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"Searching for Imagination beyond the Paradox between Nationalism and Globalism"

  This textbook examines the relationships between nationalism and globalism, and is written by four authors who work mainly in the social science field in Japan. Osawa has written on capitalism, body theory, and contemporary society in many books previously, the most recent being the *Origin of Nationalism*, which spanned over 900 pages (Osawa 2007). Shiobara's body of work examines the dialogue for *conviviality* with Others such as immigrants, drawing from the Australian multiculturalism example (Shiobara 2012). Hashimoto started his studies on the methodological thoughts in political philosophy, and has written the *Conditions of Empire* as the order for freedom and developed his original modernization theory after the 9/11 terror attacks (Hashimoto 2007). Wada has written about ontological media theory from a reinterpretation of Martin Heidegger and Paul Virilio, more recently focusing on the relationship between *the State and the Internet* (Wada 2013). This textbook was written collectively and is published as a "readable dictionary" composed of three parts. Part one and two are made up of technical terms and keywords that posit nationalism as a historical phenomenon and as political philosophy, respectively. The last part is focused on globalization. This book challenges the reader to consider the paradox brought about by the encounter between nationalism and globalism. It includes an explanation of over 40 terms and includes 6 essays panning over 300 pages.

  I have written this review in English as an attempt to respond to the various discussions in this book, and in that sense it will differ from a usual academic review. In other words, I will read this text as a representative example of a Japanese-language text engaging with the issue of nationalism and globalism. At the same time, it will attempt to open up debate on this topic for interested readers from the Japanese academy. The summer of 2015 holds particular significance for this issue as the content of Japanese Prime Minister Abe's statement commemorating the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II will draw media attention. It goes without saying that understandings of national history are not independent but has ramifications for the surrounding countries. Reservations and outright criticism concerning Japan's recent interpretation of history has come from not only former Japanese colonies such as South Korea (ROK) and China (PRC), but also the United States, and Germany. These foreign criticisms have been broadcast on the media in Japanese. As the title of this book suggests, Japanese interpretations of

history have become inherently politicized and is now situated between nationalism and globalism. With the onset of globalization, despite ever-expanding networks of trans-border *"ekkyō"* communication, patriotic nationalism *"aikoku"* does not simply vanish, rather both globalization and nationalism have become more resilient. This textbook aims to foreground the paradox between the seemingly competing forces of nationalism and globalization, and attempts to both understand and overcome these contradictions. Taking into consideration works of these authors, I will consider the way in which collective imagination has been compromised in the face of nationalism and globalization.

Benedict Anderson posits the expansion of print capitalism as the defining moment when the nation as an "imagined community" first emerged (Anderson 1983). The debates surrounding Japanese nationalism have frequently been framed by this conceptualization. However, it is important to remember that postwar debate over nationalism, generally concerned with democracy in Japan (Oguma 2002), existed well before Anderson's intervention. For example, Masao Maruyama, the political scientist known for his reflection on Japan's shift from fascism to postwar democracy, argued in 1946 that the Meiji polity was formalized along values that held the emperor-system at its core. Maruyama critiques the reorganization of the political hierarchy and corresponding expansive ultranationalist logic and psychology that resulted from such political value placed on the emperor (Maruyama 1946 [1964]). Osawa perspicaciously identifies "the manner in which nationalism's universalist orientation emerged in the form of a particularism" (p.21).

In the post-cold war world, this particularized form of Japanese nationalism was confronted with a more open exchange of knowledge and postcolonial claims from "comfort women". For example, Naoki Sakai insisted on the deconstruction of Japan as a body politic defined by its historical and geopolitical disposition (Sakai 1996), and Chizuko Ueno attempted to de-naturalize and de-essentialize the particularity of a nation state and a notion of women founded on a male-centric society and memory (Ueno 1998). Moreover, despite the financial benefits of Korean War procurements, "Japan's postwar economic miracle" was usually explained in terms of "Japanese cultural uniqueness". Nationalism was also instrumental in the consumption of these discourses that were formed on a particularized cultural identity (Yoshino 1997). This cultural aspect of nationalism in Japanese media representations was also criticized as epistemic violence, based on the idea of orientalism from Japan, which could be seen in the relationships between Japan, and the United States, Europe, and other Asian countries (Abe 2001).

