RISE OF NEO-NATIONALISM IN JAPAN AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR EAST ASIA

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

DINAMANI



JAPANESE STUDIES DIVISION

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

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2015

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "Rise of Neo-nationalism in Japan and its Implications for East Asia" submitted by me for the award of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to many individuals who have helped me accomplish this research work.

First of all, I would like to thank my research supervisor for his patient guidance, encouragement and critique of this research work. I feel truly privileged to have worked under his guidance which taught me the fundamentals of research. He has been the true light on the path and my gratitude towards him cannot be expressed sufficiently in words.

I also wish to extend my gratitude to Prof. Varaprasad Dolla who encouraged me and affirmed my ability to accomplish the research.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Srabani Roy Chowdhary for her advice and assistance in keeping my progress on schedule. I am also grateful to Prof. Lalima Verma for her teaching has been instrumental in finalizing the subject of the research.

I also owe special gratitude to Prof. P.A. George for his invaluable advice at the most important juncture of my academic pursuit.

I am also grateful to Prof. Manjushree Chauhan who has supported me throughout and her words have been a great source of confidence for me.

I am thankful to Dr. Munindra Singh and Dr. Ajay Kumar Mishra for kindling my interest in intellectual pursuits in the formative years and providing invaluable suggestions during my research.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Bhushan Kumawat for the painstaking work of editing the major part of this work. His belief in my abilities have always motivated me to work with devotion

I am also thankful to the entire staff of the Centre for East Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University.

I would like to thank all my friends for their cooperation and support.

Finally, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my family for their unconditional support throughout my study.

Last but not the least, I am fully responsible of the mistakes, if any, in this research work and no other is liable for that other than me.

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ADIZ: Air Defense Identification Zone

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Virus

ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations

BOJ: Bank of Japan

DPRK: Democratic People's Republic of Korea

EAS: East Asian Summit

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

GHQ: General Headquarters

ICBM: Intercontinental Ballistic missile

IMF: International Monitory Fund

IOR: Indian Ocean Region

JSDF: Japan Self-Defense Force

MAD: Mutually Assured Destruction

MITI: Ministry of International Trade and Industry

MOFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NHK: Nihon Hoso Kyokai (Japan Broadcasting Corporations)

NSC: National Security Council

NSS: National Security Strategy

ODA: Official Development Assistance

PPP: Purchasing Power Parity

TPP: Trans-Pacific Partnership

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United Nations

UNCLOS: United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea

UNSC: United Nations Security Council

US: United States

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

WTO: World Trade Organization

WW II: World War II

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Japan is a small island country of enchanting beauty topographically isolated from the rest of the world due to its geographical location. Its contacts were limited only to neighbouring countries and for most part of its history it stayed out of the external influence. The major characteristic features of Japan are best reflected in its homogeneity, an eagerness to assimilate foreign ideas and the love of its people for the land. The ethnic homogeneity of Japanese people is unique for throughout the history it has not been disrupted by the influx of people coming from other lands. The love of the Japanese people for the land has expressed itself as a wave of nationalism at various stages of history and helped Japan sail out of crises. Japan has shown tremendous appetite to learn things from other nations and ability to assimilate them by adapting to suit its cultural soil. This is why Japan has maintained an unadulterated culture and tradition despite its awe-inspiring modernization.

Japan remained irrelevant to the international society for major period of history. It attracted the attention of the world after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. In the years that followed the restoration Japan underwent unprecedented transformation from a semifeudal society to a modern state. Japan became a great economic and military power and built its empire in the East Asia region. It led Japan through two World Wars and Japan was finally defeated by the Allied powers in 1945 which brought the end of Second World War. In the post-World War era Japan unleashed its spirit of resilience and achieved unparalled economic success and became the second largest economy in the world. Thus the small country cast such a huge shadow in Asia that engulfed its entire nation in one's sphere of influence.

Japan is a country which has served as a symbol of hope for other Asian nations. It is the hope which instilled confidence and faith in the abilities of Asian nations to achieve outstanding economic success by surmounting all obstacles on the path. Japan had its share of crises, upheavals and days of agonies but the startling reality about Japan is it has always survived them and came out stronger. A small island country lacking seriously in vital natural resources went on to become the second largest economy in the

world is nothing short of a miracle. It is indeed a miraculous story that inspired many Asian nations and continues to do so.

But how Japan fashioned such an inspirational course of success despite stumbling upon many crises? There are many factors to it but one thing that is surely evident in the success of Japan is the role of nationalism which asserted in times of crises and fuelled the spirit of the populace to make incredible efforts for bringing Japan every time out of trouble.

During the Meiji Restoration (1868) Japanese leaders attempted to equip Japan with Western findings by showing rapacious curiosity to learn and assimilate knowledge coming from varying sources. Desire to catch up with the West became the determination of the nationalists in Japan which helped them achieve the same in just a few years. This is a kind of feat which is yet to be achieved by many nations even today. The Zaibatsu¹ of Japan established new industrial houses which surprised the world with its massive productivity and innovations. Once the economy became robust Japan began to strengthen its army for the protection from Western powers. By wielding power Japan not only safeguarded itself against the raging tide of Western colonialism but also became increasingly assertive. This was made possible only due to the willingness of making every possible sacrifice for the nation by its people.

In the post-World War era when Japan was utterly devastated and recovery looked like a daunting task but the nationalistic spirit of Japan asserted itself. it adjusted itself positively to the existing scenario and became the vehicle of economic rise of Japan. The economic growth of Japan was so spectacular that by 1980s Japan became the second largest economy in the world. It brought the lost pride of Japan back and provided a renewed confidence to its citizens. Japan continued its growth and salvaged much of its reputation by extending a helping hand to the developing countries of Asia including China and India through Official Development Assistance (ODA). Though the economy of Japan has declined but still it remains the third largest economy in the world. This is why the story of economic rise of Japan has been one of the most researched subjects all over the world.

¹ Zaibatsu: Industrial and financial conglomerates who were real thrust behind the economic rise of Japan during the rise of Japanese empire.

It is imperative to understand nationalism and examine the factors which have heightened the nationalistic feelings in Japan. In present scenario also Japan is faced with multiple challenges. It is struggling to keep the economy afloat and overtaken by China as the leading economic power house in Asia. South Korea and Taiwan have also gone through incredible economic growth and emerged as new competitors. The rising powers in the region have become more assertive and demand for sincere apology for the conduct of Japan during its imperial days. Today, Japan no longer enjoys the status in the region which it had for more than 40 years.

Japan also strained relations with China and South Korea for the rights of sovereignty over the chain of islands and rocks namely Senkaku/Diaoyu and Takeshima/Dokdo respectively. The territorial dispute with China has taken an ugly turn due to renewed assertiveness of China which is viewed as an expression of its power projection fuelled by spectacular economic growth. This has brought the two great powers of Asia face to face for the struggle of hegemony in the region.

Discontents arising from historical experiences, like visits of Yasukuni Shrine by Japanese leaders and bureaucrats which are vehemently opposed by China and South Korea, have further deteriorated the bilateral ties. Japan is experiencing security dilemma in the East Asian region due to the economic rise of China and its assertive posturing in the region. Under the circumstances the nationalism has again started to assert itself in Japan.

The nationalism that is rising in Japan has a different nature to it in comparison to what it has been in the past. This new form of nationalism, which is referred to as neonationalism, has assimilated new aspects to adjust itself in the frame of globalization. The neo-nationalism can be viewed in two ways in the light of globalization. One is in the response to globalization while the other is a reaction against it.

Some neo-nationalists, whose notion is shaped by the primordial factors of nationalism, hold that the globalization has introduced new elements to Japan which threaten Japan's uniqueness and homogeneity. The Western values which have become widely accepted in the youth of Japan and the influx of foreign nationals, who bring new cultural elements, are believed to dilute the Japanese culture and tradition. These people appeal to the

government to adopt measures to protect the Japanese uniqueness and its homogeneous nature. They also want to amend the peace constitution of Japan for its remilitarisation to thwart the security dilemma of Japan. They argue that Japan will not be able to have an independent foreign policy unless it will have its own standing army. They appreciate their leaders for paying visits to the Yasukuni Shrine and maintain that they need not apologize for the past conduct of Japan as they have already done it.

Some neo-nationalists, whose idea of nationalism is influenced by modernist school of thought, believe in universal human values² and maintain that Japan should refrain from unnecessary provocative actions. They advocate the peaceful means of settling disputes between nations by diplomatic efforts without bringing war and belligerence in the discourse. They also maintain that the globalization does not threaten Japanese uniqueness and its homogeneity and influx of people make the country all the more diverse. Rather they give much credit to the globalization for Japan's economic rise for, they believe, it provided the much needed technology and market to Japan for exercising its economic activity.

Specificity of Japanese nationalism: Scholars of international politics and sociology agree that Japan is one nation that contains all possible elements that go to make the idea of nationalism take tangible shape. It is extremely difficult to define nationalism but in case of Japan it becomes easier because of the presence of both objective and subjective factors of nationalism. Japanese people have common ethnicity, share the same myth and history, speak the same language, have the same religious and spiritual consciousness and also have an elevated sense of pride in their nation. In addition they have a nation's head in the emperor who serves as a father figure of the whole nation. Japan is also a democratic nation with a constitution which enshrines the ideals of its citizens. The leaders of Japan are elected parliamentarians who carry with them the will of people and frame the policies of the country accordingly.

² Universal Human Values: Those values which do not depend on individuals, societies, nations and continents but remain one and the same everywhere and for everyone are referred to as human values. In one other interpretation when everyone has a reason to value something it becomes universal. Some of the common examples are love, peace, truth, justice wisdom, service and others.

Whenever the situation demands the nationalism asserts and touches the political, social and economic dimensions of the country as well as the East Asian region.

Rise of neo-nationalism in Japan and East Asian order: The rise of neo-nationalism in Japan will have implications for the East Asian region. East Asia has ushered in a new world and structural changes in the countries have introduced a new order in the region. The East Asian region is home to exciting economic activities which has attracted the attention of the world. China and Japan are, respectively, second and third largest economies of the world in terms of GDP. (India has become the third largest economy on the basis of Purchasing Power Parity) Taiwan and South Korea have also demonstrated tremendous economic growth in recent years.

Economic strength elevates the power projection of nations at the global stage and helps them command good bargaining strength in diplomatic negotiations while pursuing their respective national interests. For this reason Japan and China have emerged as two global actors capable of influencing the order of the region and the world at large. The cooperation between China and Japan promises peace and prosperity for the two nations and opens the doors of new opportunities for the whole East Asia. But the conflict between these two economic giants will throw the peace and stability of the region in jeopardy. It will also influence the status quo of the world order by destabilize the existing power equation. The new situation poses unprecedented challenges for the leaders of East Asian nation to fashion out a balanced trajectory leading to the future. The emerging scenario in East Asian region has turned it into a theatre of geopolitics and a subject of interest for the scholars of international politics.

One factor that has affected the manoeuvrings of Japan greatly is the economic and military rise of China. The structural changes in China and its corresponding rise in economic status have brought a renewed sense of pride and confidence in the leaders. It can be observed from the diplomatic activities of China that it has never been as assertive as it is today. It has also started making efforts for building a powerful and effective armed force to back its economic rise. Every Chinese citizen takes pride in the recognition of China as a great power in the world and wants to see it as the most influential country in coming days. Many have started predicting that it has the potential

to overcome US and become the largest economy in the world in coming years. This has given rise to a surge in the wave of nationalism in China which is further providing impetus to Japanese neo-nationalism.

Conditions for the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan: Many in Japan believe that in order to protect the pride and revitalize the economy people must be galvanized into action. They also believe that Japan should break free from its allegiance of not maintaining military and take the national security in its own hands. Today the majority of Japanese nationals believe that chain of Senkaku islands is a part of Japanese territory and incursions in the waters around islands is tantamount to the intrusion in Japanese sovereignty. They also feel like putting the past and its terrible memories behind and move into a new world. They believe Japan has already apologized and it does not need to do it repeatedly. Also, they do not want to be reminded of historical mistakes of Japans and certainly do not want to be asked for apology anymore. Japanese leadership knows it well that the populace can be convinced of bringing about historical changes and cooperate in the name of dealing with the security dilemma. Under the circumstances Japanese government has started reconsidering the revision of peace constitution which is to be the first step towards militarization of Japan in the eyes of experts. Japanese leaders know it for a fact that nationalism can be a vehicle to bring about these changes.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Nationalism has attracted the attention of scholar because of its pervasive role in the history of nations. It is one of the widely explored dimensions of intellectual enquiry and has fairly good set of literature, however, not exhaustive by any means. The literature on the subject has been categorized into three broad themes. The first theme, "Notion of Nationalism" includes the set of literature dealing with the concept of nationalism along with its varying forms and relevance. To understand the concept of nationalism under a theoretical framework is the underlying purpose of this theme. It has often been observed and expressed by scholars that Japan provides an important sample space to study the phenomenon of nationalism. The second theme "Narratives of Japanese Nationalism" deals with the set of literature that describes the rise of nationalism in Japan in different periods of history and their impacts in shaping Japan's future. The third theme "Rise of

Neo-nationalism in Japan and its impact" includes the set of literature mapping the situation of Japan in the globalized world and the kind of nationalism that will emerge. The fourth theme deals with the set of literature which tries to understand the impact of the rise of neo-nationalism on East Asia. It also includes the writings which have made attempts to understand the role of neo-nationalism and its application in shaping Japan's response to its challenges.

Notion of Nationalism: The first literature in this series is "Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalization" by Benedict Anderson (1983). The nationalism is a contested concept and it has been difficult to reduce it into a clear definition. But the phenomenon of nationalism, as argued in the book, has existed since late 18th century and continues to exist. It has also been emphasized that though nationalism is a recent phenomenon but not totally divorced and devoid of its cultural roots which could be easily traced. The form of nationalism was not as clear in the remote past as it turned out to be after the emergence of independent nations. Prior to that, the chief cohesive force that worked amongst people was religion and ethnicity. It gave people a sense of togetherness and a collective fraternity tied to a particular belief system and its practice. This fact is substantiated in Japanese context when the pious king Shoutoku Taishi used Buddhism as a philosophical and religious force to ossify the foundation of Japan as a nation. The book aims to give a new orientation of perspective regarding nationalism and calls it a cultural artefact of a particular kind that commands profound emotional legitimacy. The principle argument of the book is its advocacy of nationalism being unique constructed phenomenon rooted in the culture of the country and given shape by print capitalism. It also makes special mention of the symbols that function as convergence point of the collective memory of people of a nation. In this regard, Benedict Anderson particularly gives special importance to the tombs of unknown soldiers as capable of arresting the emotions of majority. It influences the psyche of populace and underlines the importance of sacrifice for the national cause. This kind of symbol is often related to the expression of extreme nationalism. It can be validated in case of Japan by observing the importance of Yasukuni shrine and frequent visits made to it by the cabinet ministers of Japan. It has identified the elements of nationalism but what remains to be an area of gap is its failure in delineating the context within which

nationalism becomes a highly accentuated phenomenon and influences the course of history.

E.J. Hobsbawm (1990) reflected on nationalism in his celebrated work "Nations and nationalism since 1780's and built his argument about the origin and development of nationalism. He has taken a stance of rejection and first explained what nationalism is not and claims that the concept of nation is a new one and has no mythical impressions on it. Hence, nationalism for Hobsbawm has more to do with sovereignty and political freedom. Hobsbawm, in fact, borrows the phrase from the book of Benedict Anderson to explain nation as 'imagined communities'. But he stretches the argument further by saying that imagined communities only fills the void left by the collapse or disintegration of real communities. But he fails to explain the term "real communities". He further presents his argument that rise of nationalism does not happen for the same reasons in every case but instead it responds to the new changes taking place within the nation and without it. It also outlines the importance of nationalism in the history of political evolution and upheavals. It also emphasizes that both objective and subjective criteria come together in a complex mix to guide the emotive faculties of humans. Hence, he brings the opinion of common people, the constituent of masses, in the heart of the argument while explaining the development of the idea of nationalism. By doing so, he brings the social realities and state's design together as two determinants of the nationalism. The transformations of nationalism in the late twentieth century have been discussed and different concepts of nationalism have been juxtaposed to bring clarity. The gap area is the study of the new form of nationalism in the light of globalization which has been referred to as neonationalism in this research work.

Another literature reviewed in this theme is Banal Nationalism by Billig Michael (1995). The central argument of the book is that scholars tend to take nationalism into consideration when it expresses itself in a crisis situation confronted by a nation. This means that hitherto the focal point of scholars has been extreme expression of nationalism. Billig argues that nationalism exists all the time sometimes clearly visible and sometimes not so visible. He defines this notion of nationalism as "Banal Nationalism." He makes a strong psychological point by referring to nationalism as an

extension of individual self which integrates into concrete collective self. He does not make clear mention of how this banal nationalism transforms into extreme nationalism.

The Origin of Nationalism, Casper Hirschi (2012), in addition to defining nationalism, has presented general theory of the functions of an ideal nationalist within a certain paradigm. "The Limits of Nationalism" by Chaim Gans, (2003) discusses nationalism from a liberal perspective. It has also included the role of immigrants in the study of nationalism. It provides us with an additional variable that goes to give nationalism a new dimension in generic sense. The gap area is the argument presented in the book is at variance with Japanese experience of monolithic structure of nationalism.

Narratives of Japanese nationalism: Mito Takeuchi (2012), explains in his work "The Reinforcement of Cultural Nationalism in Japan: An investigation of Japaneseness and "the Notebook for the heart" that how the Japanese intelligentsia, government, business people, and other educators emphasize the homogeneity and uniqueness of Japanese culture to enhance national identity amongst the people of Japan. It is an effort to examine the content of the theory of Japaneseness. Nihonjinron is actually a set of literature that focuses on Japanese Culture, people, society, history and national interest.

M. Tokumoto (1989) writes in his Nashonarizumu no Dotai: Nihon to Ajia (Dynamics of Nationalism: Japan and Asia) goes on to explain that every element of nationalism indicated by scholars is present in Japan and hence, there runs a constant fear that Japanese nationalism may take a monolithic form in times of crises. K. Saeki (2005) writes in his book "Rinri to shiteno Nashonarizumu" (Nationalism as moral), that practice of nationalism in Japan should be viewed and inculcated as a value of a Japanese citizen to live by. The conduct of an individual should be a part of national ethos and national interest should come first for the pride of every citizen is related to the pride of the nation.

G. Rozman (2002) observes in his article Japan's quest for Great Power Identity that after attaining great economic power Japan wants to be recognized as a great nation playing multifaceted role at the global stage. For this to be materialized Japan would want to have a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. It would also look forward to expand the military power for greater bargaining strength on the anarchic international arena. But the hurdle lying on the way is Japanese peace constitution which prohibits

Japan to have an offensive army and denies the right to use belligerence to settle international disputes. Many Japanese people argue that how Japan can adhere to peace doctrine when countries like China are free to exercise their power even for their expansionist agenda in South China Sea. They look convinced of the Japanese need to have its own army. All this would be a distant dream, so goes the argument, unless Japan uses nationalism, as it has done in the past, to achieve the objectives of national importance. Brian.

- J. Mcveigh (2004) writes in his book Nationalism of Japan: Managing and mystifying identity that minzoku ideology has been mobilized for peace nationalism which is in accordance with the idea of banal nationalism. He also explains how a new sense of national purpose prevailed in the post imperial era.
- B. Hashikawa (2001) in his book Nashonarizumu: sono Shinwa to Ronri (Nationalism: Its Myth and Logic) speaks of what is the myth and reason of Nationality. This work explains much like Eric Hobsbawm what nationalism is not in Japanese context. It also articulates the vision of nationalism in postwar Japan and how it can be used to reconstruct Japan. It tried to show the existing disconnect between pre-existing traditions and institution and juxtaposed contemporary political debate to emphasize the relevance of nationalism.

Neo-Nationalism in Japan and its impact: The conventional notion of nationalism does not prove sufficient to capture the whole gamut of its forms and influences. Nationalism has assimilated new elements with the passage of time and it responds differently today to new challenges. So goes the argument in Yumiko Iida's (1999) "Sources of Japanese Identity: Modernity, Nationalism and World Hegemony." The central focus of the work is that the breakdown of the U.S. hegemony and reshaping of the world order coupled with the deepening world economic crisis have made Japanese people question their identity and allegiance. In order to respond to the new challenges in a globalized world a new kind of national spirit is required. This must express the common will but through political apparatus.

Maso Maruyama (1979) argues in his book of essays "Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics" that Japan has experimented with ultra-nationalism that had

devastating impact on Japan. Japanese ultra-nationalism grew in the shadow of Western influence which failed to align with the forces of democracy and pursued a trajectory characterized by violence. In the post-War era the nationalist psychology, which prevailed before, has been decomposed and Japan has to fashion a fresh national consciousness for it needs to supplant the void created by the collapse of national symbols and associated beliefs. He further argues that the nationalism has vanished from the political curtain and settled at the social base in an atomized form. It can reappear in a situation of crises but this time around it will take a new form which will include new elements and move in tandem with Asian nationalism.

Professor Lalima Verma (2007) writes in "Japanese Nationalism: Response to Changing Regional and International Environment" that there is a qualitative difference between the nationalism that existed in the pre-World War II and the type of nationalism emerging in Japan in recent years. The rise of neo-nationalism in Japan has a purpose to consolidate Japan's position at the international stage and to project the impression of Japan as a responsible nation in the globalized world. The nationalism advocated has no scope for militarism for it has substantial opposition in Japan as well as outside it.

The work of Maiko Kuroki (2013) "Nationalism in Japan's Contemporary Foreign Policy: A Consideration of the Cases of China, North Korea, and India" argues that nationalism is utilized as kind of political capital in a domestic power relationship by Japanese political class. It further argues that the major cause of the crisis in the region is the rise of nationalism and its use as an agenda to achieve certain ends. It uses the case study of the foreign policy adopted by the administration of Koizumi and Shinzo Abe to analyze how nationalism was exploited by political set up to thwart the opposition and push one's cause. Nationalism is a great force and it carries great momentum which can unleash the hidden potential of mass if harnessed well. It calls for a proper channeling of this powerful resource to ensure positive gains for struggling Japan on economic front and not as a tool to marginalize one's rivals.

