NATIONALISM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE PRESS IN JAPAN:
HOW ASAHI AND YOMIURI FRAME NEWS TO COMPETE WITH EACH OTHER

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes the news framing of Japan’s two largest major newspapers, *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, and argues that the foundation of their news framing consists of their competing views on the state and nation, by doing a systematic content analysis of their editorials and news articles. Its analytical framework was developed from news framing analysis methods developed by American scholars and the two major Japanese newspapers’ tendencies of news editing and reporting. This analytical framework has three layers—1) a qualitative analysis of *Asahi*’s and *Yomiuri*’s long-term editorial views; 2) a qualitative analysis of their editorials on a certain issue; and 3) a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the news coverage of that certain issue. The first layer analyzes the two newspapers’ New Year’s Day editorials from 1953 to 2005, and demonstrates how the two newspapers have engaged in a nationalist competition over views on and ideals for the Japanese state and nation: Left-leaning, liberal *Asahi* has been an anti-state, pacifist-nationalist upholding the postwar constitution; and right-leaning, conservative *Yomiuri* has been a pro-state, internationalist-nationalist seeking out an active role for Japan in the post-Cold War world led by the United States. Accordingly, unlike *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* prefers the United Nations to the United States. For the second and third layers of the analysis, the dissertation examines editorials and articles on the 2001 history textbook controversy, as well as those concerning the murders of the two Japanese diplomats in Iraq in 2003. *Asahi* primarily framed the textbook controversy as a Japanese domestic issue, considering the textbook in question to be a symbol of rising state-centered nationalism, while *Yomiuri* emphasized the controversy as a diplomatic issue between Japan and its neighboring states, affirming some perspectives given in the textbook.
*Asahi* used the murders of the diplomats to prevent the government from deploying the Self-Defense Forces in the U.S.-led reconstruction of Iraq while *Yomiuri* symbolized the murders as proof of Japan's commitment to its active role in an international military cooperation. This dissertation ultimately finds that *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* play a role in the reproduction of national identity for the Japanese people in postwar democracy.
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Chapter Introduction

Commercial newspapers in Japan claim that they are not only organs of journalism (hōdō kikan, 報道機関) but also organs of public opinion (genron kikan, 言論機関). Reporting and commenting on newsworthy events and issues are the main missions that newspapers undertake (Nihon Shimbun Kyokai 2000). Newspapers, as organizations, also publicize their own views in their editorials (shasetsu, 社説), and their editors and reporters also express their own views in columns and other articles with bylines. Accordingly, the general public as well as media watchers in Japan consider some newspapers to be conservative, right-leaning, and others to be liberal, left-leaning. Likewise, the national newspapers (zenkokushi, 全国紙) or the so-called five major papers (godaishi, 五大紙), which virtually represent the press in Japan, are divided into two groups. Nihon Keizai Shimbun (日本経済新聞), Sankei Shimbun (産経新聞), and

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1 In many commercial newspapers in Japan, if not most, regular news articles appear without bylines. But articles that may show authors' personal views and opinions, such as columns, tend to have bylines. In the mid-1990s, Mainichi Shimbun started to print reporters' names with most regular news articles. It was a unique practice among commercial newspapers in Japan, and was instituted during the period in which this writer worked for Mainichi as a layout editor and staff reporter from the late 1980s to the late 1990s.

2 National dailies cover almost all regions in Japan for news coverage and paper circulation, so they are national. They may be similar to USA Today. But their local news coverage is more comprehensive than USA Today, covering local events for their local readers and commercially competing with local dailies. They have their local news bureaus as well as sales representatives in prefectural capitals and other major cities, though Sankei, a latecomer national newspaper, and Nihon Keizai, a financial and economic paper, have fewer news bureaus and sales representatives than others. In terms of average daily circulation, Yomiuri sells about 10 million copies; Asahi, 8 million; Mainichi, 3.9 million; Sankei, 2.1 million; and Nihon Keizai, 3 million. (Nihon Shimbun
Yomiuri Shimbun (読売新聞) are conservative, right-leaning media outlets while Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞) and Mainichi Shimbun (毎日新聞) are liberal and left-leaning (Akuto 1996; Hara 2004). On the other hand, watchers of Japanese politics in English-speaking countries have a different view on those major newspapers. Many watchers believe that the major newspapers are homogenous, presenting similar editorial opinions and news stories and failing to play the part of watchdogs in Japan’s democracy (Wolferen 1990; Hall 1998; Freeman 2000). This view of the major newspapers in Japan is common, but it apparently contradicts the views held by the Japanese themselves, as mentioned above. However, both these views omit reference to any systematic content analysis of news coverage and editorial views of those national newspapers. Their arguments are mostly derived from habitual readings of newspapers, political pundits’ criticisms of newspapers, sociological observations of the relationship between the government and the newspapers’ reporters, and examinations of newspapers as corporations. This dissertation attempts to resolve this discrepancy by conducting systematic content analyses of editorials and news articles of the two largest major