These analyses and critiques on Japanese nationalism were reflexively re-orientated to overcome boundaries ordered by the modern nation state (Nishikawa 2001). These include examples such as the promotion of an idea of regionalism titled as "East-North Asian Common House" (Kang 2001) and a "critical imagination" that calls for a re-imagined multicultural Japan that has sincerely confronted its historical truthfulness of internal others or ethnic minority groups (Morris-Suzuki 2002).

In order to overcome the nationalist imagination, the globalized imagination cannot simply be thought

of as a "global village" as the media theorist McLuhan proposed (McLuhan 1962). Rather, as Shiobara has argued, globalization bore witness to a world in which individuals live in complete disjuncture from one another, living different realities despite operating within an ever more standardized world (p.219). The drive to standardize a multinational flow of capital and labor has engendered not only to make the national boundary vague and unclear but also hitherto unseen disparities in wealth on a global scale (Iyotani 2002). This reality can be described as one in which only the upper-class are able to enjoy creative opportunities with mobility, whereas the lower-classes and other vast majority feel anxious and *ressentiment* about immobility. The lower-middle class attempt to control and stigmatize the minority underclass in an attempt to ameliorate the loss of their own opportunities and mobility (p.220-3). Especially, in an attempt to be "loved" by the state, these dispossessed people turn to a racially exclusive nationalism to fulfill these desires (p.324-6). As a result, the collective imagination of the people is compromised between nationalism and globalism.

Emerging from the cracks between the all encompassing ideological nationalism and globalization is the naked violence wielded by terrorists. The 9/11 terrorist attacks, and subsequent global "war on terror" which included Japan, generated a hitherto unseen obscured xenophobic "fear" of outsiders. This "security politics" led to the line between dangerous risks and safety to be redrawn and reinforced both internationally and domestically (Sugita 2005). Yet the authority to draw lines lies only in the violence of state sovereignty. Hashimoto argues the sovereign state is always able to use its potential power freely from reasonable legality, and its absolute actual power, in the due process on the national border (p.47). Moreover, it is impossible to consider the maintenance of sovereignty without the cooperation of business sectors (p.178). It has been driven to intervene militarily in Afghanistan, Iraq, and other Middle East countries and has been instrumental to the rise of the surveillance society especially since the terrorist attacks. At the same time, despite declarations that it was to protect and promote the value of freedom and democracy in our society, it actually brought about a contradiction that produced undemocratic and oppressive spaces (p.110).

However, in spite of this, the paradox between *"ekkyō"* and *"aikoku"* has continued apace. It is said that the structural complementarity of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism makes this paradox even more complex. According to Wada, the former is an economic ideology that seeks out market fundamentalism that claims to bring equality and prosperity, not by intervention of the state, but by complete adherence to the principle of *laissez-faire*. And the latter is a political ideology that attempts to bring people emotionally together against a common evil, lashing out at anything that attempts to disrupt the social order. As a result, global economic disparity is said to have worsened because of the failure of trickle-down economics. Neo-conservative nationalism is mobilized to compensate for the failure of market (p.199-207). In this situation, even the logic of multiculturalism that was originally a form of protest by minority groups has now been transformed into an either/ or decision to include or exclude

immigrants and refugees (p.258).

   How can we propose an alternative imagination to overcome the aforementioned paradox between *"ekkyō"* and "*aikoku*"? The importance of this book is that we can consider not only the logic and psychology of this paradox, but it also offers many suggestions for overcoming these problems. The authors of this book confront this contradiction, and consider the various possibilities. For example, Shiobara reevaluates the logic of multiculturalism from the point of creating the moment of dialogue and cooperation with Others, and insists on the importance of constructing a cosmopolitan public sphere based on mutual understandings and discursive practices in the daily life (p.253-9,296-300). Hashimoto aims to theorize the empire as a political body and insists on the possibility of realizing a "world government" to moderate international conflicts by surrendering many functions of state sovereignty to international organizations (p.41-7, 239- 45). Wada puts forward to the possibility of "alter-globalization" movements to reduce the authority of inter- national financial organizations, on the one hand, and to expand the plurality of democratic processes on the other (p.278- 87). At the same time, he advocates the possibility to create "autonomic spaces" where people can discuss the oppressive logic suppressed by the nation state and global companies by way of social media especially after 3/11, Tohoku Earthquake in Japan (p.171-3,309-19). In what ways can we re-imagine the seemingly faltering collective imagination that has been trapped between nationalism and globalism? This extensive and invaluable textbook illustrates the need to theorize the paradox discussed here, but also offers empirical questions and alternative practices based on a "living imagination " and experiences of the people.

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