Matthew (2003) argues that the rise of nationalism will have alarming consequences if it goes out of control. If Japan goes for militarization after revising the constitution in the name of defending Japanese territory from the expansive policy of China it will deepen

the existing chaos and throw the regional balance in jeopardy. In order to have a nuclear deterrence Japan may also prefer nuclear tests. Now it can be imagined how precarious the regional power balance will become and threaten the nations of nuclear war in the waiting. Buzan (1988) also maintains that fanning the flame of Japanese nationalism might culminate into military assertiveness of Japan.

It is always a plausible debate that rise of nationalism will destabilize Japan's relations with its neighbors but it might as well be premature and naive to conclude that Japan will embark on a military aggression. This has been the stance of Rose (2000) who is skeptical about the monolithic expression of Japanese nationalism. Yamamoto (2005) observes that much can be credited to the North Korean attitude towards Japan for the rise of nationalism. The nuclear threats by North Korea to Japan and issue of the abduction of Japanese citizens have given stimulus to the wave of nationalism in Japan. It is indicated by recent developments that the nationalism is on the rise in Japan but it would be interesting to watch if it will be guided wisely.

DEFINITION, RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The realist theorists of world politics argue that the states of the world interact with each other in a state of anarchy in which one's bargaining strength is proportional to the power projected by the actors. In East Asian region it can be seen that the chaos is increasingly deepening and every actor is contributing to it. The East Asian region has emerged as the most important theatre of geopolitics in the 21st century which accentuates the relevance of study of the region and developments taking place in it. This is why the resurgence of neo-nationalism in Japan has drawn attention of academicians and scholars within Japan and outside it.

As is evident from the review of the literature that today Japan is faced with multifaceted issues which are extremely crucial for both domestic and foreign policies of Japan. Emergence of a new order due to rise of China, challenge to keep the economy afloat, historical discontent between Japan and the victims of its imperial expansion in pre-World War $\overline{\Pi}$ era, Yasukuni shrine controversy, territorial disputes, belligerence of North Korea and demand for apology over comfort women controversy are some of the pertinent issues that Japan is facing today. Under the scenario Japanese people feel that

their pride has taken a serious hit and they feel the need to come together to safeguard

their nation. This whole situation together stimulates a new kind of nationalism in Japan.

The rise of neo-nationalism in Japan will have serious implications for both regional and

global world. Right wing politicians would want to revise the peace constitution for

paving the path for the militarization in the name of defending the national interests. This

work is aimed at discovering the interplay of various causes that is providing fuel to the

flame of nationalism in Japan. Also, the rise of nationalism will take place under

globalized world where interests are mainly overlapping. The dissertation will also

examine the shape of neo-nationalism that might emerge in Japan and its implications at

large.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To comprehend nationalism and applying the knowledge to understand the nature

of Japanese nationalism and its role in the shaping the history of Japan

2. To determine the factors responsible for the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan

3. To find out probable implications of the rise of neo-nationalism for Japan

4. To find out probable implications of the rise of neo-nationalism for the East Asian

region

HYPOTHESIS

HYPOTHESIS 1: The persistence of the new set of challenges confronting Japan will

give rise to yet another wave of nationalism.

(New set of challenges confronting Japan include: Historical issues with neighbours,

territorial disputes, declining economy accompanied by political instability)

Variables:

Independent variables: New set of challenges

Dependent variable: Rise of neo-nationalism

HYPOTHESIS 2:

Rise of neo-nationalism in Japan will have jeopardizing influence on the peace and

stability of the East Asian region.

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Variables:

Independent variables: Rise of neo-nationalism in Japan

Dependent variable: Consequential imperilment of peace and stability of the East Asian region.

RESEARCH METHODS

The research will be analytical, applied and qualitative. The method of analysis will be inductive. It will aim to analyse the causes which give rise to the phenomenon of neonationalism as a consequential effect. This will include proper examination of the development of historical junctures through content analysis which becomes the substratum for the expression of nationalism. The research will also adopt empirical information drawn from different scenarios for substantiating the conclusions. The sample space for the research is Japan and the East Asian region which is studied under deliberate sampling. Both primary and secondary sources will be used for the research. The primary sources will include among others official documents, government reports, and joint statements of bilateral meetings.

The research has two distinct parts which are inextricably linked with each other. The first part is the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan which is in fact constructing a social reality. Methodology adopted for this part will be discourse analysis which is defined as a method to inquire into the articulations by which social reality and identities are constructed. The second part of the research is the implications of the rise of neo-nationalism. This will be conducted in the light of the theories of International Relations and politics. Inductive reasoning will be applied for deriving conclusions. The research relies on empirical evidence, relevant concepts and objective considerations. It also maintains ethical neutrality and results into probabilistic findings.

CHAPTERS

The research paper is categorized in six chapters including introduction and conclusion.

Introduction: It will introduce the subject of research and the situation of Japan in the East Asian region. The chapter will also try to examine the causes, emanating from the

geopolitical development of the region, conducive to fan the flame of nationalism in Japan.

Nationalism: nature and construct: The chapter is devoted to the discourse of nationalism in general. It aims to understand the notion of nationalism, its emergence and role for shaping the course of history.

Narratives of Japanese Nationalism: Nationalism is a familiar notion for Japan. It has played its role in making Japan what it is today. The chapter will present a narrative of Japanese nationalism since its rise in mid-17th century and its impact. It will also try to observe the collective Japanese psyche in relation to the phenomenon of nationalism.

Neo-nationalism in Japan: It aims to study the concept of nationalism in the light of globalization. The rise of nationalism in the contemporary world will certainly follow a different trajectory as compared to forms of nationalism that prevailed in past. In today's world, nations are closely interconnected through trade and economic interests which make them work in unison and discourage the divergence between and among nations. In addition, the most important actor in today's international politics is alliances and their response to the emerging crises will determine the course of history. How nationalism will manifest itself in such a scenario will be the focus of this chapter.

Implications of neo-nationalism: This chapter will try to capture the possible implications of the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan. It will include the influence of nationalism on domestic politics which will lead to shape Japan's foreign policies towards neighbors. This chapter will also explore the impact of the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan on the East Asian region.

Conclusion: This chapter will briefly present an outline of findings of the research.

CHAPTER 2

NATIONALISM: NOTION AND CONSTRUCT

Nationalism has played a great role in shaping the order of the world that we see today. It has led mankind to war, revolution, violent movements, momentous events and other upheavals which have defined the trajectory of the march of mankind on this planet. It has been instrumental in making and breaking of regimes and empires. People have killed and died at the altar of history in the name of nationalism. There also exists a link between nationalism and the course of imperialism, colonialism, and decolonization of nations. In the modern globalized world when trade and commerce have given rise to the phenomenon of economic-imperialism, nationalism plays a vital role as a vehicle of a nation's ambition to project its power and expand its sphere of influence at the international arena. It has also been used as an instrument by non-state actors to achieve certain ends by galvanizing people into action. The political forces operating in a country have also used nationalism for maintaining their rule within a nation by posing themselves as the vanguard of the national pride. People who are deeply attached to the nation tend to identify themselves with it and possibly, could do anything when the nation's pride is called into question. One of the interesting aspects of nationalism is it has varying meaning and purposes. To some it means nothing, to some it is a means to an end and to some it is the end in itself.

Hence it is crucial to study nationalism in order to understand world politics for it remains a dominant determinant of the balance of power within prevailing state of affairs. On the one hand, it has acted like a great cohesive force to integrate people into communities and giving them a sense of oneness and composite integration, while on the other hand it has also divided people with a sense of otherness and fragmented mankind into innumerable communities. Historical analysis reveals that nationalism has amalgamated the people of a country and inspired them to build empires. In the process of empire building one nation took the centre stage while others found their place at the periphery which further entrenched the hierarchical order among nations. It also manifested the bad face of nationalism which had at its centre the exploitation of man by man. The process of colonization unleashed grotesque violence and turned a major part of

globe into a theatre of crime and gross injustice against humanity. Interestingly, the process of decolonization also received impetus from the idea of nationalism when the peripheral nations asserted against their colonial masters. In the process of colonization and its natural counterpoise decolonization, history witnessed the two mutually contradictory faces of nationalism at work. But it also gave a diffused sense of nationalism in some respects. Primarily for this very reason nationalism has been argued to have two contrasting faces. One face of nationalism is viewed as integrating and constructive while the other is disintegrating, disruptive and destructive.

The function of nationalism in history is quite easy to observe and comprehend but to give a distinct definition of nationalism is extremely difficult. The effort to define the term precisely remains an elusive exercise for scholars. Nationalism is a blend of many complex phenomena such as ethnicity, culture, language, religion, geography, political ideology, shared past, values and its renewing nature with passage of time. All these phenomena come together in varying degrees to shape the idea of nationalism. That is why it calls for a comprehensive consideration of all these elements to have a sound perspective with regards to nationalism. It has often been attempted to study nationalism in two broad categories, namely cultural and political nationalism, for many constituents of nationalism are overlapping and not distinct. Only in some cases certain factor acts predominantly among others to give birth to the idea of nation and the notion of nationalism.

For example, India was divided in the name of religion and a new nation Pakistan was created in the year 1947. The demand for Pakistan was based on the idea of creating a nation for people who follow Islam. They wanted their independent existence as a nation separate from the influence of Hindus in the united India. The idea of Pakistan was hugely supported by majority of Muslims but not all. Many Muslims rejected the creation of the nation based on Islamic religion and decided to stay in India as a citizen of a democratic country. Here religion played predominant role amongst other factors that contributed to build the idea of nationalism for those who adhered to the demand of a separate nation. Democratic ideals became a dominant factor for those who stayed in India despite having an opportunity to go to Pakistan and live with its people. Interestingly, soon after the creation of Pakistan as land for Muslims the demand for a

separate nation based on linguistic and geographical divisions were made. The voice for a separate Muslim country within Pakistan grew strong and a new Muslim state Bangladesh was born in 1971.

In the first case Muslims were not ready to live in one country as fellow citizens along with Hindus due to religious difference and in the other case, Muslims were not ready to live with fellow Muslims due to linguistic and geographical division. In former case, religion and in the latter language became the predominant factor in laying down the foundation of the nation. Almost similar scenario is there in the making in Tibet and Xinjiang province of China.

Another example that can be cited in this regard is the Korean War and separation of South and North Koreas. The two countries treaded different paths despite having many historical and ethnic similarities. Many countries which were part of the Soviet Union became independent nations after its disintegration. This happened primarily because these nations were not comfortable with the communist regime. In communist ideology the state is not tethered to religion, language, culture and other psychological factors. It cares only for the political ideology and individual's adherence to the idea of communism. But the ideology cannot be the only cohesive force that can keep the people together as it was proved in the case of the fall of Soviet Union.

In democratic countries one can observe a more humane and liberal face of nationalism at work. People of different descent and ethnicity, people following different religion and speaking different tongues, can live together as citizens of a nation that constitutionally protects their rights and ensures their peaceful coexistence despite stark differences. The ideal of the nation and its functioning have been usually enshrined in a manifesto or constitution which represent the document of common vision. Great nations like the United States of America and India are among the countries where people confide their trust in the constitution and live according to its ideals.

In these instances it has become evident that no one factor can be pinned down as a leading cause for making the idea of nationalism work. But all these factors come together, with some as predominant ones, as religion in the case of the creation of Pakistan, language in case of the creation of Bangladesh and ideology in the creation of

nations as a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Hence, before studying nationalism as a phenomenon it is imperative to explicate some associated fundamental concepts which play a vital role in constituting of the idea of nationalism.

DEFINING NATION

Nation functions as the kernel of the phenomenon of nationalism and it cannot be studied without understanding the concept of the nation. The two prevailing psychological senses of oneness and otherness translate itself into the geographical boundaries between two communities which eventually crystallize, on either side, into nations. Every individual living on planet earth is a citizen of some nation which is central to his or her identity and the collection of such individuals deriving larger identity form the primary basis of a nation. It is evident that individuals derive their identity from the nation and vice versa, and the interest of the nation is inextricably associated with that of the individual.

From the perspective of global politics in the contemporary world, nation is the most important political unit in the world. The affairs of the world consist of the interaction among nations pursuing their respective national interests along with changing the geopolitical structure of the world. It can take the form of cooperation, conflict, war, revolution as well as construction and destruction of regimes and empires.

The term nation is often used in such a manner that gives the impression that everybody thinks, he knows well that what it means. But as it happens with all the contested terms, defining nation remains a painful experience for scholars which make them settle for a functional definition. Is the nation, a name of collection of people following one religion, or speaking one language, or having the same ethnicity, or following one particular ideology, or living in the same region as a distinct geographical unit? Is a nation a well-defined political community? The United Kingdom can be one example where four separate nations namely the English, the Welsh, the Scots and Northern Irish come together to make one political unit. It is also visible in the North African region and the Middle East where people following the same religion comprise different nations with distinguished interests. It is possible for people living in a country to speak multiple languages or follow different religion or to have different descent. Hence, it can be concluded that objective factors alone cannot define a nation. It makes the subjective

factors a dominant determinant in defining a nation. That is to say that the people of a nation view it as one distinct political reality which lays more emphasis on civil bonds than having the same religion, ethnicity or language. This sets a nation apart from other human communities based on objective factors. However, the instances are there when religion or language or ideology served a cause to establish a separate nation as it happened in Asia in the case of Pakistan, Bangladesh, North Korea and South Korea. But these instances are few and far between and, do not lead to conclusive understanding of the formation of nations on the basis of certain objective factors.

The difficulty of defining nation is something that is shared by every scholar who has strived for it. Benedict Anderson (1982) observes in his celebrated book 'Imagined Communities³, that the concept of nation cannot be pinned down with precision. However, he asserts that "a nation is an imagined political community which is both constrained and sovereign at the same time." A nation is a constrained unit both in terms of geography and population. No nation can be big enough to contain all the individuals walking on the planet earth. Also, everyone cannot agree to one particular ideology to be the best form of governance and opinions will be divided for good. Although Francis Fukuyama⁴ (1992) has advocated that the liberal democracy has emerged as the most influential political ideology and marks the end of history in terms of man's search for finding the most appropriate political apparatus. He predicts that all the nations eventually embrace the liberal democracy as a political ideology and homogenization to the nations of the world. But it is still in theory for different political systems are still functioning and the constraint theory of Anderson still carries much weight.

Benedict Anderson argues that these constrains will make nations appear in a distinct geographical unit and a convergence of ideals amongst its people. Despite the constraints,

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³ Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, argues that nations comprise of communities which are primarily imagined. This is so because it is not possible for the citizens of a nation to interact with each other. Benedict Anderson proposes in this book that nation is a social construct imagined by people who consider themselves to be a part of the community. The various social agents function to construct its reality. For example, the media is one great agent to help conceive the idea of a nation and it became a great force because of 'print capitalism'.

⁴ Francis Fukuyama: Francis Fukuyama presented a theory of the end-point of human history in his celebrated text "The End of History and the Last Man" (1992). This theory holds that the man's search for the most effective political ideology has come to an end with the introduction of liberal democracy. He argues that liberal democracy provides individuals the opportunity for self-development without state interference, material security and right to material security.

the nation is a composite and sovereign entity that functions through its own accepted rules and assimilated ethos. The 'sovereignty' is considered to be a pivotal aspect of the nation and was a product of enlightenment which spread around the globe and divided it in tectonic entities called nations.

Defining nation on the basis of objective and subjective factors

It is easily observed from the argument presented above that the two definitions of nation can be framed on the basis of objective and subjective factors. On the basis of objective factors nations are primarily a collection of people living in the geographical space and integrated by a blend of cultural, traditional and ethnic matrices. In this case, the feeling of oneness is often derived from a common descent, shared values and tradition, linguistic connectedness and/or same religious practice among other things. On the basis of subjective factors, nations are primarily a group of people who consider themselves as members of a natural political community with similar political aspirations. This definition is no more tethered to ethnicity, culture or religion and people of varying backgrounds can come together to establish a nation. What they needed to make it into a political reality is a "general will" as explained by the great French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau. This will is often reflected in the common vision document of the nation, like a manifesto or constitution, in which the ideals of the nation are enshrined.

NATION-STATE

The concept of nation-state comes into being when both objective and subjective factors coalesce together to a significant degree. These factors are integral part of the structure of nation-state but they are not sufficient in themselves. In modern world it is also evident that the subjective factors have clear dominance over objective ones primarily because of the expanding web of globalization. But objective factors are also seemingly eternal in their presence and show a great tendency to assert when the context provides for it.

Historicity of the concept of nation-state: The Treaty of Westphalia brought the "Thirty Years War" to an end in the year 1648 that broke out in 1618 as a religious conflict within the Christendom or the Holy Roman Empire. The stakeholders came together to set the new rules of statecraft and construct a normative order that will bring sustainable peace and a new balance of power hitherto, lying in shambles. The balance of power was

to check and constrain the inter-state aggression and curtail the belligerent intent of nations. Prior to the emergence of the Westphalian order, countries were kingdoms, principalities or part of empires. The king used to be the ruler and sole sovereign often deriving legitimacy through some divine lineage or ancestral inheritance. Also, the identity of people was more of a subject than of a citizen whose freedom was always a hostage to the will and whim of the ruler.

This Westphalian order produced three vital normative guidelines for the future politics which are still followed in almost every part of the globe with some or little modifications. First and foremost, it changed the nature of international politics by divorcing it from particular religious ties and making it secular. Although, religion continued to exert its influence but its sphere shrunk considerably. People followed their respective religions but the system of central religious authority was not effective anymore the way it was before the treaty of Westphalia. The church in Europe became religious authority and state became secular. The notion of secularism became a subject of consideration in intellectual affairs. This ended the pivotal position of religion as a political unit in Europe in the beginning and later spread to the various part of the globe.

Secondly, it produced the notion of sovereign nation-states. The treaty of Westphalia overturned the centralized religious authority and replaced it by a unique system of sovereign states occupying specific territorial space and exercising control over a considerable size of population. The concept of sovereignty provided nations with the significance of their existence free from the intrusion of other powers. Without sovereignty the nations will cease to be thought of as nations. This also emphasized that sovereign states are to be treated equally and with respect irrespective of their size, population and location. It granted them absolute power to take decisions concerning welfare of citizens, institutions and communities lying within the territory of the nation. It also provided nations, the freedom to build relations and alliances with other nations based on the respective interests.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SOVEREIGNTY

The idea of sovereignty underwent certain modifications but the foundation of the idea was surely laid during the treaty of Westphalia. It envisioned a shape of global society in

which all nation-states are to be legally equal. This emphasized that every state will have the exclusive right to manage its internal affairs without the interference of any other nation. It also attached a duty to the right of states not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations. The Westphalin order also ensured that any treaty or agreement between states will be based on the mutual respect of the interests of each other. It maintained that violation of sovereign right of other states will tantamount to relinquish one's own sovereign right.

The treaty of Westphalia brought a Copernican turn ⁵ in international politics by introducing fresh ideas and instruments of statecraft. The concept of nation and interaction of nations based on their national interest which is largely followed today are the products of the treaty of Westphalia. The world order that largely pervades today is but a modification of Westphalian order.

NATIONALISM

Nationalism is a highly contested socio-political phenomenon. Its meaning varies with alteration of spatial and temporal contexts. Is nationalism a feeling, an identity, a political doctrine, an ideology or a social movement? Is it a natural or invented phenomenon? The answer to these questions would be that it is a blend of its all and, something more. The most common understanding of nationalism maintains that the nation is the fundamental political unit which makes international interaction possible, by giving distinct identity to independent and sovereign nations. Nationalism has political, psychological and cultural dimensions to it. It has also both natural and invented side to it. But every claim about nationalism remains largely debatable and it does not look probable to have a final word on it.

Primordial and Modern approach to understand nationalism

The most recent attempts to understand nationalism are primordial and modern approaches which are discussed in the following pages.

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⁵ Copernican Turn: Polish astronomer rejected the geocentric view of the solar system that was held true before him. He proposed the heliocentric model of the solar system in which, all planets including earth moves around the sun in circular orbits. This brought a great paradigm shift in the cosmological studies. The term 'Copernican turn' is used to describe a change in any sphere which introduces a new paradigm.

Primordial Approach: This approach attempts to understand the phenomenon of nationalism on the basis of objective factors. It maintains that nationalism has naturally evolved with the evolution of a primitive community into nations through various stages. The central idea behind this approach is the ethnicity and its role in consolidating people in one integrated whole. Ethnicity remains the first soil on which nationalism originated and spread. It lays emphasis on common and shared values in culture and traditions that began in the ancient past but still continue and carry with it the spirit of nationalism. It makes the national identity of people a historical phenomenon.

E.J. Hobsbawm⁶ (1992) has also highlighted this claim in his text "Nations and Nationalism since 1780" by stating that nationalism precedes nations. His argument in favour of this claim states that a primitive ethnic group must have been mobilized by some kind of common pursuit and aspiration and hence forging a deep sense of oneness. This brought the people of the community together and integrated them in one national unit giving birth to the notion of nation. In Hobsbawm's analysis primordial form of nationalism lies at the centre which was instrumental in the emergence of nations.

The natural side of nationalism has also been clearly expressed by the German philosopher Johann Herder (1744-1803), who asserted that nationalism is **Volksgeist**, which meant the spirit and organic identity of people manifesting in their culture, language, legend, myth, history, songs, folk stories and other objective realities. He argued that the idea of nation began to take shape in ancient past but worked continuously to give it the form that is visible today.

Modern Approach: Heraclitus, the Greek philosopher of antiquity asserted that the world is in a state of flux. There is nothing stationary in this and it keeps changing every moment taking a new shape and form. This applies to the social and historical set up as well. The history keeps moving and society keeps evolving from simple to complex and higher stages. Modernists believe that the nationalism is also a subject to the vagaries of time and the meaning of the term nationalism that is used today is a recent construct.

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existed and nationalism precedes nations.

⁶ Nations and Nationalism since 1780: E. Hobsbawm argues in this book that the idea of nationalism was pivotal in the formation of nations and remains effective even today by fashioning political upheaval around the world. He makes it clear that nations are a new constructed phenomenon and have not always

Nationalism, in the book of modernists, appeared with the process of modernization, especially French and industrial revolution.