Kyōkai 2006). In addition to national dailies, there are also regional and local dailies. The former covers more than one prefecture while the latter basically focuses on only one prefecture for their paper sales.  

3 Akuto (1996) points out the ideological division among the national dailies in the perception of the general public. But he examines the news coverage of the Machida mayoral election in 1986 and discusses how little impact ideological division had on such news coverage. It is very hard to find ideological bias in the dailies’ news coverage of elections even if such biases exist. The major newspapers, including my former employer Mainichi Shimbun, carefully edit their news coverage of elections, in order to cover major candidates evenly. They give almost the same space to each major candidate. If one candidate appears in a photo, other candidates must appear in photos of similar size in the same edition. The coverage of elections is not a good resource in which to look for possible ideological biases of Japanese newspapers.  

4 In this dissertation, “national newspapers (dailies)” and “major newspapers (dailies)” are used interchangeably.
newspapers, Asahi and Yomiuri. The dissertation assumes that these newspapers have attempted to promote their own views on and ideals for the Japanese state and nation through not only their editorials but also their news articles; thereby promoting different national identities for the Japanese. That is, when the two newspapers report events and issues that concern the Japanese state, nation, and/or national identity, they tend to frame such news based on their views of those matters. In this respect, the two newspapers may be considered as distinctive actors in the politics of national identity or nationalism in postwar Japan. Inherent to this dissertation is the discussion of how to systematically analyze editorials and news articles of Japanese newspapers since there has been almost no methodological discussion on Japanese newspaper content analyses in English-speaking scholarship.\(^5\) Even in Japan, the systematic content analysis of newspapers is still in its early stages. Only a few have examined news framing of any of the five major newspapers (Mo 2007). The rest of this chapter summarizes recent ideological disputes among the major newspapers and previous studies of the Japanese press in order to discuss why this dissertation project is worthwhile.

**Recent Political Disputes of the Major Newspapers**

Since the 1990s, the major newspapers have harshly and explicitly criticized each other for their different views on various events and issues in their editorials and other publications. Previously, they had seldom mentioned their political rivals in the same

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\(^5\) In this dissertation, "Japanese newspapers" basically mean general-interest newspapers that are commercially available for the general public. Those newspapers are generally members of Nihon Shimbun Kyokai. Newspapers that serve specific interests such as sport newspapers that primarily cover sports and entertainments, newspapers run by political parties, labor unions, and religious organizations, newspapers for particular industries are not among them.
news business even in disapproving editorials (Sase 2003). In this respect, the emergence of verbal battles between the newspapers is a new phenomenon in the press in postwar Japan. However, their political rivalry is not brand-new: The emergence of these verbal battles is a consequence of their long-standing rivalry. It also reflects the ideological axis of Japanese politics: Right-leaning conservatives attack left-leaning liberal newspapers, while liberals criticize right-leaning conservative newspapers.

The ideological battle in Japan between the conservative and liberal sides, including the major newspapers, has recently soured. In particular, conservatives enthusiastically attack Asahi. Monthly magazines such as Bungei Shunju (文藝春秋), Shokun (諸君), and Setron (正論) from conservative publishers are venues for conservative writers to express their irritation with Asahi. They also write books to attack Asahi (Izawa and Kobayashi 1999; Komori, Izawa, and Inagaki 2002). They blame Asahi for being pro-socialist and pro-communist and taking the side of China and North Korea, and they believe that Asahi has damaged the traditional culture and values of the Japanese. They even call Asahi an anti-Japanese (han'nichi, 反日) medium (Nishimura 2006). Mainichi is their secondary target. Liberals regard these conservative authors in a negative light as nationalists.

