

COMPLETION REPORT

Japan and the Nuclear Question: Nuclear Armament and the Rise of (ultra) nationalism in Postwar Japan

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My research project, *Japan and the Nuclear Question: Nuclear Armament and the Rise of (ultra)nationalism in Postwar Japan*, was to trace the trajectories of how conservative discourses in postwar Japan became eventually anti-American and even some intellectuals and activities called for a nuclear Japan in the 1960s and 1970s. To pursue my research goal, I have focused on two prominent Japanese intellectuals – Kamikawa Hikomatsu and Shimizu Ikutaro – who eventually advocated a nuclear Japan.

Instead of simply following their writings on Japan as a nuclear power, I have approached them as an intellectual historian. By meticulously tracing their wartime and early postwar writings, my project has been examining the question of why one liberal and even progressive (both Kamikawa and Shimizu were considered leading liberal and progressive intellectuals in wartime and early postwar Japan) intellectuals became anti-American and called for Japan as a nuclear power. In my research, I tried to demonstrate that postwar advocates of a nuclear Japan in the 1960s and the 1970s cannot be simply explained through the lens of conservatism or ultra-nationalism in postwar Japan. Instead, I found that many of these nationalist intellectuals – Shimizu Ikutaro and Kamikawa Hikomatsu – were once rational social scientists and even skeptical about the Imperial-Way Japanese totalitarianism during the Asia-Pacific War. Rather than resorting to existing ultra-nationalistic thoughts, both Shimizu and Kamikawa called for a realist and positivist perspective to be prioritized in mapping out Japan's future and international relations. Precisely for this reason, an icon of postwar liberal activism -Shimizu Ikutaro – can transform his notion of the postwar Japanese state based on bottom-up civil political energies to a top-down strong nation state that should even consider being a nuclear power.

Based on these research activities, I suggest that more dynamic and intertwined approaches to postwar Japanese intellectual history be required. The cases of Shimizu and Kamikawa show that a conventional framework of the civil society group or radical activities (i.e. Anpo protests) vs. (ultra)nationalists would not show the real question of why and how postwar Japanese conservatism emerged and has powerfully regulated the mindset of a number of Japanese intellectuals who once identified themselves with rational and even liberal social scientists. To do that, I also suggest that students of Japanese intellectual history trace these major postwar intellectuals' wartime writings to draw a complete picture of their intellectual trends and changes.

Currently, I have almost finished writing two-journal articles and they are scheduled to be completed in the fall of 2018. An article on Shimizu Ikutaro will be submitted for publication to *Social Science Japan Journal* (published by Tokyo University, printed by Oxford University Press) and another article on Kamikawa Hikomatsu will be added to my book length work on Japanese social science and (ultra)nationalism in postwar Japan.

Publication of the Results of Research Project:

Verbal Presentation (Date, Venue, Name of Conference, Title of Presentation, Presenter, etc.)

Seok-Won Lee, “Japan and the Nuclear Question: Shimizu Ikutaro and the Rise of Postwar Japanese Nationalism,” Mid-Atlantic Regional Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference, Towson University, Baltimore, Maryland, October 7-8, 2017

Seok-Won Lee, “Asianism After Asianism – The Korean War the Question of Asia in early 1950s Japan and Korea,” Order and Disorder, Conference in Honor of Professor Victor Koschmann, Cornell University, Ithaca NY, October 27-29, 2017.

Seok-Won Lee, “Japan’s Regional Empire and its Aftermath: International Political Science and the Question of Asia in 1950s Japan,” Association for Asian American Studies Annual Conference, Washington DC, March 22-March 25, 2018.”

Thesis (Name of Journal and its Date, Title and Author of Thesis, etc.)

Seok-Won Lee, Shimizu Ikutaro and the Question of Conservatism, working manuscript to be submitted to *Social Science Japan Journal* (Oxford University Press) (fall 2018)

Book (Publisher and Date of the Book, Title and Author of the Book, etc.)