By the virtue of technological advances of the age new and efficient machines were introduced for large scale production. This brought about a revolution in the mode and relations of production. In this new paradigm, traditional social relations were ruptured and brought a new tension in society. This created a need for a unifying agent which can integrate the people and give them a new identity in response to the new challenges of the time. But this identity is not to be a naturally evolving entity but a construct which is to be forged by the existing state. This argument also assumes that the state predates the emergence of nationalist idea and prepares the ground for the emergence of the nation. The state serves as an instrument in constructing a new cultural and political cohesion. Further, this ground becomes the edifice for a renewed sense of oneness leading to a unique identity. The spread of this new identity of oneness was guided by the education and mass literacy. The literature of that period played a vital role in consolidating a sense of oneness among citizens through the new construct nationalism.

Earnest Gellner (1983) has also endorsed similar view by stressing that the process of industrialisation brought a wave of migration and gave a heightened sense of competition among people. This weakened the hitherto existing cultural oneness, asked for a new cultural cohesion. Nationalism became a vehicle for this new cultural cohesion. This approach, advocated by Gellner, presumes that nationalism came into being first which later invented the nation. This view is in contrast to the popular belief that the love for the nation is manifested in the form of nationalism which mobilizes people for a common cause, objective and purpose pertaining to the nation.

Benedict Anderson (1982) also views nations as the consequent product of socio-economic changes. He explicates that the rise of capitalism in the wake of Industrial Revolution introduced a new order of the world to humanity. In this new order mass-communication became possible for the first time due to the development of what he refers to as 'print-capitalism⁷'. Printing began in 15th century after the invention of

⁷ Print Capitalism: It is a theory advocated by Benedict Anderson which, explains the role of printing press in shaping the common idea and mode of perception with common language, debate and discourse. The printing press was spread and circulated by capitalists in the pursuit of their profit which asked for large

Gutenberg Printing machine but it did not develop into a commodity until the advent of mature capitalism. It brought a common language as a means of communication and created a glorious image of the antiquity. Nation, in words of Benedict Anderson, is an 'imagined communities'. The people living in a country seldom meet but share the same identity. This becomes possible due to increasingly active role played by mass media, education and political ideals. The creation of fraternity in a region and a growing sense of identification fused with the feeling of oneness constructed an "imagined communities". Another striking feature in constructing the idea of nations was the rise of middle class intelligentsia which earned a place in history and began to assert itself. This enthused people to play a role in shaping the trajectory of their future by unleashing a force which was hitherto lying dormant. All these factors came together to give a tangible shape to the aspirations of people which later manifested itself in the form nationalism and nations became its vehicle.

Once the concept of nation ossified, it became available for others to emulate and imitate. This triggered a process of emergence of the nation throughout the globe. Even the countries which were colonies of big empires began aspiring to have self-rule on their respective nations. This aspiration proved to be the key instrument in catalysing the process of decolonization in Asia, Africa and other parts of the globe. As a result, nations have a tectonic presence in the world and, act as the most efficient political unit shaping the course of history by mutual interactions. For this reason, the study of nations has been referred to as the study of the political affairs of the world.

ETHICS AND NATIONALISM

The nations choose to cooperate or collide with each other in their pursuits of national interests, if their interests converge with each other, they choose to cooperate and enter into alliance. But when their interests collide and contradict which is the scenario more often than not, nations choose to confront each other. This sets a stage on which nations are pitted against each other in sharp competition and rivalry. Under the circumstances, in order to have a comparative advantage they try to augment their military strength for having superior power projection. The nation which succeeds in the endeavour emerges

base of readership. Anderson stretches the argument and concludes that the print capitalism prepared the ground for the emergence of nations.

as a hegemon and betrays the ideals of sovereignty in a subtle way. Such nations have more power and influence over other nations and usually have more say in the affairs of global importance. This triggers a race among nations to have as much power as possible for protecting their interests in such a world where they feel threatened all the time. The ubiquitous phenomenon of constant fear and a state of threat felt by nations is referred to as 'security dilemma'. The security dilemma heightens the feeling of oneness in the citizens of a country by arousing the sense of nationalism in them. This makes them prepared to take extreme steps including making supreme sacrifice of their life for their nations. Some countries choose to weaken their potential rivals by declaring a war of attrition against them. All this happens because of the tectonic divisions of nations around the globe. The citizens identify with the status of their country in the world and attach their pride to it.

History bears the testimony that war and violence are closely related to nationalism. The nations go to war in order to protect their interests or stake claims on controversial resources. The expanding wave of imperialism led mankind into bloody wars and left devastating trails in its wake. The scars of violence perpetrated in the pursuit of imperialism are still visible. Soldiers fought, died and killed for the flag of their nations. Benedict Anderson highlights that the tomb of such an unknown soldier who sacrificed his life for the nation turns into a national symbol with the emotional epitaph engraved on it. This keeps inspiring the people of the nation in general and the army in particular for putting the nation first.

This brings us to the long standing and unsettled debate of the ethics related to nationalism. Can nationalism that inspires people to kill fellow humans and destroy other nations be termed as good? Can nationalism that unifies the people of a threatened nation to safeguard their country by facing the oppressor be termed bad? The answers to these questions are not easy to find but nationalism has been categorized on the basis of their constructive and destructive roles⁸.

⁸ Nationalism as a political ideology guides the actions of the nation and its people. These actions are relative and can be both good and bad. On this basis nationalism is also given an ethical interpretation and categorized as good and bad.

OTHER FORMS OF NATIONALISM

Civic nationalism is a form of nationalism that lay emphasis on the solidarity of people having common vision and political ideals. They agree to accept the cultural differences and show respect for it. It also incorporates the liberal ideals and stresses the practice of tolerance and cooperation. Civic nationalism disregards the attitude of war-mongering among nations and promotes a sense of peaceful existence. Secular ideals are also one striking feature of civic nationalism. Civic nationalism derives its legitimacy from universal human values which are the criteria of perpetual peace in the world.

Ethnic nationalism is a form of nationalism that stresses the cultural uniqueness of the nation and tries to strengthen the spirit of oneness. This form of nationalism is often suffused with the feeling of national greatness and brings a sense of superiority. It has a burgeoning tendency to it and often becomes uncontrollable once gone haywire. For example, in Germany Adolf Hitler advocated the superiority of Germans as against the Jewish people.

Religious nationalism is a form of nationalism that advocates the superiority of one particular religion and uses religion as a political force and continually strives to stretch its sphere of influence. In some Islamic nations, the ambition of establishing the rule of Islam in the world even with violent means can be seen. This is not only the case with Islam but almost all religions try to spread their religion. They can adopt different methods of doing it but the primary inspiration behind it remains the same. It begins to take a dangerous turn when the state becomes a part in the agenda of the religious authorities. This kind of nationalism is bereft of tolerance for people following different religions and heightens the tension among nations.

NATIONALISM AND THE THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Interest in the idea of nationalism has been growing in the academic circles. In recent times nationalism has emerged as a subject of academic debate because of its significant ability to play an effective role in shaping the world order. The theories of international politics view nationalism differently because of their primary assumptions. In the following pages, the take of some leading theories of international politics on nationalism will be briefly examined.

Realist's interpretation of nationalism: The realists view is always based on certain assumptions which are referred to as the premises of realism. The first premise of realism maintains that states (nations with certain reservations as well) acts like individuals at the international arena. Their characteristics are akin to that of human beings. The states are in a way egocentric, much the same way humans are, and hence pitted against each other in sharp competition and rivalry.

The second important premise of realism stresses that states/nations interact with each other against the backdrop of international anarchy which do not offer any greater authority beyond the sovereign states. In the absence of any authority up there to establish norms and make them justiciable renders the world a vulnerable place. The states follow the path of their national interest without considering the ethical concerns.

Under the given circumstances cooperation becomes difficult and conflict remains the perennial state of affairs between and among states. In such a world, the order is maintained by the mechanism of the balance of power. It is almost impossible for one state to have supreme influence over others and different poles of power come into being. This kind of polarity tends to maintain the stability of the world by nullifying the overpowering nature of states.

Realists think of nationalism as an instrument to strengthen the state by internal integration which makes it more effective externally. Nationalism is often used as a means by the states to galvanize the people into action for a cause that concerns the state and its power projection at the anarchic international arena. Hence, nationalism in the eyes of the realists is an ideology that helps the state effectively pursue the national interests under all circumstances, including peace and war.

Liberalist interpretation of nationalism: The idea of universal and perpetual peace envisioned by the German philosopher, Emmanuel Kant became the guiding principle of liberalism. Liberalism, in contrast to the realism, holds that in the prevailing international anarchy cooperation amongst nations will be the key to order and harmony of the world. The peaceful co-existence between and among nations will be derived out of the mutual respect of each other. The competing interests of the countries will eventually see a natural reconciliation and a balance of interests will guide the order of the international

politics and relations. It also assumes that the non-state actors in the globalized world will give impetus to the process of interdependence. Further, the interdependence of states will make their stakes and interest common and mutual growth will emerge as much sought after ideal in times to come.

Nationalism for liberals presents a good face and portrays it as a principled political ideology based on civic values. Liberals maintain that political loyalties of nations can vary but their pursuit of freedom and safeguarding the rights of nations are the same. The liberal idea of sovereignty of nations is an expression of the freedom and is shared and respected by every other nation. In this paradigm the nationalism never goes out of control and only makes a nation an efficient unit for the peaceful continuation of international politics. Nationalism, in liberals view, further takes the form of internationalism and appeals for a common human destiny.

Liberal ideals have given impetus to the process of democratisation and globalisation which reshaped the character of nationalism. It weakened the ideal of that nationalism which served to farther the differences between and among the states. It strengthened the belief that nationalism is to be the part of the whole that is internationalism. It holds that every nation is free to fashion its own destiny but it should not go against the larger interests of mankind.

Marxist interpretation of nationalism: Marxian school of thought looks at nationalism as a political ideology that differentiates the working class of a nation and serves the interest of bourgeoisie's class by exploiting the working class. Nationalism creates a false consciousness of oneness among the citizens of a country and downplays the economic differences between the classes. The national interest pursued by states is primarily the interests of the dominant bourgeoisie's class which uses nationalism, as a levelling instrument for the citizens without giving consideration to the prevailing unequal economic conditions.

Marxian interpretation of history categorises it into five broad phases based on the mode and relations of production. These phases are primitive communism, feudalism, capitalism, socialism and scientific socialism or communism respectively. In the first phase only ethnic bonds kept the people of the community together. In the feudal era culture emerged and prospered by a group of a few chosen men who were given patronage by the feudal lord while peasantry, kept working in the fields and provided the economic support for the maintenance of the regime. The working class lived just at the subsistence level and struggled for the survival. In this era poets composed songs praising the kings, rulers or feudal lords and the land they ruled. Gradually, with passage of time the symbols of oneness began to take shape which paved the path for the nationalism to emerge. The era of capitalism, characterized by the industrial production with machine replacing labourers to a greater extent, saw the worst kind of exploitation for the working class. It maintained an army of unemployed people and turned the very working force against itself. This situation, however, can only be changed by bringing socialism through revolution. In socialism, the mode of production will be controlled by the working class and the dictatorship of proletariat will be established.

This revolution, in Marxian ideology, is the point of departure from the order of the world characterized by the dominance of the capitalism. The revolution is necessary to bring a paradigmatic transformation from capitalism to socialism.

Nationalism, as a political ideology, thwarts the much needed revolution as viewed by Marxist scholars. It gives a false sense of oneness among the citizens of the country while disregarding their economic disparity which is the primary determinant of human wellbeing. It prevents the working people from coming together and emerging as force to reckon, which is a prerequisite for the revolution. Nationalism, introduces a false matrix which blurs the reality and keeps the working class from recognizing their real interests and concerns.

Social Constructivists interpretation of nationalism: Social constructivists are critical of the primordial influence in shaping nationalism. They argue that the national belonging is constructed by social, political, economic and other processes and nationalism plays a great role in it. They agree with the idea advocated by Eric Hobsbawm (1982) which views nations as 'invented traditions'.

Poststructuralist and postmodernist interpretation of nationalism: They hold that the driving force behind nationalism is a narrative or a set of narratives which imagines the

nation in a given form. These narratives link nationalism with myth and legend of the nation giving it characteristic attributes.

Feminist interpretation of nationalism: Feminists bring gender identity in the discourse of nationalism. They hold that nations are often viewed as motherland with very few exceptions. It is revered as a mother who nurtures its populace by providing home. The culture and traditions are also produced by the nation as symbols for its specificity. Feminists hold that when the idea of nationalism integrates masculine elements it becomes destructive. They indicate towards military nationalism which is often linked with violence and war.

In the following chapters the theoretical perspective of nationalism will be employed to study and comprehend the phenomenon of nationalism in Japanese context. How the Japanese nationalism has taken tangible shape and expressed itself at various historical junctures will be discussed in the next chapter. Also the kind of nationalism that will emerge in contemporary Japan in the wake of globalization will be studied in the light of the findings of different schools with regard to nationalism.

CHAPTER 3

NARRATIVES OF JAPANESE NATIONALISM

A nation evolves through several historical stages before establishing its identity as a specific entity at the global stage. The process is gradual and almost imperceptible except for some epoch-making events. The initial stages of nation building involve conception of the idea of a nation, charting of territorial expanse, population integration and consolidation of political ideals. This process reaches its maturity when a country earns recognition of its existence by other nations as a unique entity with distinguishing features. This becomes the basis of a nation's interaction with others as it is the most important unit of international politics. The legitimacy of the existence of nation is derived from its two functioning purposes. Firstly, it functions as an organisational entity that ensures the security of the people by maintaining domestic order. Secondly, it manages the external influences by safeguarding the collective interests of the nation.

The idea of Japanese nationalism began to take shape with the efforts of Shotoku Taishi in sixth century who imagined Japan as a specific country with distinguished features. These features were derived by the myth, religion, culture and folk tradition of Japan. Thus the first step of nation building was completed during this period of Japanese history.

SHOTOKU TAISHI AND THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF JAPAN

The evolution of Japan as a nation has been a product of long and continued historical process. The first important effort to make Japan a unified country was made by the pious prince Shotoku Taishi. Shotoku was born in ancient Japan in A.D. 574 and believed by many as the incarnation of Buddha in Japan for the extraordinary works that he accomplished in order to establish Buddhism in the land of rising sun. He was made the crown prince and regent to his aunt and the then Empress Suiko. His position placed Shotoku in control of the political affairs of the state. Shotoku witnessed a country that was torn apart in the struggle of warring clans for their individual interests and power. He also faced raging disagreements in the royal court on the matters of how to govern Japan. Shotoku Taishi decided to pacify the interests of clashing clans and unify the nation in one integrated whole.

Shotoku tried to consolidate the nation by introducing the "Seventeen-Article Constitution" in the year 604. This brief constitution charted the reform based on Confucian ideals for governance and statecraft. It made the Imperial institution as the supreme authority and its command binding for all citizens. Article 3 of the constitution makes the monarch as sovereign by declaring its command to be infallible.

"Do not fail to obey the command of your sovereign. He is like Heaven, which is above the Earth, and vassal is like the Earth, which bears up Heaven. When Heaven and Earth are properly in place, the four seasons follow their course and all is well in Nature. But if the Earth attempts to take the place of Heaven, Heaven would simply fall in ruin."

Buddhism, which was introduced to Japan from Korea just before Shotoku was born, had lasting impression on the prince. He thought of using the tenets of Buddhism as guiding principles for cultivating the Japanese ethos. Article 2 of the Constitution of Prince Shotoku emphasizes the importance of Buddhism in the following words.

"The three treasures, which are Buddha, the (Buddhist) Law and the (Buddhist) priesthood, should be given sincere reverence, for they are the final refuge of all living things. Few men are so bad that they cannot be taught their truth."

Shotoku Taishi envisioned Buddhism as a great cohesive force that could unify the mass with peaceful means. Prior to Buddhism the religious cult which was followed in Japan was Shinto. It was more of a polytheistic rudimentary form of religion which had no scriptures with ancestral worship as guiding philosophy. Buddhism introduced a set of rich philosophic tradition developed in India and China. For this reason prince Shotoku made efforts to reconcile Buddhism with the native faith Shinto and tried to expand its reach. Buddhism appealed primarily to the elite class after its advent in Japan because of its scriptures and esoteric aspects. But the efforts of Shotoku to build temples and monasteries in large numbers stand testimony to the fact that he wanted to spread Buddhism to as many people as possible. Shotoku established as many as 46 Buddhist temples which later became important centres of Japanese culture and religion. These temples were also education centres which spread Buddhist and Confucian teachings. Buddhist teachings helped Japanese people develop the religious attitude while Confucian teachings spread the political attitude among people. The religious attitude

shaped, to a large extent, the moral and ethical conduct of people while political attitude determined the hierarchical relations of superior and inferior in society. The contribution of Shotoku Taishi in the nation building is evident in three aspects. He laid the cultural, political and most importantly religious foundation of Japan. This instilled a sense of oneness and belongingness in Japanese people. People of Japan started identifying with the nation and their common destiny. This effort was further extended by the Emperor Shomu (701-756), who ordered to build Buddhist temples and monasteries in all the sixty-six provinces of Japan.

The primary factors responsible for the nationalism in view of primordialists were consolidated during this period in the form of religion, cultural and ethnic solidarity. This was the beginning of Japan as a nation which later created a seamless unity among Japanese people. The unity was tested by time but survived its ravages with some changes in forms and manifestations in different times.

FIRST EXPRESSION OF JAPANESE NATIONALISM

Japan was first exposed to the danger of grave foreign threat during Mongol invasion. The most momentous event that sent tremors to the integrity and independency of Japan was when Kublai Khan (1216-1294) invaded Japan with ambition of bringing it under the fold of vast Mongol empire. The first wave of Mongol invasion crashed on the shore of Japan in 1274. Northern Kyushu was waiting for the inevitable with not so formidable force to stand against the huge Mongol fleet. But before the Mongols could launch the attack, a typhoon struck and destroyed the major part of the Mongol fleet. As a result Mongols could not summon the strength to launch offensive and Japan survived the most deadly attack coming from external world. This event was an eye opener for Japanese rulers. Now they knew that they can be subjected to the foreign offensive and their territory will not be safe until they can have the strength to meet and subdue such attacks. Considering the genuine threat Kamakura Bakufu fortified the northern Kyushu region and positioned considerable troops of samurais to check any such attacks.

The second wave of Mongol invasion came in 1281. This time around the attack was far more fierce and powerful. The new naval force comprised of 140,000 men intent on bringing Japan to its knees reached Japan. But Japanese warriors were determined to

protect their nation even against the most indomitable odds. The people of Japan lived with a faith that their country is divine and it is protected by celestial powers. The Emperor offered his prayers to the gods to protect Japan from this foreign attack. By a curious coincidence, once again a huge typhoon came to Japan's rescue. The Mongolian fleet suffered crushing blow by the typhoon and the rest of the work was done by the Japanese samurais. It destroyed the Mongolian navy and the will of Kublai Khan to launch yet another offensive on Japan.

These occurrences of typhoons were interpreted as the helping hand offered to Japan for its protection in the time of desperate need. These were referred to as kamikaze (divine wind) that protects the blessed nation Japan. The successful survival of Mongol invasion strengthened people's faith in the divinity of their nation. This grave threat to the integrity and independence of Japan instilled Japanese people with intense sense of unity which was hitherto not experienced by Japan. The new crisis was dealt with the concerted effort of warriors and their will to protect their nation against a powerful enemy with tremendous experience of warfare and conquest.

REUNIFICATION OF JAPAN AND ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY

The political order of Japan was in shambles in the first half of the sixteenth century due to raging conflicts between and among leading feudal lords for provincial hegemony. The lack of strong central power gave rise to small political units in feudal domains which often clashed with one another for control and power. Power in terms of armed forces was the only bulwark against the threat posed by competing powers within the reigning scenario of security dilemma.

The Imperial institution was the only central agency that symbolised the unity of Japan. But the emperor was only a revered symbolic head with no capacity to intervene in the political and military matters of the time. Every feudal lord accepted the divinity of the emperor without any shadow of doubt but at the same time everyone claimed to be the most powerful and efficient person to rule Japan. The scenario was much like what Thomas Hobbes⁹ described as "the state of nature." Every daimyo aspired to strengthen

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⁹ State of Nature (Thomas Hobbes): The 17th century British philosopher Thomas Hobbes explained in his famous book Leviathan that in the state of nature only freedom exists and no right. The nature of humans is such that they fight with each other in the absence of one great authority and their lives in the state of

its power and weaken its rival daimyo by often gobbling its vassalage. The struggle became all the more bloody and escalated the range of casualties due to the introduction of firearms by Europeans¹⁰. The result was the reign of chaos which destabilized the very foundation of Japan as a nation.

In the later sixteenth century strong and able daimyo with efficient leadership and superior military technology began the reunification of Japan by subduing their rivals. It was the beginning of a process of Japan's political centralization. Three great leaders who hastened this process were Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Iyeyashu. The objective of unification of Japan was accomplished at the close of sixteenth century at the decisive battle of Sekigahara. In 1600, the forces of Tokugawa Iyeyashu and the infant son of Hideyoshi met in a decisive battle at the plane of Sekigahara. Tokugawa Iyeyashu came victorious in this battle which also marked the accomplishment of the process of Japanese reunification. Iyeyashu emerged as the strongest leader of Japan who further consolidated his position by becoming the shogun¹¹ in 1603. The first step of the objective to reunify Japan was complete but the second step, which was the consolidation of regime, was still waiting to be accomplished. Tokugawa Iyeyashu soon began this process with as much efficiency as he could have mustered.

Tokugawa Iyeyasu was a visionary leader who foresaw that in the absence of a strong and efficient central institution the unification will not last long. In order to make the Tokugawa rule lasting, he developed institutions that will ensure its supremacy in times to come. He made Edo, modern Tokyo, the administrative capital of Japan. He tried to win the trust of the Imperial institution by alleging the pledge to stay loyal. In order to have a kind of intimacy and a calculated control he established matrimonial alliance with the Imperial family. By doing so he also brought legitimacy to his regime in the eyes of

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nature are "solitary, poor nasty brutish and short". In order to escape this predicament people need an all-powerful "Leviathan" which will keep the order. The Social Contract Theory has also emerged through this work of Hobbes.

