

Issues that progressives, nationalists, conservatives etc. will disagree about:

- War World II (just or unjust) – and her: vis-à-vis China, Asia and US (West)
- Colonization (bad or not)
- War conduct (just or unjust)
- Apologies and compensations to other nations (provide or not)
- Yasukuni (Yes or No)
- Japanese people: victims or no
- A-bombs (their position to it)
- Japanese public and its responsibility for the past (YES, NO)
- Emperor's role in the war (criminal or not)
- Ianfu (existed or not)
- Nanjing Massacre (fabrication or not)
- Article 9 in Jap. Constitution (protect or revise)
- US and Japan relations (keep or not keep) + US occupation (good or bad)
- Mourning and commemorative practices + national symbols (from pre 1945 okay or not)
- Tokyo Tribunal (just or victor's justice)
- Japanese textbooks + education
- Compensation and health care by victims
- Patriotic symbols (national flag and anthem)

Dower + Seaton + Hashimoto + Seraphim agree on one point: there's no one narrative or collective memory in Japan; and the idea of Amnesia (Hashimoto) or Orthodoxy (Seaton) is simply not capturing the reality in Japan + they all agree that the war has not ended yet, still an issue today

Dower – kleidoscop of memoris; Seaton: rifts in memories, Hashimoto: multiple memories

Hashimoto: it is not about amnesia but about a stalemate in a fierce, multivocal struggle over national legacy and the meaning of Japanese; Amongst the three naratives, they were dominant at different times: 1960-70s – vichthimhood narrative but 1980s – 1990s the perpetrator came into mind but in 2000s again conservative backlash.

	Progressives (Hashimoto: perpetrator narrative – also calls as “reconciliationism)	Progressive leaning (Hashimoto: victims of defeat - passivism)	Conservatives (Hashimoto: stories of national heroes - nationalism)	Nationalists
%	20-30% (Seaton)	20-30% (Seaton)	20-30% (Seaton)	5-6% (Seaton)
Who represents them	<p>Academics, Opposition (Socialists), Marxists, Feminists (lanfu, transitional feminist movement – Women in War-Network japan VAWW-NET Japan(.</p> <p>Teacher Unions (Dower) – prewar were fighting for the war, postwar trying to make up for that</p> <p>Organized Labor</p> <p>Okinawans</p> <p><u>Hashimoto:</u></p> <p>Intellectuals</p> <p>Civic movement</p> <p>Investigative journalists</p> <p>Friendship organizations with East Asia (japan China Friendship Association)</p> <p>lenaga Saburo</p> <p>Oe Kenzaburo</p> <p>Beiheiren (opposition to Vietnam)</p> <p>JTU – arch enemy of Association of Shinto Shrines and Izokukai</p>	<p>A lot of public Hibakusha representatives</p> <p>Sufferers from air raids</p> <p>Wadatsumika (Seraphim)</p> <p>Students killed in the War</p>	<p>LDP + Japanese political elites</p> <p>State bureaucracy (Ministry of Education versus lenaga, JTU)</p> <p>Conservative electorate</p>	<p>Uyoku (black trucks)</p> <p>Right-wing elements within LDP</p> <p>Nihon Izoku Kai</p> <p>Yasukuni Shrine (Association of the Shinto Shrines)</p> <p>Atarashi kyokasho tskuru kai etc.</p> <p>For Dower:</p> <p>Righthwing thugs</p> <p>Conservative politicians and bureaucrats, academics, nationalistic journalists and cartoonists</p>
Ideology	Internationalist outlook Advocates of human rights	Anti-militarism Pacifism	Nationalism + pride in Japan Realists (not moralists; a good	Right-wing revisionism Ultra-nationalism