Liberals, on the other hand, have been concerned about these conservatives as a symbol of rising nationalism in Japan, and they tend to regard it as a resurgence of the jingoistic nationalism prevalent in prewar Japan. Liberal critics of the media particularly

6 These observations are also based on my personal experience as a staff editor and reporter for Mainichi Shimbun.
7 Fusasha, a fellow subsidiary of Sankei under the Fuji-Sankei Communications Group, publishes Seiron. Bungei Shunjuisha, a commercial publisher, publishes Bungeishunju and Shokun.
pay attention to *Yomiuri* and *Sankei*. One of their primary concerns is the Editor-in-Chief of *Yomiuri* and the chair of the *Yomiuri* Group, Watanabe Tsuneo. A former political reporter, Watanabe is well known for his striking political comments and close relationships with conservative politicians, such as former Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro. Watanabe himself talks about his political beliefs and political involvement in books and magazine articles and frankly admits his friendships with conservative politicians (Watanabe et al. 2000; Watanabe 2005, 2007). Liberal writers publish their criticisms of Watanabe and *Yomiuri* in liberal magazines such as *Sekai* (世界). Maezawa (2000a; 2000b) and Uozumi (2000), leading watchers of Watanabe, have published books and articles on Watanabe and *Yomiuri*. Liberal critics, including Maezawa and Uozumi, believe that Watanabe was the architect of *Yomiuri*'s conservative swing in the 1980s when he became chair of *Yomiuri*'s Editorial Committee.

In the meantime, for the last decade or so, the major newspapers themselves have elucidated their different political stances more clearly than ever before. The year 1994 was epoch-making. For the May 1994 issue of *Bungei Shunjū*, the top leaders of the so-called three major papers (*sandaishi*, 三大報), *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri*, including Watanabe Tsuneo, met together and agreed that their newspaper would more actively compete with each other in their editorials in order to spur the development of robust...

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8 In this dissertation, Japanese names are given family names first followed by first names second, unless otherwise noted.
9 Reportedly, not only Watanabe but also many other political reporters of major newspapers and NHK (*Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai*) used to play substantial roles in Japan's national politics. See Ito’s *Jiminto Sengokushi* (1985). Like Watanabe, many of them later became senior editors and executives of their companies.
public opinions (Kasuya et al. 1994). Later, a more politically controversial step was made by Yomiuri. In its morning edition on November 3, 1994, Yomiuri proposed a draft constitution to replace Japan’s postwar constitution, primarily aiming to modify the so-called war-renouncing Article 9. Asahi published its extended editorial in the morning edition on May 3, 1995, defending the postwar constitution and Article 9. Also, these two newspapers published books to reinforce their own view on the constitution (Asahi Shimbun Chōsa Kenkyūshitsu 1994; Yomiuri Shimbunsha 1994; Asahi Shimbun Ronsetsu Iinshitsu 1995).

However, in the early stage of their verbal battle, the major newspapers did not clearly present how they were different from each other. But, conservative, right-leaning Sankei initiated a visible editorial competition in the early 1990s by comparing its own editorials with other major newspapers’ in a series of columns. These columns were reprinted in a book in 2002. In the book’s preface, Sankei’s Editorial Committee Chair at the time of publication, Yoshida Nobuyuki, notes that the intention is to clarify the editorial differences among the newspapers, and stresses that Sankei and Asahi are very different from each other in their editorial views (Sankei Shimbun Ronsetsu Iinshitsu 2002). In fact, this book often contrasts the conservative, right-leaning newspapers Sankei and Yomiuri, with the liberal, left-leaning newspapers Asahi and Mainichi. Yoshida also points out that the clear editorial divisions among the major newspapers over Japan’s stance toward the Gulf War inspired the column series. The Gulf War is also given as the event that made Yomiuri formulate its proposed constitutional revisions:

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10 The three national newspapers together maintain a different status from the remaining two newspapers, Nihon Keizai and Sankei. This is partially because they are both larger (in terms of circulation) and much older newspapers.
Watanabe Tsuneo asserts that the Gulf War made clear that Japan’s constitution prevented Japan from cooperating with other states (Yomiuri Shimbunsha Chōsa Kenkyū Honbu 2002).

