

Completion Report

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My research project, *Internationalism of a Defeated Nation: American Hegemony and Conservative Nationalism in Early Postwar Japan*, was to trace the trajectories of how Asian discourses were still one of the important research agendas among Japanese social scientists in early postwar Japan, scholars of international politics and law in particular. My research also aims to find the connection between wartime social scientists' writings on international law and order and their postwar writings on Japan's international relations. Among a group of leading scholars in 1950s and early 1960s Japan, this research project focuses on two influential figures. Kamikawa Hikomatsu and Yokota Kishburo, both of whom were prolific writers in the wartime period and early postwar Japan.

This research project has faced several challenges. Right after it was selected by the Sumitomo Foundation, the Covid-19 pandemic occurred. Due to this, I had to adjust my research plans a couple of times and I now plan to finish my article-length work and submit it to a reputable English-language journal in early 2023. (Please refer to my working draft.) I could not enter Japan for archival research and to obtain relevant sources, I have utilized library services from my home institution but I could eventually go to Korea during the summer of 2022 and visited the National Assembly Library of Korea where I could find some primary sources on Kamikawa Hikomatsu.

After collecting primary sources, I began reading primary sources on Kamikawa Hikomatsu and Yokota Kisaburo. I believe that the biggest contribution of my research project is to interrogate the question of continuity between wartime ideologies of international relations and the Japanese postwar perceptions of the Cold War. According to my research, Kamikawa never revisited Japan's wartime ideology in a critical way and thus his postwar perceptions of the world did not begin with any critical assessment of imperialism and colonialism. For this reason, Kamikawa's incessant critiques of the American empire as Japan's "colonizer" in the 1950s and early 1960s vividly reveals a one-facet of postwar conservative Japanese social sciences. In other words, my paper makes the point that Kamikawa's strong anti-American sentiment in his writings ironically tells us why contemporary Japanese conservative political elites and intellectuals have endorsed America's dominance over Japanese politics and its economy. Although he was critical of postwar Japan's status as an American "colony," Kamikawa never showed interests in alternative paths to international politics and law. My research shows that he was skeptical about nationalist movements in the so-called "Third-World" countries, including Japan's former colonies and he was an ardent advocate of anti-communism. For this reason, his anti-Americanism almost was his call for Japan to be as strong as America to overcome America's influence. The historical irony of Japan's becoming an economic world power lies in the fact that Japan has been constantly dependent upon the American security umbrella, and the export-oriented structure supported by the American consumer market. In that respect, the absence of any reflective perspectives of Japan's colonial violence in Kamikawa's writing and his accusation of American imperialism should be an important object of critical intellectual history as we are now witnessing Japan's

attempt to become a global power but its continuing dependence on the American security structure.

I have finished writing a draft and will send my manuscript to *Japan Forum*, an UK-based journal published by Taylor Francis.

Publication of the Results of Research Project:

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

Seok-Won Lee, “Rejoining the World: International Political Science and the Question of Asia in 1950s Japan,” 50th Annual Mid-Atlantic Region Association for Asian Studies Conference, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia PA, October 1-2, 2022

Seok-Won Lee, “Asian Civilization as Violence: Pan-Asianism and Social Scientists in Wartime Japan 1931-1945,” The Guest Lecture Series at the Department of Asian Languages and Civilizations, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea. December 15, 2021

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

Seok-Won Lee, “International Politics of the Defeated Nation: Kamikawa Hikomatsu and the Origins of Realist Conservatism in Early Postwar Japan, 1945-1957,” to be submitted to *Japan Forum* in spring 2023.

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