¹⁰ Introduction of firearms in Japan: The firearms were introduced to Japan by Europeans in the 16th century. This was an era of conflict in Japan among the warlords and Europeans supplied the firearms to these warlords.

¹¹ Shogun: Shogun in Japan is the supreme military commander or general. This institution, often called shogunate, existed in Japan from 1192 to 1867 when shogun used to be the ruler of Japan in the name of the emperor. The shogunate came to an end after the Meiji restoration in 1868.

other daimyos. The efforts of Tokugawa family helped maintain the social and political order of Japan for about two and half centuries through military rule.

CONSOLIDATION AND RELIGIOUS PURGING

Tokugawa Ieyasu was given the recognition of a shogun in the year 1603 by the emperor. He resigned the shogunate in 1605 in the favour of his son Hidetada (1579-1632), but remained the real administrator of the regime until his death. Hidetada was succeeded by an able but ruthless shogun Iemitsu in 1623. Iemitsu was the man who actually consolidated the Tokugawa regime by his inventive and exemplary methods. The political system of Tokugawa regime took clear and concrete shape during the rule of Iemitsu. On the one hand, he is remembered as an efficient administrator who implemented highly successful "Sankin Kotai 12" system and on the other he is remembered as a ruthless shogun that crushed the Christianity and tried to uproot it from the soil of Japan.

This system led to two important developments. One is that Edo became the central city of Japan and all roads coming from domains led to it. With passage of time Edo turned out to be the pivot of Japanese political, cultural and commercial activities. This has such a lasting impact on Japan that Tokyo, a new name for Edo, became and continued to be the capital of modern Japan. The other development was the construction of roads and other means of communications in general that were used by daimyos. Passing of daimyos through those roads was one of the major celebrations of those times. Later many towns and markets came into existence by the side of these roads which proved to be crucial for the development of Japan as a nation that we see today.

Shimabara Rebellion: The crushing of Shimabara rebellion by the shogun brought religious tolerance of Japan into question. Japan embraced Buddhism and developed it by its indigenous contributions but it failed to do the same for Christianity. People of Japan practicing Shinto, the native religion, accommodated Buddhism that came from foreign

were kept in the capital virtually as a hostage while the daimyo spent time controlling and managing his domain.

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¹² Sankin Kotai System: The greatest threat that was perceived to keep Japan unified was the possible rebellion of the Daimyos. In order to address this question Iemitsu applied a strategy which came to be known as the "Sankin Kotai" or "Alternate Attendance" System. This was the most efficient way in which the hans or domains were controlled. In this system a daimyo were to spent alternate years in residence at the Bakufu court at Edo and in the domain that he controlled. The chief wife of the daimyo and his heir

land with novel and lofty philosophical cannons. The two religions reconciled and began to complement each other by playing vital role in shaping Japanese religious consciousness. Buddhism under the influence of Japanese ethos underwent certain changes. As a result a new variant of Buddhism namely Japanese Zen Buddhism came into being. In the process Japan exhibited a propensity of assimilating new set of ideas and bringing significant changes to them by practicing it in its own land.

But the experience of Japan with Christianity has been somewhat different. Western imperial wave brought with itself a new wave of religion in Christianity. Portuguese traders first discovered the Islands of Japan in 1543 and established trade and commerce relations. In 1549 one of the great founders of the Jesuit order, Saint Francis Xavier visited the Island country and his Jesuit order started missionary work in Japan. In the beginning the Christian missionaries were well received in Japan by the daimyos. They also supplied gun powder to the land lords which was vital for any victory in the struggle amongst rival daimyos for hegemony. Oda Nobunaga saw in them an ally in his fight for destroying the power of Buddhist sects.

The problem that Christianity posed to Japan was its intolerance towards other religion existing in Japan. It came in direct conflict with Buddhism which was deeply entrenched in Japanese heart and mind. Another important objection that Japan had with Christianity was its denial of the divinity of the Emperor. No Japanese was ready to accept the notion of the Emperor being a common man like any other. Polygamy was also a common practice among the ruling class of Japan. But Christianity advocated monogamy and denounced the existing polygamous practices. For these reasons, the ruling elite of Japan did not subscribe to the Christian religion. Thus Christianity failed to win the much needed patronage of rulers for widening its reach. However, the influence of Christianity grew considerably in the peasantry class of Japan. Toyotomi Hideyoshi viewed it as a barrier to his project of unifying Japan and bringing it within one central rule.

Tokugawa Ieyasu was tolerant to Christianity during the budding years of his regime. But in 1606 his gaze turned against Christianity. He issued anti-Christian edicts and started executing Christians by 1612. Missionaries were driven out of the Japanese territory and the native Christians were forced into apostasy or martyrdom. The final blow to

Christianity in Japan came when the Shimabara rebellion of peasant Christians was crushed with full force during constructive years of Tokugawa shogunate. More than 20,000 Christian peasants fed up with religious prosecution and economic oppression resorted to rebellion in 1637-1638. They gathered themselves in the old castle of Shimabara in Kyushu. The rebellion was met with the brutal force of Tokugawa army that led to the massacre of Christians in the castle. After the fateful incident Christianity lingered in Japan only in a clandestine form.

JAPAN: A MINIATURE WORLD IN ISOLATION

The suppression of Christianity led to the isolation, sakoku¹³, of Japan from Western influence. In order to keep Japan from the bad influence of Christianity people of Japan were prohibited from leaving Japan in 1636. Those Japanese nationals who were already out of Japan were prohibited from entering the territory of Japan. Japan almost isolated itself from the rest of the world. The primary objective behind such a harsh step was to preserve the Japanese traditions and ethos in their purest form. The shogunate viewed the Western influence as adulteration and took an intolerant stance to preserve everything Japanese. Trade relations with China, Korea and Dutch were maintained under strict supervision of foreign things coming to Japan. This period of isolation from the world for almost two-and-a-half centuries is a unique example of a kind in the whole history of the world. This period also marks the success of the military regime of Tokugawa family that maintained the peace and order by freezing the nation from external influences. It became a miniature world state cut off from the rest of the world.

This period is extremely crucial from the point of view of the development of nationalistic feeling amongst Japanese people. They looked at Japan as a divine country protected by gods and the external influences posed a threat to the preservation of its purity. The isolation brought a unique integration among the people of Japan and helped it become an increasingly homogeneous. Japanese people turned extremely conscious of their identity and distinctiveness. They lacked the fault lines within the country in terms of varying races and religion. It also gave a new character to the kind of nationalism that

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¹³ Sakoku (1633-1853): It is the period in the history of Japan when it almost closed itself from the outside world. During this period no foreigner could have set his foot on the soil of Japan and no Japanese could have left the country. Japan maintained a solitary existence during this period with no knowledge of the changes taking place in the rest of the world.

developed in Japan. Nationalism also appeared early in time and grew in Japan as compared to other Asian nations probably because Japan was more sensitive to the external influences. Perhaps for this reason they had extreme difficulty in developing a sense of connectedness with foreigners in future.

NATIONAL LEARNING

National learning emerged in Japan as an independent intellectual movement suffused with the elements of Confucianism, Shinto and Buddhism. The movement was inspired by the notion of making Japan free from the dependence of Chinese philosophy and literature which hitherto had dominant influence on Japan.

The Tokugawa regime made Neo-Confucianism the guiding philosophy which resulted in the domination of Chinese learning over Japanese intellectual firmament. The national learning emerged as a reaction to this existing scene. The proponents of national learning believed the dominating influence of Chinese learning as something negative which instilled the feeling of inferiority in Japanese people. They also maintained that the influence of Confucian thoughts have turned people servile and crafty. Under Confucian influence people have forgotten simplicity and the way of the heart which they followed in old days. People seem to be driven too far away from the nature and true human instinct. In the ancient period, they advocated, things and words were few and people communicated through their feelings which was destroyed by Confucianism. This triggered a debate of liberating Japan from the enveloping aura of Chinese influence that hindered the intellectual capacity of Japan from unleashing.

Pioneers of this movement were Kamo-no-Mabuchi and later his disciple Motoori Norinaga. Norinaga advocated that once we can purge Japan of the contamination of Chinese influence Japan can pursue the way of the gods. He laid emphasis on the continuing Imperial dynasty of Japan by calling it the gift of gods. He said that people do not belong to shogun but to the Emperor. Even shogun is nothing but a helping hand of the Emperor and Emperor is the real pivot on which the idea of Japan as a nation rests. Many scholars trace the roots of the Meiji restoration in the ideals planted by the movement initiated by the "National Learning". Even the slogan "sonno joi: revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians" while protesting against the unequal status between

Japanese nationals and foreigners in the late Tokugawa period was inspired by the national learning. The movement marked, arguably, the beginning of the end of Tokugawa rule. Norinaga also believed in the notion of superiority of everything Japanese including the literature.

Nationalistic feelings were stoked by this movement through the blend of new and ancient art and literature of Japan. The national learning provided the impetus to nationalism in Japan by distinguishing Japanese intellectual creations from those of Chinese. The development of literature of a country is considered to be one of the important contributors to the identity of the nation and its nationality. It has also been noted by Benedict Anderson (1982) in his celebrated book "Imagined Communities" that the literature and national symbols serve as the pivot to the idea of nationalism. Anderson views the printed materials as medium in creating and disseminating the idea of nationalism among the people of a country who otherwise have no possibility of coming into close contact and knowing each other.

SURGING WAVE OF NATIONALISM AND DOWNFALL OF TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

The long period of the isolation of Japan from the rest of the world came to an end with the arrival of the 'black ships' of America in 1853. The commander of this American expedition was Commodore Mathew Calbraith Perry. He met with the regional governor and handed him the letter of request from American President to the Mikado, the Emperor of Japan. The tone of the letter was candid and friendly. The letter asked for the humane treatment of ship-wrecked seamen, coal supplies to the ships in dire need and preferably some trading rights. Mathew Perry in a decisive move added one more page to this letter from his side saying that he will return with much larger force in the spring for the reply. This letter as opposed to the letter of the American president served as a threatening ultimatum to Japanese rulers.

Commodore Perry returned as he promised in 1854 and forced the Bakufu to come to the negotiating table. The Shogun was not in a position to pose a challenge to the powerful foreign barbarians and accepted the terms without much defiance for the display of strength and determination was too overwhelming for him. The shogun and his

counsellors knew well that Japan cannot afford conflict due to economic and military inferiority. Some interpreted it as a new dawn of Japan and some as an invasion by a foreign power to the soil of Japan. The bakufu out of awe and fear agreed to open two ports for American ships. These were Hakodate in Hokkaido and Shimoda on the tip of Izu peninsula. Thus America also succeeded in becoming the most-favoured-nation for the possibilities of trade and commerce relations. However, the shogun remained reluctant to the commencement of commercial relations. The treaty was signed on 31st March 1854 and termed as the "Treaty of Kanagawa¹⁴." This opened the floodgate of external influence for Japan. Similar agreements were soon concluded with England, Russia, France and Netherlands. This brought the end of the isolation of Japan from the rest of the world and now Japan was faced with entirely new realties without much preparation to respond.

The shogun who was the signatory of the treaty from Japanese side immediately turned a traitor in the eyes of many ultra-nationalistic Japanese. They thought that the shogun has betrayed the nation by compromising its interests and enjoys no longer the rights to rule Japan. He was thought complicit in the desecration of Japanese soil by foreign barbarians. Emperor Komei (1831-1864) was advised by his councillors in Kyoto that opening the country to the barbarians would be disastrous for the future of Japan. The Emperor decided to agree with those who were against the barbarians and became the rallying point of the anti-foreign movement in Japan.

The political consequence of the treaty proved to be the final blow to the Tokugawa regime. The anti-foreign faction started growing in strength as many nationalistic people advocated their support for the Imperial court. They challenged the Bakufu directly by giving the concerted voice a shape of the slogan of "sonno joi¹⁵: revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians." The movement soon became a formidable force as people opposing the Bakufu increasingly grew in numbers. Many proponents of the movement

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¹⁴Treaty of Kanagawa was concluded between the US and Japan on March 1854. It was Japan's first treaty with a Western power. The treaty brought the end of Japanese isolation to the world. This treaty also gave rise to a fresh wave of nationalism in Japan that changed the political structure of Japan and paved the path for Meiji restoration.

¹⁵ Sonno joi: It was a popular slogan of nationalists during the movement against the Tokugawa Shogunate. The meaning of the slogan is 'revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians.' The movement advocated the restoration of power to the Emperor and sought to expel the Western forces out of Japan.

were young warriors who came from the lower rung of the samurai hierarchy. These samurai, usually referred to as shishi, were fanatical political activists who supported the idea of Imperial restoration. These warriors believed that their loyalty is true to the country and those who opposed them were nothing but self-serving traitors who compromised the dignity of Japan by allowing the barbarians to force treaty on the nation.

The man who gave voice and real guidance to the movement was Yoshida Shoin, an extraordinarily intelligent shishi from Choshu. Shoin was a loyal follower of the native religion Shinto which adhered to the notion of divine nature of Japan. Shoin held that old leaders are grossly incapable of resolving the new crisis. He envisioned and endeavoured to establish a new order by a group of people who maintained similar ideas. Shoin started a school to teach young people the need and importance of nationalism. He tried to convey his nationalistic point of views to his students and inspired them to be loyal to Japan and serve it with their best abilities. His school proved to be producers of the future leaders of Japan with nationalist bent of mind. The leaders of Meiji Japan such as Ito Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo and Kido Koin were students who came from the school of Yoshida Shoin.

Shoin, despite his unfavourable opinion of the Bakufu, did not take an anti-Bakufu stand until it signed the treaty for commercial relationship with Americans. After the treaty, Shoin threw all his resources in opposing Bakufu and planning for direct action against it. He was so outraged with the conclusion of the treaty that he tried to assassinate one of the councillors of the Bakufu. He was arrested in his attempt and later executed. Shoin left behind him a legacy of supreme sacrifice for one's nation and a great will to topple the Bakufu in the national interest.

Satsuma and Choshu, two powerful hans came together to overthrow the Bakufu. These two hans had a large number of adventurous shishi who were willing and capable to take extreme actions to accomplish their objectives. The major difference between these two competing sides that proved decisive in the long run was the role of leadership. The opposition forces enjoyed able leadership with inspiring motive to serve the nation which the Bakufu lacked.

MEIJI RESTORATION: A NEW DAWN

In a three-day battle at Fushimi on the road from Osaka to Kyoto, the Bakufu forces made their final and desperate attempts to retain the power. But the anti-Bakufu forces proved more efficient and determined under able leadership for they believed they are fighting for a greater cause of protecting the nation. In the year of 1868, the Bakufu forces surrendered and the overthrow of more than two and half century old Tokugawa regime was thus achieved. The nation was prepared to accept and embrace the change without any murmur of disagreement. There are very few examples in the world history when such a momentous change took place without social unrest and civil war. This was the year of restoration for Japanese people. This meant that the absolute power was restored to the Emperor without it being in any other agent as it was in the past.

Some historians call it a major political event while some Japanese scholars maintain that it was a product of the new social and economic forces that emerged during late Tokugawa regime. This may well be a subject of debate and analysis but everyone agrees on the role of Japanese nationalism in bringing this restoration.

But the role of nationalism was far from over for the real challenges of Japan were staring fiercely in its eyes. The legitimacy of the overthrow of Bakufu regime was placed on its inability to effectively resolve the crisis that was brought to the country with the advent of Western powers. The anti-foreign forces would have liked to see them thrown out of Japan. But the real situation was demanding a different kind of approach while dealing with the issue of foreigner's expulsion from Japan. Japan was a weak nation before the Western powers. These powers were so strong that they were fighting wars in foreign lands far from their countries and winning them without much resistance. In contrast Japan was not even in a position to defend and protect itself in its own country.

Japanese policy makers realized the weakness of Japan and thought it wise and in the best interest of Japan not to take a confrontational stance against the Western powers. Rather they agreed to equip Japan with the findings of Western means of wielding power. They realized that Japan has been left far behind due to its impervious state of isolation and the world has moved far ahead. It was also felt strongly that the strength of Western powers that gave them unassailable lead from the Asian nations was primarily emanating

from the power of knowledge and technological innovations. Under the circumstances Japan stood no chance before these colonial powers and challenging them militarily would have been asking for the certain defeat and destiny of subjugation.

IWAKURA MISSION: INTELLECT IN SERVICE OF THE NATION

The new leaders of Japan who were entrusted with the responsibility to chart a new order realized that in order to strengthen the country Japan would have to assimilate a great deal of knowledge about the technology, ideas of institutions and innovations from the West. They also awakened to the fact that this will take strenuous effort to educate the populace in general to make them capable of supporting the modernized economy and society. They gave their counsel to the Emperor regarding the appropriate but difficult choice of modernizing Japan on Western lines. They had seen before their eyes that even great countries like China and India ended up becoming a colony of Western nations. The lesson was loud and clear that the burgeoning tide of colonialism would not be stopped by oriental ways.

This became increasingly clear when Iwakura himself led a delegation of leaders from 1871 to 1873 with the purpose of revising the "unequal treaties." The delegation first visited the United States of America and then Europe. The mission failed in persuading the Western powers to revise the "unequal treaty" forced on the Tokugawa Bakufu. Now the delegation had a clear idea that the equality of status cannot be negotiated in the real world but it has to be won by actually possessing power.

The idea to strengthen Japan and build a strong bulwark against the Western powers by emulating Western ways found its voice in words of the Meiji Emperor who proclaimed only two months after the battle of Fushimi and consequent fall of Tokugawa Bakufu that knowledge must be sought from every corner of the planet to guide Japan in shaping its future course. The message was loud and clear that Japan has to wield power by adopting Western ways and methods in order to keep its sovereignty safe from the threat posed by Western powers looking everywhere to colonize nations.

The first few years of the Meiji period were devoted to learning and assimilating the vast cannon of Western intellectual and scientific findings in a systematic and rapid manner. It tested both the flexibility and tenacity of Japanese spirit. It was a great challenge to incorporate the elements of Western civilization without compromising Japanese spirit. Students were carefully chosen on the basis of their power of grasping and comprehending new information. Such students were sent to explore new scientific and technological findings in Western countries. The Japanese establishment intended to learn everything that the Western countries could have offered as its specific expertise. The approach was eclectic induction of knowledge into Japan with minimum investment of time.

For instance, students were sent to England for studying the navy and merchant marine. England was selected for this purpose because it excelled in the said field in an unrivalled manner. Similarly students were sent to Germany to learn its expertise in maintaining and training the army. Some students were also sent to Germany for learning medicine. Students were dispatched to France for learning law and governance and to the United States of America for learning business methods.

The world presented itself to Japan as a huge university out of which Japan learned everything that it needed to respond to the challenges knocking at its doorstep. Japan was also blessed to have individuals who devoted all their physical and intellectual capacity for the cause of enabling Japan to stand against the rising storm of colonialism.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION OF A MODERN NATION

Meiji restoration is arguably the most important event in the whole long history of Japan. There are innumerable reasons cited by scholars in support of the claim. In the next three decades Japan experienced a kind of metamorphosis from a semi-feudal state to a modernized state capable of not only challenging the big powers but also defeating them. After the accomplishment of the restoration Japan embarked on a journey of stellar growth and development. It also indulged into the pursuit of power and its display probably because of the set of circumstances that prevailed.

The restoration did not only bring the end of the Bakufu rule but it also destroyed the long standing structure of feudalism in Japan. The political decisions of the time influenced the social set up of Japan for better and for good. The steps taken by the Meiji government went to establish a great nation as envisioned by the leaders of Japan. The Charter Oath of 1868 made a very important statement respecting the democratic ideals.

The statement that "deliberate assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion." It was not a promise of democracy but propagated the idea of all inclusive approach in the matters of national importance.

In 1871 the control of feudal lords on the lands was abolished. All feudal lords surrendered their lands to the Emperor who assumed the sole authority on Japanese territorial expanse. Daimyo also gave up the right of having their own army as well as the court with a set of independent laws. They were made the governors of their respective provinces. This brought the whole of Japan under one authority that reserved the right of central command. A central and modernized system of tax was employed which provided the stability with regular income. In a bid to modernize the Japanese army a new conscription was introduced in Japan in 1872. It read that all men of twenty years were to serve the national army for three years. This was a practical way of expressing loyalty to the state and Emperor. The new recruitment of soldiers was based on stipulated terms. It also destroyed the exclusive traditional right of samurai to enjoy the status of professional soldiers. It gave rise to serious rebellion in 1877 by Satsuma province under the leadership of Saigo Takamori who was instrumental in dislodging the Bakufu regime during the struggle for restoration. But the rebellion was finally crushed by the Imperial army that was led by the prince Yamagata.

Yamagata later organized the Imperial army on German lines which enjoyed the status of being the most efficient and disciplined army in the world. With all the preparations at hand, Japan was now ready to portray itself at the world arena as one of the important powers of the time.

NEW CONSTITUTION

In 1889 the Meiji Emperor ceremoniously bestowed "the gracious gift" to its loyal subjects in Meiji constitution. This was the first documented set of rules for the government of Japan since the primitive constitution of Shotoku Taishi. It clearly stated the sacrosanct nature of Imperial institution and emphasized that the Emperor is divine entity and hence inviolable under all circumstances. It also provided Japan with its first parliament which was divided in two parts. Like British parliament it had the upper house and the lower house.

This bicameral legislature composed of these two houses was referred to as the Diet. The Japanese constitution was not by any means democratic but it clearly defined the role and duties of Japanese populace including the commoners and aristocracy. The duties of common people were of two fold. It expected them to pay taxes and to serve the army. The aristocracy was entrusted with the responsibility of maintaining the apparatus of state. The voting rights were not granted to every citizen but nonetheless it initiated the electoral procedure waiting for further improvements in future. The women were also not given equal status and remained a second rate citizens. This was also a factor which called for serious attention. It can be said that the Meiji constitution introduced a skewed democracy in Japan.

PROPAGATION OF NATIONALISM THROUGH EDUCATION POLICIES

The rescript on education of 1890 gave yet another impetus to the idea of national service. The document issued by the Imperial institution allowed the government to take the control of education in its hands. The textbooks were prepared especially by the Ministry of Education to indoctrinate the students during their tender age. The feelings of pride for one's nation, patriotism and readiness for sacrifice remained an important aspect to the new education policies.