Similarly, Yomiuri reprinted editorials on certain events and issues from Asahi and its own opinion page, along with critical comments by famous freelance writers and journalists, in a series of three books published from 2001 to 2004. Not surprisingly, in this series, pugnaciously entitled Yomiuri VS Asahi, most of the commentators took Yomiuri’s side in the editorial battles. The express intention of these publications was to intensify the rivalry between the two dailies. In the preface of the first book of the Yomiuri series, Asakura Toshio, Yomiuri’s Editorial Committee Chair at the time of publication, states that they published the book to clarify the editorial disagreements between the two newspapers and stresses that it was not true that all newspapers are nearly the same (Yomiuri Shimbun Ronsetsuinkai 2001). Asakura argues that Asahi believes that socialist states are pacifist while Yomiuri considers those states to be dictatorial. He points out that these differing views date back to the 1950s and are one of the seeds of the two newspapers’ rivalry. According to Asakura, the competition became more publicly visible in the 1980s with the major newspapers’ different editorial views on the boycotts of the Olympic games in Moscow in 1980, in contrast to Yoshida’s implication of the Gulf War, above. Since the 1980s, Asakura notes, Yomiuri and Asahi

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11 The three books in the Yomiuri series, all written by the Yomiuri Editorial Committee, are Yomiuri vs Asahi: Shasetsu Taiketsu 50-nen (Yomiuri vs Asahi: 50-year-old editorial battle); Yomiuri vs Asahi: Shasetsu Taiketsu Kitachosen Mondai (Yomiuri vs Asahi: Editorial battle over North Korean issues); and Yomiuri vs Asahi: 21-seiki Shasetsu Taiketsu (Yomiuri vs Asahi: Editorial battle in the 21st century). All were published in Tokyo by Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2001, 2002, and 2004, respectively.
have presented competing editorial views on major political and economic events and
issues that Japan and the Japanese faced.

The liberal side joined this series of editorial battles when Asahi, in its editorial on
April 1, 2004, quoted Yomiuri's editorial argument on Japan's deployment of the Self-
Defense Forces in Iraq, and asked its readers to compare its editorials with other papers',
stressing that the newspapers upheld different editorial opinions.12 Two days later, on
April 3, Sankei's editorial committee fought back, criticizing Asahi's April 2 editorial
opinion on the national anthem and education; and, accordingly, Asahi attempted to
refute Sankei's accusation in its April 4th editorial.13 Asahi also published letters from
its readers regarding this editorial battle in its morning edition on April 13, and
emphasized how different its editorial opinions on this issue were from Yomiuri's and
Sankei's.14

Along with the general public perception of the ideological divisions among the
major newspapers, the major newspapers by themselves stressed how different their
editorial opinions are from each other and presented their competing political stances in
their articles, editorials, and other publications. The above are highlights of such recent
verbal political battles between the major newspapers in Japan. Besides, it should be
noted that two of those newspapers enter such political battles not only as organs of
public opinion but also as profit-seeking organizations. Asahi and Yomiuri respectively
stressed their differing editorial views to their potential readers in their sales campaigns

12 “Kurabete yomeba omoshiroi” (It should be interesting if you compare them), Asahi
Shimbun, 1 April 2004, morning, p. 3.
13 “Sankei shasetsu ni okotesuru” (We respond to Sankei's editorial), Asahi Shimbun, 4
April 2004, morning, p. 3.
14 “Ronso ga dokusha ni hirogatta” (The discussion expanding to the readers), Asahi
Shimbun, 13 April 2004, morning, p. 3.
(Fukatsu 2003; Odagiri 2003). This recent series of polarized editorial battles, however, has not gained much attention from scholars who study the media and politics both inside and outside Japan.

