerging states built themselves into total war states in opposition to the West, refusing to adopt Western universal values, and insisting on their autonomy and on their endogenous development, accepting the West only to the extent that it suited their national power development.

This anti-colonialist strategy of North Korea's Occidentalizer position has been, in a sense, a response to Japan's past aggressions, and to future U.S. aggressions supported by Japan. North Korea has as its national project since the Korean war a clear objective, i.e. to become as strong as possible to prevent the aggression from Western powers. China, after the 1976 opening of the country,

developed its own version of a smart Occidentalism²⁴, increasingly expressing its civilizational identity and values of the Central Kingdom and took an autonomous development path, resisting all international pressures to adopt universal norms and global standards, especially in the field of international human rights. Japan, as a military-base for the United States, provides an ideal context for the development of Occidentalism among its neighbours.²⁵

Post-War Japan's Orientalism minimized the potential threat of a revival of a colonialist and expansionist Japan; with the emergence of Abe, however, there is a triangular conflict-laden situation between three (or four, including the Republic of Korea) Occidental states insisting each on their own civilizational project rejecting western universalist principles. East Asia is now a common house of disorder based on the common occlusion of Western universalist norms and new Orientalist pressures from the United States or from Europe insisting on the necessity of establishing democracy, freedom and human rights. These pressures generate only new conflicts in the target states between universalist minority citizens and the Occidental states. Abe plays here a key role by reminding both China and Korea that colonialist invasions can survive unpunished, and all 'bads' come from the west, with Japan being the exceptional part of the Rest which had become an honorary citizen of the West.

East Asia, entered through the Abe Shinzo Occidental disclosure of the so-far occluded domestic cultural projects, portends an intensification of ethno-political conflicts. We have no room here to discuss what we can do during this critical moment of our history. Yet, to close this highly personal report without

24 As to the Civilizational self-definition of contemporary China. See, Yang Xuegon, "global-ka to 'chugoku-Model' ni tsuite Ronzuru: Ramo no 'B'," Shigeru Iwasa, Taemyeong Kim eds., *21 Seiki no Shisou-teki Kadai (The Philosophical Problematique of the 21st Century)*, Kokusai Shoin, pp. 397-317. Independently from the above position of China in the global age, we need to return to the question of modernization as it affects the cultural identity of the citizens in the Chinese civilizational sphere. Both China and Japan have to face the consequences of their open door decision, A return to Lu Xun in China may become as important as in Japan. Sun Ke raises this question by treating critically the problems posed by Takeuchi Yoshimi the translator of Lu Xun in Japan. We must follow Lu Xun (Ro Jin) in his narratives of the human situation brought in our communities with Western modernity beyond Orientalism and Occidentalism, capitalism and socialism. See Son Ka, *Takeuchi Yoshimi toiu Toi (The Questions raised by Takeuchi Yoshimi)*, Iwanami Shoten, 2006.

25 I treat this question defining the states he defines here as Occidental, "developmentalist States", the states mobilizing their national capital to build their capacity to compete with the industrialized countries. See Kinhide Mushakoji, "Identity Politics in the Developmentalist States of East Asia: the Role of the Diaspora Communities in the Growth of Civil Societies," *Journal of Ritsumeikan Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol.5, 2013.

any hints on what can be done is too painful. Let us just say only one word. “Me quoque” (We Too)! Our Constitution states clearly that we renounce the use of force, military or otherwise, causing any human community to have its right to live in peace violated. Rather than become Occidentalists and point the finger to others, saying “tu quoque”, we should rather affirm, “me quoque” that we are the first to recognize the harm we generated by our colonialist aggressions. “We too” are repentant of our past aggressions, and we can ask other former and present colonialist and expansionist states of the West to join us in declaring illegal any exogenous imposition of universal principles which may violate the right to live in peace of any human communities²⁶. Japan is the only country from the Rest capable of saying “me quoque” and invite other colonial powers of the West to do the same. This may be a good way to bring reconciliation between the West and the Rest, or between the North and the South. This will enable Japan to play the unique role it so wishes to. Now may be an opportune time to do so, 60 years after the Bandung Declaration of 10 Principles²⁷.

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