The education was stretching its reach in Japan and beginning to take a universal form. The government took many initiatives of opening new universities and private schools. As a result Japan became the most literate country in Asia. New concepts developing in West were being introduced to Japan. In addition, many newspapers and magazines were published and shed fresh light on the social, economic and political events developing in Japan.

The expansion of education gave new stimulus to the intellectual fervour of Japan and suffused the nation with renewed hope. The new developments in intellectual spheres gave momentum to the notion of nationalism in Japan by restoring faith and pride in everything distinctly Japanese.

RECLAIMING NATIONAL PRIDE AND STATUS

Japan was thus running hard and fast on the track of modernization. It also presented to the world an unprecedented success story unfolding with tremendous pace. But the one pain in the neck felt by Japanese people was the unequal treaty forced on Japan during the end of Bakufu's regime. The issue of extra-territoriality which gave immunity to foreign nationals from the Japanese law courts seemed humiliating to Japanese. These foreigners were not to be tried in Japanese courts for the crimes that they would commit on Japanese soil. This gave rise to a sense of status difference between Japanese people and foreign nationals. This was emanating from the belief that Western Civilization is superior to Japanese Civilization and the same goes for ideals and institutions. Other issues were the trade relations which were highly in favour of Western nations and hampered the trading interests of Japan.

The government of Japan waking to the rising sense of resentment against unequal status started its diplomatic initiatives to end the said treaties. Finally in the year 1894, yet another important year in the history of Japan, after long and strenuous talks with Britain and the United States of America, the unequal treaties were declared null and void. This restored the lost pride of Japan and faith of its people. The sense of inferiority that was instilled through the inequality in status gave way to a new pride and enthusiasm amongst Japanese people. Now they began to believe that they can be as good as anybody in all possible endeavours.

MILITARY NATIONALISM

The power of a nation is proportional to the influence it exerts on other nations and its ability to swing things in its favour when the interests collide at the international stage. Also the power is always relative. It is either increasing or decreasing depending upon the rise and fall of rival states enmeshed in power relations. In the post-Meiji era a patriotic society called the "Genyosha" came into existence. It supported the idea of an immediate expansion of Japanese influence and control by all possible means including the use of army if necessary. The eyes of this society were fixed on Korea which was under Chinese influence. For the rights over Korea the two countries China and Japan went to war in 1894 on the Korean soil. Within a year, Japan forced all Chinese troops out of Korea. It also took control of the Yellow sea, seized Port Arthur and had the army poised to move into China and capture Peking, if the need arises.

China submitted to the Japanese determination and tenacity and concluded the treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895. As per the terms of the treaty Japan gained Formosa, which nowadays is known as Taiwan, the key Port of Arthur and a large indemnity. In addition, it forced China to accept the independence of Korea and to recognize Japanese interests in Korea. By defeating China in 1895, Japan had taken the first step on the path military conquest. But soon Japan experienced rude awakening due to the triple intervention of France, Germany and Russia. These three countries forced Japan to return Port Arthur to China for the Japanese possession of the port will disrupt the peace and stability of the Far East region. Japan, though a powerful country, could not resist the triple intervention and followed their advice with much reluctance. It helped Japan learn one of the important lessons of international politics, which is not to enter a war without having strong ally by its side.

The nationalists in Japan felt humiliated by this treatment of European countries. Japan learned the lesson from the experience that a country cannot stand against the joint forces working in an alliance-no matter how powerful. The insult was added to this injury when Japan witnessed Russia taking possession of the Port Arthur on lease in 1898.

Treaty with Great Britain: Japan finally signed an alliance with Britain in 1902 as an equal sovereign nation. According to the treaty the two nations will come to support each other in case of an invasion by a joint force of two or more countries. But if they will wage a war with one individual nation the other will remain neutral to it. To conclude a treaty with powerful Britain was a great achievement for Japan. Japan became a signatory of a treaty with Britain on equal terms which had been the world's most industrialized country with most advanced and powerful naval forces of the time.

Russo-Japanese War: The Anglo-Japanese alliance gave a new confidence and vitality to Japan for handling its foreign policies as it saw fit. Japan had to settle things with Russia regarding conflict of interest in Korea and Manchuria. Also to regain the control of the Port Arthur which Japan had once earned in the treaty of Shimonoseki was one of the objectives of Japanese leaders. All this made Japan and Russia go to war in 1904. Japan surprised the world by defeating the giant nation in the battle. The battle came to an end when the two nations met at the Portsmouth in 1905, to negotiate the terms and

conditions of peace through American mediation. Japan asked for railway rights in Manchuria, control of Port Arthur, the southern end of Sakhalin and a large indemnity. Russia refused to give the indemnity but accepted all other demands of Japan.

Japan reaped enormous benefits of this victory in terms of earning the prestige of a country that can defeat a large and powerful European power. Within a small span of time Japan ended the unequal treaty, concluded an alliance with Britain as well as won emphatic victories over China and Russia. It was too much of good things for Japan. Japan made it all possible because of its able leaders, military genius and most importantly, by unflinching loyalty of Japanese people driven by the idea of nationalism and service to one's nation. The people of Japan were possessed with the idea of nationalism to make their country a great nation after seeking recognition from the contemporary great powers.

Japan earned the status of a major power in the Far East by the leading powers of the time. This was extremely useful in safeguarding the nation against the galloping tide of colonialism threatening every Asian country. The support of Japanese people through concerted show of nationalism in order to strengthen its bulwark for safeguarding Japan is viewed as good form of nationalism.

But soon, as it often happens with power, it lost the balance of trajectory and embarked on a fateful journey that led it through two world wars which ended in a disastrous defeat. Japan which was augmenting its power to defend itself decided to establish an empire by colonizing and expanding its territorial reach. Many Japanese historians and scholars call it a misadventure and short-sightedness of the military leaders. But the bitter truth is the military was supported by the general people of Japan who wanted to see Japan a powerful country like Western nations. The bad nationalism was working in the background that allowed people to support the military in its pursuit of raising the Japanese Empire. New slogans were shouted in the domestic affairs of Japan saying that "Asia for Asians." They wanted the Western nations to be thrown out of Asia and to establish supreme hegemony of Japan in Asia. They did not want to rid Asia from the colonial powers but thought of replacing the Western colonial masters from an Asian one.

The nationalism which galvanized people of Japan for bringing miraculous transformation of the country turned haywire and embarked on a self-destructive journey. It brought people face to face with two forms of nationalism, namely, good and bad. Nationalism in the service of the nation and in line with universal human values is considered to be the good form of it. But when nationalism divorces itself from universal human and civic values and resorts to violence, it turns bad and self-destructive.

CHAPTER 4

RISE OF NEO-NATIONALISM IN JAPAN

Nationalism in Japan has often been viewed by many, as something similar to conservatism with considerable emphasis on patriotism. It is not only the case with Japan but a persistent view of nationalism all over the globe. But it becomes more evident in Japan because of its national composition and unique homogeneity. This kind of view is laden with a particular perspective of history which tends to glorify the past and its greatness. The human psyche has been constructed in such a manner that it takes pride in its past and more so if, it has been distinguished in any manner. Though it has its beginning in the primitive human societies but modern man also seems to have a kind of fixation with bygone days. People tend to propagate their culture and traditions and project them as something distinguished, for it, gives them a satisfaction of expanding themselves.

It is a common understanding that Japan became a noticeable country only after the Meiji restoration. The motors of the development in Meiji era were fast industrialization and raising strong military for securing themselves against rapacious Western powers looking for new colonies. It was also evident in the popular slogan of the time, "Fukoku Kyouhei¹⁶", which meant "enrich the country and strengthen the army." This helped Japan wield extraordinary power and put itself on a path to unprecedented victory and glory.

Some of the Japanese people still believe that those were the days when Japan was in a leading position and maintained a sterling prestige. They also wished reviving the old status of Japan and think that it is not possible unless Japan remilitarises itself. These people have a kind of fixation with imperial glory of Japan. On the other hand, there is a growing number of people in Japan who think that the world has moved on and come to a new crossroad. The nature of the contemporary world is more integrating and tolerant of

¹⁶Fukoku Kyohei (富国強兵): It was the slogan of the Meiji leaders to focus the efforts of the nation to make it stronger and wealthy. Meiji leaders wanted Japan to catch up with the Western countries in terms of modernization. They also wanted it to be powerful enough to safeguard itself against the burgeoning tide of colonialism. This slogan is always considered as an extension of the slogan "Sonno joi" given by the nationalists who sought to end the Tokugawa regime.

contrasting values and traditions. The growing sphere of globalization has brought about a new order in which the mode of interactions among nations have undergone complete change. In the wake of emerging realities the notion of nationalism has also been transformed and the idea of a distinguished and isolated community has lost its appeal. It has brought countries together based on shared destiny and common interests. In the new globalized world, a solitary existence is next to impossible. Today the peaceful coexistence is a global need and not only an ideal of one individual nation. Global trade and commerce, problems of catastrophic proportions due to climate change, nuclear proliferation, international terrorism, and war between and among nations, prevalent poverty and persistent diseases like cancer and AIDS are viewed as problems that increasingly plague the humankind.

Also in today's world people are not tethered to one country but are free to move to other countries where they can find better conditions for life and livelihood. This has given rise to a new wave of migration across the globe and it comprises of a big chunk of population worldwide. Big enterprises which are emphatic non-state actors, are also free to establish their firms in the countries of their choice for economical and efficient production.

All this has led to a new integration of nations and has given rise to a paradigm in which certain notions have also assimilated new aspects to them. Nationalism, also like many other concepts, in the light of these changes has taken a new definition. One logical conclusion of the mixing and merging of nations is the weakening of the nationalism, for it has introduced a new outlook which endorses the view of world peace and global citizenship. The development of global, political, economic and cultural ties among nations has increasingly affected the rate and bulk of migration as never before. The international migration has given rise to a new kind of communities with transnational character. Under the given situation, the world is fast becoming a multicultural society in which nationalism is likely to lose its lustre. But the reality is somewhat different. Closer examination reveals that nationalism, far from declining, is alive and kicking in a renewed form. After the end of Cold War, nationalism has asserted with a reinvented self. In the backdrop of the levelling and homogenizing impact of globalization the neo-

nationalism has rebelled against it. It is evident in the attitude and actions of neonationalists in Japan who are against immigration and multiculturalism.

Today the world is witnessing two contrasting faces of nationalism. One form of nationalism has assimilated new aspects and goes hand in hand with the process of globalization; the other form of nationalism is reacting against globalisation. In other words, it can be said that one form of nationalism is responding to the globalisation. One is promoting civic nationalism which endorses the vision of a community that allows tolerance and respect for diversity in all possible forms; while the other is trying to revive the ethnic, cultural and religious nationalism. The forms of nationalism that appeared in the face of globalization are studied as a new concept which is referred to as the neonationalism. Though it is not a new phenomenon but has incorporated some fresh aspects to it. In the following pages attempt would be made to analyse and understand the nationalism with its new integrated values and characteristics.

NEO-NATIONALISM

People coming from varying ethnicity, culture, region and religion can also have similar aspirations. Despite their wide differences they can envision their future based on universal values that respect freedom for all individuals and nations alike. This is an all-encompassing vision that dissolves the disintegrating factors and brings the whole of humanity in one composite whole looking on the horizon for a new dawn.

Nationalism springs from the propensity of humans to have a sense of belonging based on certain factors which can be psychological, ethnic, religious and political or a mix of it all. In the primitive days man grouped himself on the basis of psychological factors which later evolved or replaced into other distinct and concrete factors. This process continued and at a point of time stumbled upon abstract form of aspirations which remain one and the same for everyone living in any and every part of the globe. This abstract factor is the lofty political ideals studded with democratic ethos such as justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and egalitarianism. These ideals are the basis of the civil societies either within the boundaries of a nation or with a cosmopolitan character.

Nationalist's independence movement in the stateless societies has been referred to as neo-nationalism by David McCrone in his book "The Sociology of Nationalism¹⁷". It emphasizes the observation that occasionally the nationalist movements have been triggered and led by the communities which were not a part of any state. Such movements took place in Basque county, Scotland, and Quebec. That is how the term neo-nationalism was coined and later assumed broader meanings.

According to McCrone this kind of nationalism is hard to define and explain in terms of existing conventional theories. This is primarily because most of the theories held that the establishment of distinct nations will dissolve the regional differences and coalesce them into one unit. But neo-nationalism manifests the aspiration of a community or a civil society as opposed to something constructed or inspired by a nation or state. Here the community can be best understood as one of the communities which Benedict Anderson refers to in his celebrated text "Imagined Communities."

Every factor that makes the civil society stronger adds to the phenomenon of neonationalism. That is why it has been noticed that neo-nationalism tends to assert itself in the countries with robust economy. It has also been observed that neo-nationalism tends to develop in countries where rate of migration, particularly the influx of population, is considerably high and people have multiple national identities

The non-state actors established on the edifice of democratic ethos such as World organizations also play a vital role in strengthening the movement of neo-nationalism. The nation states which are part of supranational organizations such as European Union, North American Free Trade Association and others endorse the neo-nationalism rather easily. These organizations promote the idea of associative existence and maintain that solitary existence of a nation or an economy is impossible in today's globalized world. It also incorporates within its philosophy that communities cannot be compelled against their will to be a part of any totalitarian state.

¹⁷The Sociology of Nationalism: This is a book written by Davis McCrone which analyses various forms of nationalism in the wider context of social sciences. It explains nationalism by examining the role of history, sociology, anthropology and politics in fashioning the different forms of it.

¹⁸Civil Society can be defined as the public life of a society as compared to the activities of the state and private life within households. Haralambos, M. & Holborn, M. (2008) Sociology, HarperCollins

This was almost proven when the reorganization of states took place in the wake of the collapse of communism in USSR and Eastern Europe. In the consequence of the collapse of the communist regime, East Germany and West Germany fused together and became one nation. Many countries like Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia earned their independence. New states like Ukraine, Georgia and other central Asian republics emerged out of what had been the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of new states provide us with a case to study the role of nationalism in it. It happened because there was a great deal of dissatisfaction and lack of identification with the communist regimes. A new kind of nationalism became the vehicle of opposition to the communist regime in these communities. It was but one and the same kind of nationalism that led the movement of freedom for many countries based on their common aspirations as well as deep seated historic cultural and ethnic divisions held in check by communist regime of the then Soviet Union. This was referred to as deep freeze theory.

The neo-nationalism as an ideology tends to integrate the issues of identity to those of economic and cultural ones. In criticism of neo-nationalism, it has been pointed out that the idea of nationalism based primarily on civic values and aspirations, is hardly a force to be reckoned with. At best, it can function as a pressure group or an entity advocating values that concerns us all but lacks the appeal for those who formulate national policies based on the immediate requirements of the nation. In addition, it is an absolute impossibility for the neo-nationalism to thrive in the countries which are not democratic. The communist states, autocratic states, Islamic states and other totalitarian states will be theoretically aversive of the manifestation of neo-nationalism based on universal civic values in their territories. These communities are likely to meet with force of the regime if they will try to assert. But it has been historically experienced that the collapse of Soviet Union took place due to the internal contradictions that existed due to ethnic and cultural divisions. The communities nurture their aspirations in every condition and assert itself in due course.

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¹⁹Deep Freeze Theory: It suggests that deep-seated historic cultural and ethnic divisions held in check by totalitarian regimes.

The ideology of nationalism is far from declining and keeps adjusting and reinventing itself to fit in the given scenario. Many important ideologies like Socialism, Nazism, Fascism, and Communism lost the popularity while nationalism keeps thriving. It is true that the influence and importance of nations have been undermined to some extent due to globalization and supranational bodies. However, nationalism has survived against all odds because it has shown the necessary flexibility and adaptability. Neo- nationalism is one of the forms of nationalism that has emerged as both response and reaction to the process of globalization. In the following pages an attempt would be made to understand globalization and its impact.

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is a contested concept, a process, a revolution that has contributed to the progress, development, integration, cooperation, colonialism, imperialism and many more things. It has been associated with universalization, economic integration, liberalization, westernization and other things. The definition and interpretation of the term is often shaped by the ideological slant, nationality, and religion of the individual. Globalization has taken the central position in debates of various academic disciplines which is far from settled.

The gamut of globalization cannot be captured in one particular time frame with a distinct beginning or end. It is a process in which many nations have come together and a new integration has emerged at the global level. For example, the economic integration of nations has made the international trade and commerce possible between and among the nations. It has also proved to be the vehicle for transmission of knowledge and exchange of information that have helped the findings of one part of the world to cross innumerable boundaries and disseminate itself for the welfare of humanity. Globalization has made it possible to see the contribution of an individual as the achievement of humanity at large. It can be said that the activities taking place in one nation affect the rest of the world with immediate effect. It has also been seen as a process that has prepared a common ground for the whole of humanity to share the destiny as a species for our interests are not separate but one and the same.

Globalization is not a new phenomenon and shrinking of the world had started during the age of great explorations. But it certainly has entered a new phase where its effects have become more conspicuous. The whole new kind of contacts between and among people of the world became increasingly accelerated after industrialization. It brought a new paradigm of interactions among nations when force was rendered almost redundant and negotiations and diplomacy became the tool of resolving issues and achieving other goals and objectives. Development of sustainable economies and information revolution changed the world into what Marshal McLuhan calls "Global Village."²⁰

Another vision of the globalization was captured by John Burton who popularized the terms like "World Society" and "cobweb" model of world politics. His argument laid much emphasis on increasingly widening role of non-state actors in the matters of global importance. He also observed that the roles played by the non-state actors are much like positive balancing. The debates on the consequences of globalization have also kindled concepts like "One World One Government." It had tried to shift the focus from national to international.

Francis Fukuyama in his celebrated text "The End of History and the Last Man²¹"has also given credit to the process of globalization which goes hand in hand with democratization of nations. Fukuyama argued that the history has come to an end as the man's experimentation in search of the best governance model has stumbled upon the final block. He puts forth his view that the power of the free market economy is resulting in liberal democracy which has outweighed all other possibilities. He says that the rival ideologies like communism, fascism and Islamic regime have been left far behind for they cannot deliver economic well-being, the way liberal democracy and free market economy could.

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²⁰Global Village (1964): an influential work by Marshal Mcluhan who argued that the new technological advances such as electronic communications, has made it possible to see the events taking place in a remote world in real time. This has resulted into shrinking of the modern world in which everything lost its conventional status.

²¹The End of History and the Last Man: This is the title of the book published in 1992 by the author Francis Fukuyama. The book was published after the Cold War came to an end. Fukuyama argued in this book that it was not only the end of the Cold War but also the "End of History" for as mankind has reached maturity as far as the ideological evolution is concerned. He referred liberal democracy as the final form of governance.

Another favourable idea to globalization was advocated by Bruce Russet and Michael Doyle in their "liberal peace theory." The theory is based on the assumption that the two liberal democracies have minimum probability to go to war with each other. They say that there is no practical evidence in which two democracies have gone to war. This happens because, as per their claim, the public do not allow the leaders of the respective democratic societies to exercise belligerence and war-mongering. It is obvious in this aspect of globalization that violent nationalism has lost its ability to take countries to wars and failed to prepare its citizens for supreme sacrifice. This idea can be traced back to the idealism of the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. He coined the term "perpetual peace" for the first time and elaborated the possibilities of a society without violence and war.

Globalization has innumerable aspects to it but many of it points to the fact that a rare unification has taken place among nations. This is a change of history for good which has a progressive side to it. However, some stringent criticism to globalization has also been offered by various scholars.

A BRIEF CRITIQUE OF GLOBALIZATION

A new cohesion of nations has been brought by their economic integration. In today's world the economy of a nation cannot have a solitary presence and it is compelled by the forces of history to act in unison with world economy. The new economic transformation has also impacted the political practices of the states. It is unlikely for the nations to maintain an independent status for they cannot control and remain aloof to the changes taking place around the world. The communication system has made all possible information available to everyone and hence the world has lost the idea of remoteness. There is no other unknown corner of human activity but for their geographical distances between them. Chronological time and geographical space have converged to such an extent that the local happenings become the global for all practical purposes. It has also led to the development of a global culture. It is more obvious in case of urban centres of the world where people are almost leading similar lives. They have similar aspirations, objectives and ideals.

The fears and concerns of human beings have also become common in many ways. The environmental challenges such as climate change, pollution, earthquake, tsunami and many others have awakened man into a new reality of threats. Diseases like AIDS and cancer have proved far more powerful for a nation to find a cure for them and joint efforts of nations were imperative.

From these points of views, the of globalization looks progressive in nature for it has improved the lives of people in many parts of the world. However, there are compelling arguments that highlight the contrary to it.

The critics of globalization argue that what we call globalization is but a fresh phase of capitalism. The economic transformation that is credited to globalization is exploitative in nature. Under the new scheme of things capital flows from one direction to the other making a few nations increasingly richer. The finance and capital have not shifted from the developed countries to underdeveloped ones. They also blame that the true nature of non-state actors are also not genuinely transnational. They are also vulnerable to exploitation by big powers.

Many critics have also questioned the evenness of globalization in its effect. They argue that it sounds like a Western invention to suit their interests. They also say that the claim to bring the whole of humanity as one integrated whole is much too simplistic. Still there is a huge part of population yet to be introduced to the marvels of science and technology. Hunger, disease and war still keep plaguing some corners of the planet despite the expanding sphere of globalization. It is the same world where there are people who are compelled to die of hunger when some countries destroy their food grain deposits but do not distribute them. To these countries every produce is a commodity and their price and value are one and the same. These disturbing realities fly on the progressive face of the process of globalization.

Another important objection to the phenomenon of globalization is that it is nothing but a good name given to the new paradigm of Western imperialism. The underlying force of this objection is the subtle exploitation of the weaker economies by stronger ones. It tends to divide the nations among victors and vanquished albeit in a highly sophisticated manner. The so called globalization has helped the West to spread its influence in other

parts of the world. It is the triumph of Western values and ideals without similar regard to the values and ideals of other cultures.

Yet another criticism of globalization is its identification with the means and not the end. The forces of globalization can be marshalled against the most humane values and can put the humanity in precarious situation. Terrorist organizations and drug mafias also use globalization for achieving their ends. Nuclear proliferation is also a result of globalization of the world. There is a lurking fear of nuclear weapons falling in the hands of terrorists. The ills of globalization along with its blessings are also large in their extent and scope.

