

# TALKING POINTS

Asan Plenum 2014: "Future of History" www.asanplenum.org

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**Panel:** (Post)-Modern Japan? (GB1)

**Date/Time:** Tuesday, April 22, 2014 / 14:30-15:45

Talking Points for: Brad Glosserman, Pacific Forum CSIS

#### Caveats

1. Based on book research

- 2. No one in Japan makes points precisely: Soeya might come close but Japan is more than a "middle power": third economy, 10<sup>th</sup> largest population, human resources, global interests
- 3. Current leadership in Tokyo (and maybe DC) would disavow these remarks

#### Hard realities of Japan

- 1. Small, vulnerable country, with limited resources
- 2. Grayest country on Earth and getting grayer: >25% and will exceed 40% by 2060
- 3. Shrinking population: 127 million and on track to reach 90 million by 2060
- 4. Total debt 237% 280%

#### The importance of attitude

- 1. Compelling national myths: success of nation building and homogenous Japan
- 2. Loss national narrative: confusion for two decades
- 3. Betrayed by modernity: Happiness paradox, myth of safe society, environmental costs (at home and abroad); failures driven home by 3.11
- 4. Reluctance to compete: aversion to great power politics: weary, wary, skeptical
- 5. Discomfort with nationalism (love of land, culture: 69%; sports 10%); little inclination to fight
- 6. Not interested in maximizing efficiency: too comfortable; polls = higher preference for equality and income redistribution (myth of middle class): Northern European social model; two decades of inaction

<sup>\*</sup> The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies.



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- 7. Religious, social and aesthetic preferences postmodern: orient toward nature converge with conservatism: Shinto, Mujo, vulnerability; not pseudo-philosophical mumbo jumbo
- 8. Economic component as well: anti-consumption, anti-nuclear, Cool Japan. "post-growth"
- 9. Disconnect with current administration: majorities against CS revision, CSD reinterpretation, nuclear energy, YS visits
- 10. Tighter links to Asia (with US-Japan alliance as starting point)
- 11. Engagement by exporting good behavior
- 12. Sacrifice comports with Gambaru/Shoganai mentality.

#### Minimums

- 1. Status conscious
- 2. Not militarist, but not indifferent to national security

## Opportunity for Asia and Korea in particular

- 1. Recognize potential trajectory
- 2. Don't tar all Japan with same brush
- 3. Discriminate: encourage and reward "good Japanese"
- 4. Don't isolate

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