	Leftist Marxism/Socialism Moralists/Idealists		war ends in victory) Like to respect the past but doesn't want to go to pre-war nationalism (goes to far for them)	Xenophobia Close-minded Emperor worship Imperial worship Pan-Asianism was real as much as Greater East Asia Co- Prosperity Sphere
Reason for war (Pacific War)	Fight between imperialists to secure natural resources Call the war: "Fifteen year war", dark valley dark years (as opposed to Pacific War as introduced by US) Marxist: zaibatsu-led authoritarian emperor system, feudal remnants..lay behind domestic repression and overseas aggression	Western powers share co- responsibility for starting the war (Japan was partly forced by int'l circumstances)		"HOLY WAR" or "sacred war" Western imperialism and racism And "red peril" of Communism (i.e. Red Peril and White Peril) Dower: -economic crisis and anti-trade policies against Japan, American and European opposition to the establishment of Japanese Monroe doctrine in Asia - economic strangulation by ABCD powers
Apologies&compensation	Inadequate	Support for additional compensation and apologies	Conservatives deflect responsibility more at individual level of abstractly to the cruelty of war (i.e. don't deny aggressive acts) Japan already paid compensations in the 1950s – 1970s and has apologized a lot (the issue is closed)	NO need for apologies Insensitivity toward other Asians Denial of atrocities or downplaying of them
Degree of victim consciousness	Critical of crimes committed by	Japanese people victims both	Victimhood – yes but mostly at	Don't like to see Japanese as

	<p>the Allies but Japan more an aggressor than a victim</p> <p>Claims for victimhood in the absence of acknowledging Japanese aggression hypocritical</p>	<p>at the hand of Allies and the Japanese military</p> <p>MORALISTIC PACIFISM – well meaning but sees Japanese as suffering as well, as first victims of a-bombs and therefore something they need to protect...but would not want to head on confront Japanese responsibility the way nationalists or progressive do</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - i.e. little connection made about Hiroshima and what preceded it 	<p>the hands of Allied excesses after the war, rather than that of Japanese military</p> <p>Generally don't like to emphasize victimhood consciousness because US allies + doesn't show the country in great pride moment for people like Nakasone</p> <p>Or the Siberian gulag – internment of the Japanese after the war</p>	<p>victims – rather show positive aspects of Japanese militarism, liberation of Asians, strength in fighting Westerners</p> <p>Kamikazes as heroes</p>
Tokyo Tribunal	Not good enough (i.e. didn't prosecute all that needed to be prosecuted)		<p>Unfair – left US crimes out of the picture, i.e. drawing moral equivalency</p> <p>No comparison to Germany</p>	<p>Totally ridiculous, “victor's justice”, hate it totally</p> <p>Using Pal as their great HERO</p> <p>No comparison to Germany</p>
Yasukuni	opposed	Ambivalent or opposed	For Yasukuni visits	Totally in line with Izokukai
Article 9	Must be preserved	Must be preserved	Has to change	Is a disgrace
Emperor	Should have been prosecuted		Should be protected	Absolute loyalty
War in China	Aggressive war	Aggressive war	Aggressive acts	Nothing like that
Responsibility	Japan as perpetrator (unjust war, unjust conduct)	<p>Watered down responsibility Both perpetrator (toward Asians) and victim (by the US)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most common in Japan in museums, textbooks and official narrative <p>Equivalency morally to a degree with Western countries (US bombing of Japanese cities,</p>	<p>(Just war/unjust war conduct)</p> <p>Gluck: if not just, then perhaps justifiable war</p> <p>Japan did commit “aggressive acts” but particularly Pacific War cannot be called aggressive, want to focus on issues of patriotism and “precious sacrifice” for postwar</p>	<p>Just war/just acts</p> <p>Japan has no responsibility</p> <p>Nanking massacre didn't happen/denial</p>

		A bombs) Asian victims – acknowledged but seem remote and abstract	recovery Even greater moral equivalency than the progressives LDP doesn't like blanket condemnation of its soldiers – takes away respect to those who died for their country Justifies the war and national sacrifices as the basis for postwar prosperity – cultivates pride and national belonging, often in official speeches and commemorations	
Appearance	Documentaries and publishing Some veteran's diaries Investigative journalists	Publicly funded: museums and textbooks and Japan victimhood in all war related TV dramas with the highest profitability	Publishing and Cinema	Books, Magazines and videos
Press	Asahi	Mainichi/Keizai	Yomiuri/Sankei	
China and Korea complains	Understand them	Are generally sympathetic	Generally unsympathetic (apology fatigue), see them as authoritarian lanfu statues - justified	Hate speech, hate them
Relation to US	Love and try to protect US occupational policies, though don't like seriously the US (Anpo, Vietnam war..Beiheiren, hate it, nuclear weapons – return Okinawa)	Love and try to protect US occupational policies, maybe less dislike than with progressives	Hate US occupation policies but otherwise its biggest brother and partner	Hate the US and its occupational policies, after the war not too big fans either