NEO-NATIONALISM AS A REACTION TO GLOBALIZATION

It is a strange reality that contrary to the logical conclusion of the nationalism growing weaker in the wake of globalization it is growing stronger with the passage of time. The rising wave of globalization has made the natural boundaries of nations porous if not irrelevant. Nations experienced an accelerated pace of influx of foreign nationals. People started moving from one country to the other for various purposes. Some came in search of work, some came seeking knowledge and some came only to visit the country as tourists. The interaction of natives with these foreign nationals inspired a new kind of nationalism among them. This new nationalism is referred to as neo-nationalism. This feeling gained momentum as the influx increased due to the liberalization process riding on the wave of globalization. The nationalists compared and contrasted their own traditions, values and position in history with those of foreign nationals. More often than not, they felt the need to conserve the culture and civilization of their nation in the face of external influences. This sentiment of people in general was given further impetus by the vested interests particularly the political class. This trend is also not stranger in the field of literature and journalism. The idea to conserve and nurture the values, culture, tradition and things unique to the country became the pivot to the neo-nationalist movement. The psychology behind this will to preserve indigenous things can be explained by asserting that the specificity of a nation helps construct a particular identity. People throughout the world tend to preserve this identity when they find it threatened.

THE RISE OF NEO-NATIONALISM IN JAPAN

The rise of the phenomenon of neo-nationalism in Japan has been fostered by many factors which include both traditional and modern. The nostalgia of Japan with its days of imperial glory hovers over the mental firmament of Japan. Many of Japanese people take pride in recalling those days; and believe this glory was attained through the spirit of nationalism. Another powerful role played by nationalism was in pulling Japan out of the crisis after defeat in the Second World War at the hands of Allied powers. The nationalism was also an element in making the economic miracle happen in Japan. Nationalism seems to have played a vital role in deflating the crisis situation in Japanese context.

Today Japan is again facing a new crisis which is accentuated by the process of globalization. It is struggling to keep its economy afloat, faced with the challenge posed by the rise of assertive China, historical discontents with neighbours and domestic issues. These problems cannot be addressed by the conventional measures because these are played at, in a globalized world in which stake holders other than the nation will also be affected. All these factors call for examination because they are functioning as a cause to the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan.

Nationalism, Glory and Defeat

Roots of Japanese nationalism go far back in time and have to do with the unique characteristics of Japan as a nation. Japan has learned much from other countries and perfected it, for its application on its own soil. But it has also given rise to a sense of inferiority which has manifested itself at various stages in history. Many Japanese scholars revolted against the overshadowing influence of Chinese language and literature over those of Japanese and advocated the patronage and spread of indigenous literature in the name of protecting Japanese traditions and culture.

The similar revolt has been historically experienced when Western missionaries started converting the peasant class of Japan to Christianity in the post Sengoku period²² of

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²²Sengoku Period (1467-1603): This is the period of history in Japan marked by intense military conflict for hegemony. The powerful daimyos fought for expanding their territory and strengthening their military for further conquest. This came to an end when Japan was finally unified with the efforts of leaders like Oda Nobunaga, ToyotomiHideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

Japan. In the Meiji period this revolt reached its ludicrous height when Buddhism was pushed into the shadow and Shinto was declared a state religion.

In the post-Meiji period Japanese nationalism turned violent and embarked on its infamous journey of imperialism only to bring a new doom to Japan which concluded the Second World War. The defeat of Japan brought it under the occupation of Allied Powers led by the United States of America. The responsibility to chart the new trajectory of Japan's future fell in the hands of the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces (SCAP), Douglas McArthur who is considered an icon in the military history of America. The most important challenge that lay ahead for Douglas McArthur was the rebuilding of devastated Japan and its democratization. The first step to prepare the ground for democracy in Japan was the inception of new constitution based on universal democratic ethos. The new constitution of Japan was prepared in 10 days and enacted on 3rd May 1947 as a constitution for postwar Japan (Sengo-Kenpo) or the peace constitution (heiwa-kenpo).

The two articles namely first and ninth of the peace constitution did not go well with many nationalist Japanese and still serves as a rallying point for them.

Article one of the constitution reads:

第一条 天皇は、日本国の象徴であり、日本国民統合の象徴であって、この地位は、主権の存する日本国民の総意に基く。

"The Emperor shall be the symbol of the state and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power."

Article 9 of the constitution reads as:

第九条 日本国民は、正義と秩序を基調とする国際平和を誠実に希求し、国権の 発動たる戦争と、武力による威嚇又は武力の行使は、国際紛争を解決する手段と しては、永久にこれを放棄する。

前項の目的を達するため、陸海空軍その他の戦力は、これを保持しない。国の交 戦権は、これを認めない。 "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the same, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right to belligerency of the state will not be recognized."

First Japanese people, since the dawn of the history, had regarded the emperor as a divine entity who is a descendent of the sun goddess Amaterasu. The new status of Japanese emperor as a common man like any other was a thing inconceivable for the Japanese populace. For the people who, throughout the history, had lived with the notion that the will of the emperor was the will of gods and it cannot be brought into question by any authority in this world.

But Douglas McArthur, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces, made the emperor announce to the public through imperial rescript the renunciation of his divinity on 1st January 1946. The imperial rescript which is known as "Humanity Declaration" (Ningen Sengen)"is still interpreted differently by Western and Japanese people. The emperor himself as well as other Japanese scholars argued that the repudiation of the Emperor's divinity was not a point of the rescript. The patriots and conservatives, it seems, have not yet been able to fully come to terms with this historical adjustment. But also there are many Japanese people who happily embraced the notion and lived with it.

The Article 9 of the constitution that compelled the Japanese state to renounce war and maintenance of the land, sea and air force has been a point of raging debate in Japan and in outside world as well. The argument has been validated by the fact that the nation which is one of the largest military powers in the world has no right to advocate the renunciation of it. The United State of America also lived with the realistic notion that war is the continuation of politics by other means²³ has no right to preach the uselessness of armed forces.

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²³Carl Von Clausewitz has defined war as a continuation of politics by other means in his celebrated book Vom Krieg, "On War." The trend of the policy of the United States seems to be following this line of thinking.

Today, as realists express it, the relations between and among the states are primarily established through their power equations. The power exercised and possessed by a nation is directly proportional to the bargaining strength of it. Under the scenario every state tries to augment its power in terms of economic and military expansion. This situation gives rise to an anarchic stage of world characterized by the security dilemma for states. Japan also in order to safeguard its territory and maintain its unquestionable sovereignty should have its land, sea and air forces. In the book of realists to force a country to not build military strength is too much of an asking. This line of debate is still maintained by a large part of Japanese population who seek to revise the constitution of Japan for its remilitarization. But some question the stance of having the army when the security of Japan has been guaranteed by the United States of America. This aspect of debate will be looked into in the next chapter.

Japan burned its pride fostered by its military victories and swallowed the defeat at the hands of Allied powers. It also accepted the constitution drafted by its victors and continued to move into a new world. Japan has only one direction to look for and that was the path to salvage its pride through economic rise. It had its institutions in place and new leaders enthused the Japanese people with a new kind of fervor. The new leaders of Japan appealed to the people to work for the construction of the nation to the best of their ability. This had its considerable effect and the people of Japan put all their adventurous spirit for constructing the nation through economic rise.

THE ECONOMIC RISE AND DECLINE IN INFLUENCE

The role of Douglas McArthur is also recognized for creating the institutional reforms and environment conducive to the economic growth of Japan. He first destroyed the powerful financial conglomerate **Zaibatsu** of Japan who were thought partly responsible for pushing Japan on the path of imperialism that perpetrated unprecedented violence in its wake. But in order to check the spread of communism on Japanese soil he allowed them to pursue their ambitions of entrepreneurship. New land reforms abolished the feudal practices and gave new impetus to agricultural revolution. The equal rights granted by the constitution for the women also provided Japan, the opportunities to put a huge human resource in women to the service of the nation. The new education system also helped prepare the necessary pool of skilled human resource. Japan also displayed a kind

of social capability by adopting foreign technology and embracing foreign ways of making the economy function. The bilateral Security Treaty between the U.S. and Japan provided Japan with the "nuclear umbrella" which relieved Japan from worrying about its safety and security in the fast becoming bipolar world. American companies were also liberal in licensing technology to Japanese companies. Japan was in a way given economic patronage by the U.S. for it opened its markets for Japan with minimum export costs in the early days probably because of the strategic interests.

The economic performance of Japan between the years 1953 and 1970 is termed as miracle years. The world witnessed the rise of a country from a devastated state to a great economic power against indomitable odds. This brought Japan a new pride in its abilities to turn things around. Nationalism, which is often called economic nationalism, and a firm determination to catch up with the developed Western countries through industrial and economic growth turned Japan into the second largest economy in the world next only to the United States of America.

The economy of Japan began to take hits in the mid-1970s. The oil crisis shook the economic foundations of the world and Japan also took the jolts for it was also a country heavily dependent on the import of oil and gas. It also went through what is called the "Nixon shock" which took from Japan the privilege of being major beneficiaries of American economic policies. The Japanese economy hit its rock bottom in the decade of 90s. This decade is often called "the lost decade" for Japanese economy which meant a decade of lost opportunity for reforms necessary to sustain the economic growth. The Japanese economy has struggled since then and continues to do so till date with little success.

This economic challenges and the failure of the government to address them effectively filled the heart and mind of Japanese people with a growing sense of crisis. Many Japanese people including the politicians saw the solution to this crisis in part in the form of a fresh wave of nationalism that may swing the people in action for transforming the economy of Japan.

RISE OF CHINA

Other than the domestic challenges Japan had to come to terms with the exemplary economic rise of neighbouring nations. The nations like South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan became competitive but the real challenge was posed by China which surpassed Japan as the second largest economy in the world on the basis of GDP measures in the latter half of 2010. The economic rise of China had its consequences on both local and global levels. China dislodged Japan and supplanted itself from the leading position among the Asian nations. Japan had enjoyed this position for the last forty years despite being small in size and lacking in natural resources. However, the difference between the two economies is not massive and Japan may hope for regaining its economic status again

The economic rise of China translated itself into the elevated role and influence in the matters of global concern. China dissatisfied with the existing economic regime advocated the need to redesign a new global economic order. In the wake of global economic crisis of 2008 China played the role of stabilizing the international financial system. It gave China tremendous confidence to ask for remoulding the economic order in support of its interests. It argued for the need of comprehensive reforms of the global financial institutions such as IMF and World Bank. It also brought the dollar system in question. All these developments and overt assertiveness of China rang alarm bells for the U.S., and therefore for Japan and other leading economies.

On the one hand, the Chinese economy grew stronger day by day while the Japanese economic position weakened. The government of Japan also struggled to keep the economy afloat in the face of new challenges. But the situation developed into a crisis which gripped the Japanese mind. It is a common observation about individuals and nations that they tend to show a tendency of regression when faced with such a crisis. The nationalists and conservatives started emphasizing the need for Japan to go back to its ways and days that brought glory to Japan. The latent wave of nationalism saw an upsurge and people were beginning to feel the need to do something extraordinary to salvage the pride of Japan.

YASUKUNI SHRINE AND DISCONTENTS OF HISTORY

The souls and spirits of Japanese people who laid their lives in the service of nation and the Emperor are enshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine. It was established by the Emperor of Japan in 1869 in Tokyo just after the restoration. The meaning of the Shrine's name is translated as "Peaceful Country Shrine." The importance of the Yasukuni Shrine can be outlined by the fact that the Japanese soldiers who went on the suicide missions during the imperial days of Japan spoke to each other that they will meet again at the Yasukuni Shrine.

During the World War Two the Yasukuni Shrine served as a great symbol of sacrifice for the nation and the Emperor. It gave the soldiers an inspiration to offer supreme sacrifice for Japan. For Japanese it has become a symbol of nationalism that reminds them of people who laid their lives for the glory of nation; they believe the glory has to be maintained and it's worth every price.

But in recent years Yasukuni shrine and its reverence by Japanese people including some politicians and bureaucrats have attracted severe criticism by China and South Korea. The heart of the controversy surrounding the Yasukuni Shrine is the act of enshrining 14 war criminals of the World War Two including the former Prime Minister and war leader Tojo Hideki. These war criminals were convicted for perpetrating violence and bringing unprecedented damage to lives and property of innumerable people. Whenever a politician or a person of position visits the shrine, it is seen by China and Koreas as the breach of Japan's promised conduct. The countries who were on the receiving ends during the ruthless march of Japanese Imperial army feel that the Japanese establishment is, worshiping and paying homage to these criminals of humanities instead of showing remorse.

Japanese people on the other hand maintain that the ancestoral worship is a part of culture and tradition of Japan and paying homage to the Yasukuni Shrine, should not be seen in isolation and with jaundiced eyes. In addition, nationalists of Japan feel that it is an internal matter of a sovereign nation and certainly, should not be a business of any other country to exercise a right to make comments on it.

The diametrically opposite views maintained by these neighbouring countries have strained the bilateral relations and given rise to simmering animosity. China and Japan are two great powers of Asian region and their deteriorating relationship threatens to destabilize the whole region in future.

DISPUTE OVER SOVEREIGNTY RIGHTS OF SENKAKU ISLANDS

The group of three islands and five rocks lying in the East China Sea having 25°26' N and 123°22' latitudinal and longitudinal measures has become the focal point of dispute between Japan and China. The two big power houses of world economy are adhering to each other's claim without giving consideration to that of the other's. Taiwan has also made its claim over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands as an independent country based on the logic of proximity with the Islands. Japan is not ready to accept any dispute over the islands and China seems all set to dislodge the status quo. It is feared that dispute may take a violent turn and threaten the geo-political order in the region. The nature of dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands is such that it automatically involves the United States of America. This gives the dispute international importance and repute with the potential to throw the global order in disarray.

Japan, on the other hand, do not recognize any dispute with regards to the territorial rights of Senkaku/Diaoyu islands and maintains that these are part of Japanese sovereignty. Japan accepts that the islands were first incorporated into the territory of Japan in the year 1895. The official position of Japan states that the islands were not inhabited by any nation and certainly China had no control over these. Japan called the whole region as "terra nullius²⁴." These islands and rocks remained a part of the Japanese empire until 1940s when Japan lost the World War Two and the U.S. took control of all administrative right of the islands and territory in its own hand. Before that, the rights over the islands and rocks were not disputed by any other power and Japan enjoyed the sole authority.

Japan also argues that the Senkaku islands territory was not a part of the territories returned by Japan in the San Francisco Treaty after Second World War which Japan

²⁴Terra Nullius:In Latin, the term "Terra Nullius" means "land belonging to nobody."In International Law "Terra Nullius" is referred to as a territory that is not owned by any authority. The entitlement to such a territory is justified for the nation that discovers it first. Sometimes the meaning of uninhabited is interpreted as the territory "devoid of civilised society." This interpretation has been highlighted in Australian context. For Europeans it was one of the ways of acquiring the territory out of four mentioned ways. These ways are inheritance, conquest, purchase and occupation. (stage6.pbworks.com/f/The+Doctrine+of+terra+nullius.pdf)

annexed during its imperial expansion. Japan advocates that these islands and rocks were part of the Nasei Shoto islands which came under direct administrative power of the USA. These rights were once again handed over to Japan in 1971 through Okinawa reversion agreement between USA and Japan. Since then the islands and rocks are under effective administration of the Japanese government as a part of the Okinawa prefecture. Hence, there is no dispute over the rights of the islands and rocks and these are part of Japanese territory. Japan maintains that raising any questions regarding the rights over the islands will amount to questioning the sovereignty of Japan.

The people of Japan back this position of the Japanese government and this is the reason why this issue has its importance for domestic politics of Japan. This view of Japan was also supported by the Zhou Enlai in one of his statements about these territories. Zhou Enlai had said in 1972 during a summit meeting with Japanese Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka that it only became an issue because of the oil out there. If there was not oil, neither Taiwan nor the United States would make this an issue. In this statement Zhou Enlai made the rationale behind Chinese efforts to drag the island into dispues for the reasons of probable sources of oil and energy in the vicinity of Senkaku/Diaoyu islands.

But China has refuted the claim of Japan in "Chinese Government White Paper, 2012" with assertion that the territory has historically been a part of Chinese territory for centuries despite being uninhabited. China has produced old hand-drawn maps to show the islands and rocks as part of Chinese territory. Furthermore, China argues that islands and rocks are part of Chinese territory which Japan annexed in 1890s during Sino-Japanese war. After the war, Japan forced China to sign the treaty of Shimonoseki in which China ceded Formosa and islands belonging to its stretch which, arguably included the Senkaku islands. China also contradicts the Japanese view of Islands not being a part of San Francisco Treaty and maintains that the islands group were included in the treaty according to which Japan returned the territories to their legitimate authorities. Extending the first argument, China stresses that the islands should have been returned to China after the San Francisco treaty as they have historically been part of China.

But strangely, when the USA took over administrative rights of Okinawa and the islands including the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands in 1951, China did not protest against it. China

offers an explanation for not being proactive in making its official claims over the disputed territories because of raging civil war and internal unrest that ensued within the country. The official claim was made by China only when the USA announced to relinquish its administrative rights in 1971.

In conclusion, the nature of the dispute over the islands is extremely difficult and seemingly intractable through existing mechanisms. Firstly, the location of the islands has not been clarified as to whether it's a part of Okinawa or not; secondly it is not mentioned in the Treaty of Shimonoseki that was reached in 1895 after Sino-Japanese war. It is also not particularly mentioned in the San-Francisco Treaty. It has also not been settled that how far back in time one has to go for ascertaining the legitimacy of ownership with regards to such territories. These intricacies relating to the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands make the case very difficult to see the light of true justice through international law.

The diplomatic solution is also unlikely because Japan is not ready to admit any dispute and asserts sole ownership to the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands. The military solution is again highly unlikely because the USA recognizes the territory as part of Japan and has promised to secure Japan in case of any belligerent action by China. This makes the equation of power balanced and to some extent favouring Japan because of its possession of islands.

With no solution in sight the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dispute keeps the tension simmering between the two largest economies of Asia and affecting their growth negatively. This does not augur well for the peace and prosperity of East Asian region as well. The dispute has made its impact not only on the governments of Japan and China but has put the people of the two countries against each other. The atmosphere of distrust has also affected the non-state actors as well as the civil society of the two countries. The rise of nationalism has been witnessed in the two countries which has some of its roots in the above discussed dispute beside others.

NEO-NATIONALISTS AND JAPAN

Nationalism is a dynamic concept which keeps on reinventing itself with the flux of time by adapting itself to the inevitable change in the setting of the world. Nationalism in the globalized world has also undergone certain changes. It has retained some of its fundamental elements while assimilating new aspects in the light of new integrated world. The nationalism under influence of globalization has manifested itself is referred to as neo-nationalism. The analysis of neo-nationalism reveals two different aspects of it. These two aspects appear contradictory but in reality these are complementary to each other in many ways.

The nationalists in Japan are often characterized by their penchant for Japan and concerns for their nation in the face of rising tide of globalization. In contemporary Japan these people are wary of the impact of globalization on everything Japanese. They are of the opinion that Japan is losing its national identity and assimilating foreign elements with alarming rate. They maintain that the impact of globalization has exposed the vulnerability of Japan to the forces beyond its control. These forces will guide the decision-making of Japan which are more likely to serve the global actors than those of Japan. The migratory influx of people driven by the process of globalization tends to give Japan a cosmopolitan character and mitigates the uniqueness of Japan. It has considerable impact on the demography of the nation and triggered new debates about their rights as a citizen of Japan. The newly migrated people do not view Japan the way the rest of its citizens do. They are advocates of new values which are much in line of the prevalent Western practices. It has also had considerable impact on the youth of Japan. The Japanese people who gave priority to the group existence rather than individual. They put the nation first because they have always been taught to think that the good for the country matters more than that of the individual's. Under such a scenario the number of people who were lukewarm in their nationalistic feelings has also awakened to a new sense of nationalism.

These people are reacting against the impact of globalization in bringing about structural changes in Japan. They like it, when the bureaucrats and politicians pay visit to the Yasukuni shrine to express their reverence even though it attracts unfavourable reactions by the neighbours. They want to revise the peace constitution of Japan for forging a powerful military to ensure its safety and security instead of depending on the USA. They try to preserve the homogeneous character of Japan by resisting to the process of miscegenation. They recognize only those as the real citizen of Japan who are born in it.

They are not ready to accept everything that globalization is bringing to Japan but only those aspects which do not threaten to alter its fundamental character. These people have preserved the conservative ideas of nationalism.

On the other hand there are neo-nationalists who believe that the globalization has integrated Japan to the world and provided it an opportunity, to become one of the most formidable economies in the world which, otherwise could not have happened. They believe in embracing the new realities as well as preserving the true spirit of Japan which may have different interpretations. It has kept Japan from controversies and unnecessary rivalries with other nations and focus on the ways to bring a sort of metamorphosis in its economic position. The peace and prosperity that is there in Japan is primarily due to globalization which provided it the much needed technologies for mass production and market to sell these products. They advocate adherence to the global ideals and universal human values. They also see it possible for Japan to maintain the traditional and historical legacies which do not contradict with human dignity and right anywhere.

They feel that if Japan is to follow the path of growth and development it has to adhere to the policies which has made it all possible in the first place. They also discourage the display of belligerent attitude and its practice as rhetoric in the national political campaigns. Many of them do not want to bring about any change in the peace constitution which has worked successfully in favour of Japan's stability. Over the years Japan has earned the reputation of a peaceful and democratic country which has contributed significantly in keeping the order and stability of East Asian region. The notion of remilitarisation of Japan, in their opinion, brings back the memories of imperial days and do not provide Japan a welcoming position at both regional and the global stage. This affects the relationship of Japan adversely with its neighbours who had suffered badly due to unrestrained march of imperial army of Japan. The new controversies and disputes should be resolved through rational and democratic means and military intervention should not be a part of the solution. These people are responding to the globalization and willing to embrace the new structural changes that have come in its wake. They do not want their politicians to attract negative reactions from neighbours and counsel to exercise restraint in visiting Yasukuni Shrine. Some neo-nationalists have also

staged protest against the visit of Japanese Ministers to the Yasukuni Shrine. They are all for diversity but also want to keep the core values of Japan intact.

But the number of the neo-nationalists who give preference to the universal human values is too meagre to exert sufficient impact on the policy making of Japan. However, they have initiated a new debate about what kind of nationalism that will serve Japan better in the long run. There is also a danger that they might fail to make any impact because of an unprecedented rise of nationalism in China. The nationalists in China holds disparaging intent for Japan and do not shy away from bringing war in discourse between China and Japan. This aspect of neo-nationalism is fuelled by the civil forces around the world and it takes a hit when the civic bond is ruptured in any part of the world. If China chooses to frame its policies with a good show of its military might then both aspects of neo-nationalism in Japan are likely to merge with each other.

The days of military means to settle international disputes are over and mankind has evolved to a stage where it can resolve its issues by considering each other's concerns. Their philosophy falls in line with the idea of perpetual peace and not a peace for a certain period in the history of the nation.

CHAPTER 5

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RISE OF NEO-NATIONALISM IN JAPAN FOR EAST ASIA

The nationalism in Japan has preserved the necessary ambers and survived through various stages of its history. It assimilated some new elements and manifested itself in present form which is generally referred to as neo-nationalism and studied in the light of globalization.

The Japanese consciousness has had tremendous impact of neo-nationalism in its making and affects many of its new developments; other than the social, ethical and cultural attitude of the populace, it also asserts considerable influence on the politics, economy and foreign policies of Japan. It guides their actions and responses towards the unfolding challenges. In addition to the domestic affairs of Japan, the rise of neo-nationalism has begun to restructure the order of geopolitics in the East Asian region. Japan being one of the major actors in East Asia has good share of influence which, derives its strength from the spirit of people who are exceptionally loyal to the land and willing to make every sacrifice for it. The penchant for the nation has always galvanized people of Japan and helped it sail through many crises. At present, Japan is facing momentous challenges on economic, diplomatic and strategic fronts. The pundits of global politics are eagerly watching the steps of Japan, for it affects not only East Asia but also the entire globe to a considerable extent.

The impact of neo-nationalism in the East Asian region is more visible in political, economic and bilateral relations with neighbouring countries. The pre-existing differences of neighbours and Japan have been escalated due to the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan and its direct impact on the political will of the nation. Also the order and stability of East Asia, is directly affected by the interplay of Japan's relations with other nations of the region which include China, North Korea, South Korea and Taiwan which is indirectly influenced by the rising neo-nationalism in Japan.

The new developments call for a different kind of diplomatic manoeuvring and readjustment in outlook. In this chapter an attempt would be made to examine the impact

of neo-nationalism on the political, economic and foreign policies of Japan and how it affects the East Asian region. It is also important to watch how Japan would approach the other nations and develop ties with them in the wake of rise of neo-nationalism, when the power equation has begun to lose its balance in the East Asian region.

NEO-NATIONALISM AND SECURITY DILEMMA OF JAPAN

One thing that provides potent impetus to the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan is the security dilemma that it faced and continues to face in recent times. The security dilemma of Japan is structured and accentuated due to the factors like, rise of China and its heightened assertiveness, threats posed by belligerent North Korea and diminishing American influence in the East Asian region. The dependence of Japan on the United States of America, has also made it look vulnerable and perhaps for this particular region Japan was not recognized as a great power despite having towering economic stature in the world. It is important to have a look at the concept of security dilemma and the way it is perceived by the neo-nationalists before studying its impact on Japanese policy making. The policies of Japan furthers its influence in the whole East Asian region and also make other actors, like the US, Australia, India, Russia and European Union a part of it. Under the emerging scenario, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the East Asian region is likely to become the theatre of world power politics.

The Notion of Security Dilemma: The Realist school of international politics argues that in the anarchical state of world politics, the power of a state is measured by its ability to influence the multilateral international relations in its favour in the pursuit of their national interests. The power of a nation is directly proportional to its bargaining strength in International politics. Hence, under the prevailing scenario, nations do see a great incentive to augment their economic and military strength. This follows from the logic that the power brings security which is essential for self-preservation in the chaotic world of power politics. But this logic turns against the notion of collective security of nations. When one nation becomes comparatively more powerful than other nations, these nations start feeling insecure in its presence and begin to make efforts to strengthen their position in the power equation by entering into alliances. This process creates polarity and introduces tension in the international relations in which the fear of conflict looms large. There is also a tendency of actors to view the alliances with doubts and suspicions for

these are also based on the national interests of the concerned states. But the interests of nations keep on changing which makes the nature of alliance precarious. Under such a scenario the best possible way to ensure the security would be self-reliance through wielding sufficient power. The attempt to have nuclear weapons by some countries for deterrence has been justified by this logic.

Hence, the security dilemma is often seen as a 'spiral of insecurity'. In this the military build-up of one nation, in the name of safeguarding its borders and interests, brings insecurity and perception of threat to other nations. This threat perception (real or virtual) and the sense of insecurity, compel the nations to have a powerful military build-up and preparations for eventualities. It gives rise to a race of armament and military innovations which makes the globe increasingly unstable. The security dilemma paralyzes the spirit of cooperation and breeds hostility among nations.

It is also possible for the powerful nation or hegemon to use the security dilemma to destabilize rival nations and thwart their growth and development. This provides diplomatic leverage to the hegemon and helps to have more bargaining capacity. This happens because when nations negotiate the terms in asymmetric power relations where the probability of reaching an agreement is higher for the less powerful nation, in all likelihood, agrees to the terms of the more powerful state. It always serves the interest of the powerful party at the expense of the weaker one. This makes the rationale of having unparalleled power or at least sufficient power to assured mutual destruction²⁵.

Security Dilemma of Japan: There are three important factors that contribute to the security dilemma of Japan and stir the heart and minds of neo-nationalists in Japan. These three factors are the rise of assertive China, threats posed by belligerent North Korea and diminishing American influence in the East Asian region (however not in Asia Pacific region). It is imperative to examine these factors one by one.

Rise of Assertive China: The rise of China has brought about the tectonic shift in the geopolitics of the East Asian region and altered the balance of power. On the one hand, it

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²⁵Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD): It is a name given to the doctrine of military strategy that ensures the total destruction of two powerful nations resorting to full-scale war without leaving behind any victor or vanquished. This nullifies the possibility of war and diplomatic means are used to settle differences between such powers.

has successfully managed to bring prosperity to the largest population living within the confines of a country on the planet; while on the other hand, it has posed fresh challenges to other neighbouring nations particularly, Japan. This is happening because the rise of China is not peaceful; it has asserted aggressively in the region and ended up straining relations with many countries. The rise of Chinese economy is going in tandem with its military build-up, for China has raised its military budget significantly. It serves two purposes to ensure the security of one's nation and to wage war either real or virtual with the rival. These two scenarios pronounce security dilemma for other nations which feel gripped with threat perception and compel them to react to it.

It has also been pointed out by John Mearsheimer²⁶ in one of his articles which elaborates that the rise of China is not going to be peaceful. He laments that it should not be so and this is the tragedy of great power politics that the rise of a new hegemon is always accompanied with intense competition giving rise to security concerns for other nations. Since China and Japan has not reconciled their differences emanating from the history, which has been characterized by animosity, the old issues have again started resurfacing and haunting the present.

The major sources of antagonism between China and Japan are China's historical experiences with Japan's aggression, dispute over the sovereignty rights of Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, energy competition and rivalry for diplomatic influence.

Another important aspect that exerts considerable influence in shaping the response of neo-nationalists in Japan is the reactionary and politically motivated nationalism in China. Although not a comprehensive movement for preservation of traditional and cultural values of China, but rather it is a political nationalism that seeks to modernize the Chinese society, and empower the military for power projection. The Chinese nationalism is a recent phenomenon which emerged against the imperialist forces during the Opium Wars ²⁷. This kind of nationalism sought the freedom of China and

²⁶The Tragedy of Great Power Politics: In this celebrated text, John Mearsheimer has elaborated the behaviour of the great powers in the twenty first century. He has given an emphatic 'no' to the answer of the peaceful rise of China. He argues that China will try to dominate Asia and this will bring it in direct confrontation to the US.

²⁷ Opium Wars: The two armed conflicts between foreign forces and those loyal to the Qing dynasty in China are referred to as Opium Wars. The first Opium War (1839-1842) took place between China and

preservation of its ethos and values against foreign enemies. It had a great motivation factor but lacked the pivot, to make it an effective force to be reckoned with. But at currently, the nationalism in China is political by with a strong pivot which is directed against Japan in East Asia regionally and against the US globally. This is primarily because Chinese nationalists feel that Japan had hurt their pride in past, they also believe that Japan is still hurting the Chinese sentiment by revering and worshiping the criminals who perpetrated unprecedented violence on Chinese people as well as others in the Asian region.

Moreover, the anti-Japanese sentiment in Chinese people has also been flared up by Beijing to suit its purpose. Japan has always been the target of Chinese Communist Party leadership and even trivial issues between China and Japan end up becoming a matter of national pride.

It is important to note that no such intense rivalry existed before the eruption of Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute. Before that, both countries were faring well and Japan helped the integration of China into the world economy. The anti-Japan feelings of Chinese people were beginning to fade from their minds and spirit of cooperation was becoming strong before the emergence of island disputes. But as the Machiavellian axiom holds that, it pays to keep an outside enemy alive to have an order within the nation for it unites the people in times of crisis. It is an effective tool in the hands of politicians to keep people always on the edge. The old animosity was given fresh air to keep the tension simmering. The nationalists in China were, in a political way manipulated to express themselves against Japan, when the issues of differences were highlighted by the Chinese foreign office. Once the anger settled in the Chinese people they began to see Japan in an image of old colonial nation that brought defeat and humiliation to China. This began to fan the flame of vengeful nationalism which hated everything Japanese and took to vandalism for Japanese enterprises operating in China in the wake of Senkaku/Diaoyu islands dispute.

For the scholars of global politics, the assertive nature of modern China suffused with national pride is not only making Japan feel insecure but also extending to the neighbouring countries as well. Its military preparedness and intent of expansion in the

Britain and the Second Opium War (1856-1860) also known as the Arrow War was fought by Britain and France against China.

neighbourhood reminds us of the behaviour of nations in the past. This makes the actions of China look anachronistic. For this reason Robert Kagan²⁸ called China a 19th-century power in the 21st-century. The people and establishment of China must understand that the emergence of China should have the element of grace and take the neighbours in confidence rather than making them insecure. But this will ask for a great deal of wisdom and sagacity on the part of nationalists as well as the leadership of China.

Response of Japanese Neo-Nationalists: The identity of Japanese people is more attached to the nation than to the individual and derives from the entrenched social perception which holds that individual consciousness is an integral part of the collective consciousness but without an independent reality. Whenever Japanese people feel that their nation is being brought in question for whatever reason, they begin to relate to it and respond quickly. This becomes all the more intense when the nation is gripped with some sense of crises.

The assertiveness of China in the East Asian region has brought Japan face to face with an unprecedented crisis. They feel that now they have to deal with a country which has not only dislodged them from being the largest economy in the region but also brought their territories in question on the basis of the historical antecedents. Many Japanese fear that the action of China is motivated by a desire to exact revenge on Japan for the atrocities perpetrated by Japan in the past. This stirred the heart and mind of Japanese people and made them vulnerable for the politicians to persuade them for certain ends.

Shinzo Abe is a known conservative and nationalist who has shown respect and allegiance to the imperial institution. His views on the issue of comfort women and his reverence for Yasukuni Shrine have also attracted controversies. His party's (LDP) policies have also been accused of flaring the nationalistic feelings of people and exploit it to gain the political power.

The general parliamentary elections of 2012 for the lower house were contested under a situation which had made Japan look vulnerable before challenges arising from both internal and external developments. The economy was struggling and Japan had to meet

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²⁸ Robert Kagan: An American author and columnist criticised China by referring to it as a '19th-century power in the 21st-century' in one of his columns "Behind the 'Modern' China" published in 'The Washington Post' on March 23, 2008.

with the challenge of dealing with the Fukushima disaster that followed the destructive tsunami. The aggressive policies of China, particularly its claim over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands which were under Japan's possession since 1971, when the U.S. returned it back to Japan, had made Japan wary of Chinese intentions.

Amidst this, Shinzo Abe appealed to the people of Japan to vote for his party on the promise that he can solve the economic problems of Japan and also defend its territorial sovereignty against all odds. He also emphasized that Japan will try to change the famous Article 9 of the Japanese constitution and build a regular army if the situation demands. Many Japanese did not like the idea of not having one's own army and depending on another country for its defence. It looks like a big compromise, even if, hitherto it worked.

The rhetoric of LDP's leader Shinzo Abe appealed to the majority of the neo-nationalists of Japan and it finally translated into landslide victory of LDP in 2012. The then prime minister, and leader of DPJ, Yoshihiko Noda, made way for the new Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe and a new hope that the Japanese people had voted for. The neo-nationalists who believed in the universal and civic values were silent because of rising nationalism in China which was portraying Japan as enemy. It also made the non-state actors almost ineffective and neo-nationalists who upheld the conventional notion of nationalism in Japan reacted against China strongly. Abe living up to the expectations of Japanese people decided to take tough stance on the Senkaku/Diaoyu island dispute. Shinzo Abe said in one of his interviews that Japan must strengthen its alliance with the U.S. and also improve relations with China without any change in the stand that Senkaku islands are Japan's territory.

Many nationalists opined that Shinzo Abe will protect the nation and restore the pride and glory of nation. It clarifies the rallying point of neo-nationalists in Japan; they felt strongly that the rise of assertive China and threats of belligerent North Korea have hit the pride of Japan.

THE QUESTION OF JAPANESE REMILITARISATION

The nationalists of Japan never accepted, at least two articles (Article 1 and Article 9) of the peace-constitution prepared by America during occupation period. Article 1 has reduced the status of the Japanese emperor symbolically representing the unity and integrity of Japan. This remained an unpalatable guideline for the nationalists to follow who believed in the divinity of nation and the emperor. Article 9 of the constitution stripped Japan of the right to maintain an army and its use for settling international disputes. This also did not go well with the nationalists of Japan and they wanted to change it. This made the issue of amendment of the constitution a matter of great debate in the political discourse of Japan. They needed a compelling cause to show the world and convince the civic society within the country that their asking for militarization carried weight.

The Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute provided Japan with an opportunity to push the need for remilitarization. They are trying to project Japan as a country that needs the army to protect itself against aggressive China which has shown the intent to engage Japan in a limited war over the disputed islands. They also justify the same, by citing the threats made by North Korea and its nuclear and missile development programme. The logic that Japan uses for justifying its demand for remilitarization is that not to have an effective deterrence against powers like China and North Korea leaves Japan at risk.

The greatest deterrent to remilitarization of Japan is the peace-constitution that does not allow Japan to have offensive military and its use for settling international disputes. This concludes that the first step towards the remilitarization of Japan would call for the amendment of the constitution. The amendment of the constitution is an intricate task for the government, for majority of the people of Japan adhere to this constitution and respects its ideals. Many neo-nationalists who adhere to the universal human and civic values give much credence to the peace-constitution for Japan's peaceful economic rise. They feel that the militarisation of Japan will add to the anarchy of the East Asian region and disrupt the prospects of peace. But their voice is growing faint and inaudible due to the rhetoric of majority of Japanese neo-nationalists, against China and North Korea.

THE ISSUE OF AMENDING JAPANESE CONSTITUTION

The nationalists of Japan started to ask for the amendment of the constitution when occupation of the Allied powers came to an end in 1952 and the right to sovereignty came in the hand of Japanese people. They argued about the provisional status of the constitution and its controversial articles. The Japanese nationalists wanted a constitution

written by Japanese suitable to Japan's needs and reflective of its values and tradition. Many conservative politicians were also vocal in demanding the amendment of the constitution. However, the constitution of Japan remained effective and continues to be so in its original form without any amendment despite increasingly growing voice for the amendment.

Article 96 of the Japanese constitution provides the procedure for the amendment. However, Japanese constitution has not been revised even once, since the day it came into force.

Article 96:Amendments to this constitution shall be initiated by the Diet, through a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House and shall thereupon be submitted to the people for ratification, which shall require the affirmative vote of a majority of all votes cast thereon, at a special referendum or at such election as the Diet shall specify.

(2) Amendments when so ratified shall immediately be promulgated by the Emperor in the name of the people, as an integral part of this constitution.

Hence, in order to amend the constitution the proposal should pass in both the House of Councillors and House of Representatives by at least two third majority. After the passing of the proposal it should be submitted to the people of the country for ratification. And further, for the ratification the proposal should get majority of all the votes cast throught the country.

Probability against the amendment: It has been very difficult for any party in Japan to earn the support of two third majorities in both the houses. In addition, the populace of Japan is largely opposed to the idea of amendment and they feel that the constitution should remain in its present form. Also, Japan has never had any experience of ratification where the whole country votes for the amendment.

One faction of neo-nationalists, who believe in the universal human values and peace, are strongly opposed to the idea of amending the peace constitution. Although they are small in number but are capable of influencing the public opinion. They feel that because of the constitution, Japan has been able to maintain peace and kept its focus solely on the

growth and development agenda and, any departure from the present status would be viewed with suspicion from the world community. They also argue that the amendment in the constitution would open the doors for remilitarisation of Japan which might spell trouble for the democracy of Japan in future. The nationalists might resort to inflated patriotism and subvert the national peace and stability.

Probability in favour of the amendment: The conditions that prevail in East Asia suggest that the amendment in the Japanese constitution is very likely. The assertiveness of China as a regional hegemon, dispute over Senkaku/Diaoyu islands and threats posed by North Korea, will compel Japan to think of amending the constitution. The visible surge of neo-nationalism will also have its repercussion and this would create an atmosphere in Japan that will warrant the need for amendment. This will also make the voice of progressive neo-nationalists weak, if not silent, against the rhetoric of constitutional amendment.

The ruling party LDP under Shinzo Abe has majority in both the houses. But his coalition partner, Komeito does not support the amendment. Abe has been trying to win support for the cause from all quarters. He has expressed his will to change Article 96 of the constitution and argues that it is unfair that just one-third of the lawmakers could block revisions even if more than 50% of the public want to amend the constitution.

REMILITARISATION OF JAPAN AND EAST ASIA

China has embarked on the journey of making its military more advanced, modern and powerful. It has increased the military budget for innovations of weapons and construction of aircraft carriers. It is clear from the moves of China that it would want to back its assertiveness by force. In search of new energy-resources it has started making claims of the territories controlled by other nations. This has compelled the neighbouring nations to harbour suspicion towards the intentions of China.

Under the scenario any adventurism by China over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands which will accentuate the security dilemma will swing the public opinion in favour of constitutional amendment. Once the constitution is amended Japan would be free to remilitarise itself and allowed to have all kinds of weapon in its armoury including, nuclear weapon. The U.S would also want Japan to share the responsibility to secure the

East Asian region by strengthening military in order to check the unwarranted assertiveness of China in track. A remilitarized Japan will also pose the much needed deterrence to North Korea in the region.

But the US is aware of the fact that the remilitarization of Japan will bring its own challenges for the world. The first and foremost amongst them, will be an uncertainty about the attitude of neo-nationalists in nuclear Japan. The aspirations of nationalist people are always inclined towards projecting the superiority of one's race and nation. The power equation will remain balanced only if the neo-nationalists choose to act rationally by assimilating the civic and universal values in it. Hence, a reconciliation of the two aspects of neo-nationalism is indispensible for making it more humane and valued.

These developments will throw the peace and order of the region in jeopardy. The two nuclear powers posed against each other in the East Asian region will certainly not be a good prospect. It is true that nuclear weapons have hitherto proved to be a potent deterrence and it is also agreeable that big powers do not fight but it will most certainly put the whole region in the shadow nuclear holocaust. The nuclear China and Japan pitted against each other in acerbic rivalry might polarize the world powers and a situation like cold war may re-emerge.

FORIGN POLICIES OF JAPAN AND NEO-NATIONALISM

Today the vanguard of the major faction of neo-nationalists in Japan is the group of conservatives led by Shinzo Abe. They are extremely powerful as they control the government and make the policies. They have turned the assertiveness of China in the East Chinese Sea into a slogan and rallying point. They seem to be convinced that Japan requires a new kind of foreign policy to secure the nation and its sovereignty which has been brought in question by China when, it claimed the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands. The voice of the neo-nationalists who believed in civic values grew faint due to the rise of nationalism in China which was directed primarily against Japan.

The trouble with this aspect of neo-nationalism is that it has a global character and derives strength by practice of universal values and ethos everywhere. A break in the chain brings uncertainty and weakens it everywhere. But when the nationalism in China

divorced itself with civic values, this aspect of neo-nationalism failed to check the rise of conservative neo-nationalists. After this the major aspect of neo-nationalism resorted to the protection of everything Japanese that was threatened due to globalization and the rise of forces threatening Japan's identity. The neo-nationalists aspired to safeguard the identity of Japan and promoted 'Japonism', 29 to establish the importance of Japan in Western nations.

The foreign policy of Japan has been driven by some pertinent factors, such as containing the rise of China, safeguarding its sovereignty rights over Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, building bulwarks against the belligerence of North Korea, in addition to its economic concerns. The policies are also framed to check the influx of foreign nationals in Japan trying to get Japanese citizenship. The influence of neo-nationalism can be observed on all these policies.

Japan's Renewed Relations with the US, India, Australia, ASEAN and South Korea: The first effort of Shinzo Abe to construct a strong deterrence against China was his "Asia's Democratic Security Demand," which emphasized the cooperation among the democratic countries. He advocated the need to strengthen the spirit of cooperation among democratic nations and respect for international law and norms. The underlying objective was clearly to deter the Chinese aggression in the East Asian region and mitigating the belligerence of North Korea by making a formidable alliance. Abe intensified his foreign visits to bolster his alliances based on the principles of humanism and democratic values. He visited all the 10 countries of ASEAN, held summit meetings in India, Australia, Great Britain and Russia. The relations of Japan with these countries look good and augur well for the economic and strategic interests of Japan as well as East Asia.

Japanese government declared the first National Security Strategy (NSS) on December 17, 2013. It emphasized that the efforts of Japan would be directed towards safeguarding the international peace along with deterring and defeating the threats against it.

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²⁹Japonism:Japonism is derived from the French term Japonisme and refers to the influence of Japan on European art and aesthetics. It started with the popularity of Japanese art and aesthetics in Western countries. The Japanese painting Ukiyo-e (pictures of the floating world), Zen gardening and meditation, aesthetics in Japanese literature among others had lasting impressions on the Western society.

Improving the security environment in Asia-Pacific region and reducing the risks for Japan's security are also the primary objective of the national security policies of Japan. It also states that Japan would achieve its goal by strengthening cooperation with "Japan's partners of Peace". The security concerns of Japan are also reflected in its foreign relations and new policies with regards to countries like the U.S., India, Australia, South Korea and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Japan also recognizes the importance of its stable relationship with China, in the larger interest of South East Asian nations and ready to make every possible effort to achieve it without compromising its vital interests like the right to territorial sovereignty.

Shinzo Abe has concluded his visit to the USA to affirm US-Japan alliance and convince the American leadership of having larger role in the matters of defence and security. Abe was privileged with the opportunity to address the joint session of Congress and became the first Japanese prime minister to do so. Japan and US view many of the global and regional issues with the same lens and reflect strategic convergence on the ways to deal with them. The countries also view Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) as a good trade deal as well as a strategic tool to give a new dimension to the Asia-Pacific region. As a trade seal, on the one hand, it will serve the economic concerns and on the other it will serve the strategic interests of nations. The American president reiterated his statement that the Senkaku/ Diaoyu islands are covered by the Mutual Security Treaty between the US and Japan. This announcement of the US serves two important purposes for East Asia. On the one hand, it will thwart the Japanese move of constitutional amendment and remilitarisation and on the other it will check the increasing assertiveness of China by confronting it directly over Senkaku/Diaoyu islands.

Shinzo Abe, during his visit of the USA offered his condolences to the eternal souls of all American people who lost their lives in Second World War in his address to the Congress. Though he did not apologize for the violence perpetrated by Japan in that era but acknowledged it. The Asian countries like China, South Korea and Taiwan may also ask Abe to make a public acknowledgement of it in the East Asian context as well. But neonationalists including, Shinzo Abe maintain that Japan has already made the apology in the past and now they want to put things behind, and move on with the neighbours in a

new world. Asking for apology or public acknowledgement will amount to keep Japan always in trial for the days gone past.

Neo-nationalists also give a new interpretation to the demand of apology by China. They say that China tries to instigate nations like South Korea, North Korea and Taiwan, against Japan by stirring their sentiments for its own gain. It wants to diminish the influence of Japan in the region by pitching these nations against it which gives additional bargaining advantage to China. The anti-China sentiment in Japan has been fanned by neo-nationalists and puts the two Asian giants against each other in a tug of war.

Japan has also made its relations robust with India which is viewed as a future power of Asia with potential even to eclipse China. Japan and India are two powerful democracies of Asia and share the similar values and outlook on many issues. The two countries are also enmeshed in territorial disputes with China. India has already waged war with China in 1962 over the border dispute and tasted the bitter defeat. The relation between India and China has been improved considerably since then but the border dispute and the past memories bring it under suspicion which hovers over the relationship. Japan views India as a natural partner and the two share similar platform on global issues.

Shinzo Abe sees a great opportunity in strengthening economic and strategic ties with India. India is a powerful country placed strategically, which can command tremendous influence in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, it is capable of safeguarding the sea lines of communication in IOR (Indian Ocean Region) through which the major amount of the crude oil is imported.

A joint statement titled, "Strengthening the Strategic and Global Partnership between Japan and India beyond the 60th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations" was signed when the then Indian Prime Minister, Dr.Manmohan Singh visited Japan in May 2013³⁰. Shinzo Abe also paid an official visit to India for the 8th annual summit as the Chief Guest of the Republic Day parade in New Delhi. The relationship between India and Japan reached a

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³⁰India-Japan Relations, Ministry of External Affairs (MOFA), <u>www.mea.gov.in/Portal/Foreign</u>Relations/Japan_-_July_2014_.pdf

new height when the Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko visited India in November 2013.

Recently, when the present Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi visited Japan the two countries agreed to deepen the strategic relations. India decided to hold the large navy exercise regularly at 'Malabar' with Japan and US. India has also announced a bold counter defensive posture against China, with US-Japan-India Maritime cooperation which, will prove decisive in bringing the balance of power in East Asia. The progress has also been made upon agreement between India and Japan on civil nuclear cooperation³¹.

The relationship between Australia and Japan acts as a great alliance to balance the power equation in Asia-Pacific region. Shinzo Abe also held a summit meeting with his Australian counterpart Abbot on 7th April 2014 and agreed to renew the security and defence relationship in the light of new challenges. The two countries agreed to cooperate mutually on both regional and global issues³². They also agreed to discuss ways and need to act in unison for tackling cyber threats, maritime and aviation security.

Shinzo Abe has worked to bring all the ASEAN nations on platform to build a regional support against assertiveness of China in the East China Sea. He has visited all the ASEAN nations to convince them of a need to build a front for peace and stability in the region. The already existing maritime territorial disputes in the East China Sea and the unilateral declaration of air-defense zone (ADIZ) by China has made ASEAN wary of its assertiveness. But some of the ASEAN nations are not ready to play a proactive role in the regional front against China because of their economic and trade dependence on China.

The relationship between Japan and South Korea has been characterized by historical discontent. They include issue of comfort women, islands dispute, controversies centred around Yasukuni shrine and growing distrust between them in recent years. The differences between the two countries have surfaced primarily due to varied perceptions

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³¹ www.businessworld.in, 08 Sep, 2014 14:12 IST

³²Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Sep 22, 2014 dfat.gov.au/geo/japan/Pages

of history. Japan acted as a colonial power and perpetrated brutal violence in the Korean peninsula which Korea has not yet come to terms with.

The Islands are under administrative control of South Korea but also claimed by Japan. To South Koreans, these islands are symbol of nationalism against Japan for it reminds them of the nation's occupation by Japan in past. Japan has suggested to solve the dispute through diplomatic discussions and negotiations or else to take up the issue in the International Court of Justice. The position of the neo-nationalists of Japan also falls in line with that of the government and the Takeshima dispute does not ignite ambers of nationalistic sentiments in Japanese populace.

The memories of Korean experience during the imperial days of Japan have not yet fully faded; the spectre of the past refuges to vanish and haunts the bilateral relations between the two countries. Another reason for the worsening of bilateral relations is the rise of nationalism in South Korea which is centred against Japan and is fuelled by the provocative rhetoric of politicians.

But on the other hand Japan and South Korea are two democratic nations which enjoy healthy economic relations. Even the nationalist leaders of the two countries have not shown departure from peace in their rhetoric. The two countries are also good allies of the US which plays the role of arbiter in tackling the disputes between them. It is encouraging that the US acts as a mediator between them and will never let the dispute grow out of proportion.

Robust relations marked with mutual support and cooperation between South Korea and Japan is very important for the peace and harmony in the region. This has been emphasized by the US to the leadership of the two nations and also acknowledged by them. The two countries are on the receiving end of the threats made by North Korea. Though South Korea is not directly affected by the assertiveness of China but its closeness with the US is likely to make the relations between South Korea and China incompatible and eventually antagonistic. The US is also aware that in order to make its 'Asia Pivot' strategy effective it will need the concerted efforts of both South Korea and Japan.

Shinzo Abe also realises this very well that his position against China, without South Korea's support would be untenable in the region. One of the concerns expressed to the American president during his visit to the US must have been the American intervention for normalizing relations with South Korea and encourage the spirit of cooperation. The two countries are very likely to settle their differences under American adjudication with sagacity on the both sides.

NEO-NATIONALISM AND REVIVAL OF JAPANESE ECONOMY

The idea of nationalism of any sort has to do with identification of people from nation's specific features which give it a specific recognition. Economic nationalism is specific identification of people of the country with its national economy. The economic nationalism tries to preserve its particular feature and bolsters it against the world economy. It is also a reaction to the globalization which has exposed the markets of a nation to the rest of the countries. Consequently, economic nationalists advocate protecting the economy from external influences which might prove detrimental to the economic health of the nation.

In case of Japan, the economic nationalism is all the more relevant for primarily the recognition of Japan after the Second World War and has been deriven from its rise of economy. Japan after recovering from the shock of humiliating defeat in the Second World War at the hands of Allied Powers concentrated all its capabilities to create a super state which defined and projected its power through economy. As a result, Japan established itself as the second largest economy in the world in 1978. The breath-taking economic performance of Japan was looked by all economists with awe and wonder. The story of rise of Japan as a great economy against overwhelming odds is often termed as, and rightly so, the economic miracle of Japan.

The economic performance of Japan gave it a new name and respect in the world. Japan, despite having the resource deficit, became one of the most important motors of world economy. Japanese people looked at the economic rise of Japan as the expression of Japanese adventurism and it became associated with the pride of nation and its people.

The rise of Japanese economy was followed by its crushing fall. The gradual but perceptible decline of Japanese economy brought the decade of economic passivity which

is often referred to as the 'lost decade' of Japan. Japan struggled and exhibited the resilience but could not fully recover. Japan was eventually replaced by China as the second largest economy in the world in 2010. Its present position is also threatened by the rise of another Asian economic power, India.

The decline of Japanese economy shook the pride of the nation and its people. The confidence of Japanese populace which was primarily derived from the economy took a severe hit. The nation cried for economic revival and to salvage the pride of its people. The economic crisis of Japan gave rise to the movement of economic nationalism which gained momentum with growing instability. It gave a jolt to Japan which was plagued by declining work force due to low birth rate and aging population.

Shinzo Abe came to power riding the wave of national will of economic revival. He promised to protect the Japanese economy and heighten its competitiveness with emerging economies.

The two groups of neo-nationalists responded to the appeal of Abe but they differ in their conception of ways of reviving the economy. The conservative neo-nationalists thought of breathing a new life to the economy by intensifying the competition with rival economies. The other group, however, thought it necessary to integrate emerging economies and help them reviving Japanese economy much like Japan did in the past.

The neo-nationalists share the concern of protecting and strengthening Japanese economy in the world market. But the economic nationalism cannot be seen in isolation for the other factors also impact its extent and course. The rising uncertainties and distrust among the actors of the East Asian region will only strengthen the economic nationalism which in turn supports the rise of neo-nationalism in Japan.

It is also important to see which form of neo-nationalism will guide the movement of economic nationalism. One would want the integration of the economy from that of the world while the other would want to protect it from hazards of world economy and make policies accordingly.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The people of primitive society identified with their dwelling place country through the shared myth, legend, folklore and their narratives. They developed a sense of oneness for living together in the same geographical confines and following the similar way of life and practices. The primordial approach holds that this was the period when the seeds of nationalism were sown. The culture and tradition also find their beginning in this period which later fostered the idea of nationalism. The people of Japan lived in this period with the myth and worshiped nature which later became the indigenous religion, called Shinto. However, the idea of nationalism properly emerged in the historical era of Japan when political structures came into existence.

The history of Japan has been shaped through four remarkable stages each taking it into a new paradigm. The common thing in all these stages is the role of nationalism in one form or the other in constructing the trajectory of Japanese history. The first stage was the foundation of Japan as a nation when Shotoku Taishi made extraordinary efforts to prepare the edifice of national integration and political governance. His idea of integrating the people in one composite unit was inspired by the nationalistic fervour which later percolated to the people in general. His effort provided Japan with an effective central government which functioned largely through Confucian teachings. He also established the new religion, Buddhism, on Japanese soil which had a levelling effect on the Japanese society in days to come, though initially embraced by the nobility. In this era, Japan was structured as a nation and nationalism played a constructive part in it. It was an example of state nationalism which created a consciousness of oneness among citizens. This era witnessed a transition in the form of nationalism from social to political.

The second important stage in the history of Japan was the consolidation of the state in the Sengoku period when Japan was torn apart due to violent internal conflict among daimyos. The consolidation was brought about by three generals namely Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyashu. Tokugawa Ieyashu was the eventual victor who consolidated Japan and ended the large scale violence which characterized this

period. Tokugawa era also witnessed a new surge in nationalism and efforts were made to make Japan free from external influences and promote indigenous art and literature which hitherto had been deeply influenced by China. This era highlights the role of literature as an instrument for nationalism as later highlighted by many theorists including Benedict Anderson. Further, Tokugawa Iemitsu ordered isolation of Japan from the rest of the world in order to keep it from adulterating influence of outsiders. This made Japan a country which maintained solitary existence for about two and half centuries free from the new developments taking place around the world and making a Japan monolithic nation. It remained so for two and half centuries until Commodore Perry arrived and forced Japan to open itself to the world.

The third important stage in Japanese history was the Meiji Restoration of 1868 when power was restored to the emperor from the Tokugawa Shogunate. It proved to be a watershed moment in the history of Japan which changed the whole outlook of Japan and helped embark it on a journey of great economic and military success and also eventual fall. During the Meiji period, which is also known as the period of enlightened rule, the foundation of modernization was laid by introducing several reforms. It provided Japan a new constitution, a new parliament efficient military and a group of adventurous business conglomerates called zaibatsu that revolutionized the Japanese economy. Nationalism, once again, played an important role in dislodging the Tokugawa Bakufu and bringing restoration. It was the efforts of Japanese nationalists that made it possible for Japan to acquire the indispensible knowledge to catch up with the West in such a small span of time.

The fourth important stage of Japanese of history is characterized by its economic rise in the post-war era. After the war Japan was lying in ruins and its future looked dark. But in such a moment of crisis the resilient spirit of Japan came to the fore. Japan surprised the world by displaying awe-inspiring economic success that made it the second largest economy in the world by 1980s, next only to the US. The economic success of Japan is an inspiring story for other Asian nations who strive to achieve material well-being for their people.

In all these phases it can be seen that the nationalism has played a decisive role in the making of Japan. There are reasons which facilitate the expression of nationalism in Japan. The primary reason behind this is the psyche of Japanese populace which has been shaped in such a manner that it gives much importance to national identity than the individual one. In primordial approach to understand nationalism, emphasis is laid on objective factors like homogeneous ethnicity, culture, tradition and religion which give the nation a specific character and identity. These factors often represent the spirit of a nation and condition the people of the country to think and act in a manner which are unique to it. Looking at the history of Japan, it can be understood that the dilution of ethnicity, culture and tradition have not taken place throughout its course. This has given an entrenched composite character to Japanese society. In modernist approach nationalism is often viewed as a socio-economic product fostered by the state. In addition the **print capitalism** or media, and other forms of literature are instrumental in moulding the consciousness of people. In case of Japan all the subjective factors also supported the notion of nationalism in Japan along with objective factors.

Japan provides a rare example among nations where both the objective and subjective factors support nationalism. That is why scholars find it easy to define nationalism in Japanese context which is otherwise an extremely difficult enterprise.

The globalization brought a new interconnectedness of nations and the wave of migration of people from one corner of the world to the other. This promised a new world order in which the nationalism was expected to weaken gradually due to emerging transnational identity of people. It triggered a global wave of migration. Globalization also promoted multiculturalism and the new network of trade and commerce gave birth to non-state actors like the United Nations, European Union, World Bank and others. These institutions promoted internationalism as against nationalism which held that the violence and injustice taking place in any country are examples of crimes against humanity. Human rights were given shape on the basis of universal human values and advocated by prominent people. The United Nations was entrusted with the responsibility to check the violation of human rights taking place in any corner of the world and devise ways to safeguard it. The globalization also provided momentum to the wave of democratization which introduced a new civic value based to the world which is largely respected and

adhered to by the nations of the world. Globalization looked like promoting a new world order and bringing the nations out of the confines of their own making which would have dealt a blow to the kind of nationalism given shape by objective factors.

But soon the nations began to react against the globalization in order to preserve their homogeneity of culture and tradition and the idea of internationalism started to evaporate. This trend was/is supported by both state and the media of the nations. Also the security dilemma faced by the nations in an anarchic world, as emphasized by the realist school, has also given impetus to the rise of nationalism. The nationalism that asserted itself in the prevailing set of conditions has been referred to as neo-nationalism.

The globalization has not affected, to any considerable extent, the homogeneity of Japan. The culture and tradition of Japan have not been diluted much by the influences brought about by globalization. In addition, Japan is faced with security dilemma due to its economic decline and rise of new powers in East Asia particularly China which has been increasingly expanding its military budgets. This reflects the intent of China that it wants to back its economic rise with equally potent military power. China is twenty five times larger than Japan and hence influences Japan like no other country does. This has been captured by a simile of earth and moon by Odd Arne Westad (2013). He describes that the ratio of the land area of China and Japan is roughly the same ratio as that of earth and moon. And Japan has always had to deal with the large gravitational pull of China. But Japan has managed the Chinese influence and also dominated it in the first half of twentieth century. But the equation between the two countries has changed significantly with the incredible economic rise of China. The rise of China and its assertive nature have seriously challenged the status of Japan in East Asia. The two countries are enmeshed in a conflict over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Island, which is increasingly getting bitter with no solution in sight. North Korea being vocal in launching its assault on Japan has been a reason of overt threat perception for it. South Korea is also loggerheaded with Japan over Takeshima/Dokdo Island dispute. The territorial dispute with Russia over Kurail Islands is still waiting to be resolved. The new century has presented Japan with a new set of challenges which has heightened its security dilemma.

Under the circumstances the Japanese conservative leaders began to stir the sentiments of people and use rhetoric laden with nationalistic innuendos to galvanize them into action for addressing the present challenges. Japanese people were made to believe that the solution to the Japanese security lies in having one's own standing army with full rights to wage war which the Japanese Self-Defense Force has been stripped of by the precepts of the peace constitution. The way to remilitarisation of Japan will be cleared only after the amendment of the constitution and that is what the Shinzo Abe, the present prime minister of Japan, is trying to achieve. But this is not possible unless the citizens of Japan will see the logic of constitutional amendment for they have to give final approval of it when it will be placed before them for ratification.

A militarised Japan riding on the wave of nationalism is a disturbing prospect for the East Asian region. Once the path to militarisation will become clear for Japan it will soon go for nuclear tests. It can be imagined what kind of impact it will have for the regional order when the two great powers in the region will be face to face waiting for the other to blink. This will have serious ramifications for the world as well. The US has already declared that the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands are covered by the mutual security treaty between Japan and the US and it will come to Japan's rescue in the case of any eventuality. This declaration will serve two purposes. It will thwart the conservative's rhetoric of remilitarisation of Japan and keep the assertiveness of China in check. But even then the situation of the East Asia will be precarious and the equation of balance may change at any point of time. Japan has also signed security ties with Australia and India in order to bolster its posturing. Any misadventure by any of the two powers will have global consequences. The prudence, sagacity and wisdom should be the guiding words for those who influence the policies of the two nations.

Nationalism has always been associated with love and pride for one's country. But sometimes it includes the elements of arrogance and hubris. It gives rise to an illusory superiority in comparison to other nations which takes it on destructive path. For these reasons, nationalism becomes a legitimate subject of severe criticism. It does not auger well for the peace and harmony when nationalism in one country condescends to the other by reducing it into chauvinism. The prejudiced loyalty to the nation bereft of rationality should not be embraced by people.

Today, when the nationalism is rising in Asian nations it is imperative to dissuade these nations from aggressive posturing. It becomes clear when the role of Japanese nationalism is examined. It proved to be a great force when used for creative purposes as it was done by Shotoku Taishi and Meiji leaders during early years after restoration. But it wreaks havoc for everyone once it becomes unrestrained and goes out of control which became evident when military nationalism of Japan embarked on the journey of conquest. Nations have long history and pertinent lessons to learn from it. One such lesson would be to keep war mongering out of the rhetoric of nationalism. China has become a great economy and likely to overcome US, as claimed by the experts, in coming years but for that it must maintain its peaceful stride without bringing war in the scheme of things.

Japan must channel nationalism for the constructive purposes and it can be a great instrument in galvanizing people for their support in reviving the Japanese economy which has been Japan's real wielder of power. This should be as clear as day for Japan that belligerence and force cannot be a way to settle disputes with neighbours and even the distant possibility of war should not be a part of the equation. The priority of the East Asian nations must be the preservation of peace and cultivating the soil conducive to the negotiations for settling these disputes.

APPENDIX

Chronology of Japanese History in relation to nationalism

Year	Events
593	Prince Shotoku becomes regent of Empress Suiko.
603	12-cap rank system established.
604	Seventeen-Article constitution is issued by Shotoku Taishi.
1253	Nichiren promulgates a new Buddhist sect advocating patriotism.
1274	The first Mongolian invasuion on Japan.
1281	The Second Mongolian invasion on Japan.
1590	Toyotomi Hideyoshi almost unites Japan.
1600	Battle of Sekigahara, Tokugawa Ieyashu emerges victorious.
1612	Tokugawa Ieyashu prohibits Christianity.
1637	Shimabara rebellion.
1641	Japan was closed to foreign trade and commerce.
1853	Commodore Perry arrives in Japan.
1858	Unequal Treaty was signed at Kanagawa.
1868	Meiji Restoration.
1889	The Meiji constitution was promulgated.
1894	Anglo-Japanese Treaty was signed, extraterritoriality was abolished,
	Sino-Japanese War.
1904	Outbreak of Russo-Japanese War.
1910	Japan annexes Korea.
1941	Japanese attack on Pearl, Pacific War begins.
1945	Atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
1946	Post-war Peace Constitution promulgated.
1951	San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed.
1960	US-Japan Security Treaty was revised.
1969	UN report says studies suggest the presence of large oil reserves in the waters of Senkaku chain.
1972	Okinawa was returned to Japan, process of normalization of relations
	between China and Japan was initiated.
1991	•
2011	Japan overtaken by China as the second largest economy.
2012	Conservative Liberal Democratic Party comes to power, Shinzo Abe
	returns at the helm of political affairs. Government of Japan buys the
	Senkaku island chain from Kurihara family.
2013	People's Republic of China unilaterally announces Air Defense
	Identification Zone (ADIZ) in East China Sea which covers Senkaku
	islands
2014	Obama declares that the administrative control of Japan over Senkaku
	islands is covered by the US-Japan Security treaty.

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(*indicates a primary source)

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