**Academic Views on the Major Newspapers**

During the 1960s and 1970s, foreign researchers generally characterized the major newspapers as leftist or anti-government (Whittemore 1961; Kim 1981; Lee 1985). A Japanese sociologist, Tsujimura (1981), who analyzed their editorials and public opinion surveys, underscored this anti-LDP stance of the major newspapers and stressed that their anti-LDP stances did not necessarily reflect public opinion, although he points out the degree to which each newspaper's anti-LDP stance varies. Nonetheless, a media historian, Yamamoto (1973) noted that the major newspapers in Japan did not have clear political stances. Watchers of the Japanese press outside Japan tend to focus on the homogeneity of the Japanese press (Thayer 1975; Wolferen 1990; Hall 1998; Freeman 2000).15 They particularly pay attention to press clubs or reporters' clubs (*kisha kurabu*, 記者クラブ) and umbrella organizations of news media outlets such as Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai (日本新聞協会; hereafter, NSK) that strongly support and virtually maintain the press club system in Japan, and criticize the cartel-oriented nature of the Japanese newspaper industry and its press club system. Empirical studies also focus on press clubs where reporters and officials interact with each other: Freeman (2000) examined major press clubs in Tokyo, and Feldman (1993) explored the nexus of political reporters and members of the Japanese parliament, or Diet.

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15 Nihon Shinbun Kyōkai has an official English name, The Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association. But the organization often uses NSK in reference to itself in English-language texts.
Press clubs are, in fact, attached to major national government organizations, local
governments in prefectures and major cities, and major non-governmental organizations
(e.g. Nippon Keidanren), and are important institutions that affect the nature of the press
in Japan. They are supposed to serve “the general public’s ‘right to know,’” as well as
“freedom of speech and freedom of press,” according to NSK (Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai
Editorial Affairs Committee 2002). That is, they are supposed to facilitate access to
information at those official and semi-official organizations by news reporters for their
further newsgathering and reporting and their service to the general public. NSK
addresses the fact that the origin of the press clubs was the effort by individual reporters
to force government organizations to disclose information that those organizations did
not want the public to know. Nonetheless, membership in present press clubs is often
severely restricted to reporters from major news media firms; as a result, the press club
system is believed to restrict the flow of information within a limited number of news
media firms and their reporters, thereby operating against the public’s right to know
(Freeman 2000). In fact, members of press clubs mostly belong to the major news media
firms, such as commercial newspapers and TV stations that belong to umbrella
organizations such as NSK, the National Association of Commercial Broadcasters in
Japan (Nihon Minkan Hōsō Renmei, 日本民間放送連盟; NAB), and Japan’s public
broadcasting system, NHK (Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, 日本放送協会). Most press clubs
exclude reporters of non-NSK member newspapers, such as papers representing political
parties and religious organizations (e.g. the Japan Communist Party organ Akahata 赤旗
and Soka Gakkai’s Seikyō Shimbun 聖教新聞), writers of monthly and weekly magazines,
freelance writers, and correspondents for foreign media firms. This fact makes the press clubs look like information cartels.

Meanwhile, watchers of the Japanese press argue that press clubs generate extra-conformity among press club member reporters, encourage excessively cooperative relationships between the officials of public or semipublic organizations and press club member reporters, and even promote self-censorship among member reporters seeking to maintain conformity and the continued cooperation of their informants (Wolferen 1990; Freeman 2000). In addition, bureaucrats attempt to use press clubs as a vehicle for public relations (Thayer 1975). Critics of the press club system, thus argue that the relationship between the press and the government is seemingly adversarial but actually cooperative. The press club system is one of the important factors that make news coverage and editorials similar between major newspapers, rendering them equivocal to the public and benign to those in power (Wolferen 1990; Hall 1998; Freeman 2000). Yet Wolferen (1990, 97), one of the critical watchers of the Japanese press, points out that *Yomiuri* has begun to depart from “the conventional anti-US, anti-defence [sic] stance” of the major newspapers.

These watchers also discuss other factors to find out why the major newspapers are so homogenous. Probably the major newspapers' business practices also contribute to their homogeneity. Their huge circulations have relied on home-delivery, so editors

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16 Reporters in a press club do not necessarily stop competing with each other for exclusive news stories. But they do so for the same issues and from the same news sources while maintaining good relationships among themselves and their relationships with officials who want to control the flow of information for their own interests. The complexity of personal politics among reporters and officials seems to generate the conformity and self-censorship of reporters. For more discussion on the press club system, see Freeman (2000) who has observed press club politics as a social scientist.
and managers have preferred to be thorough in news coverage (Thayer 1975). Subscribers would switch to another newspaper if they find their newspaper does not cover important issues that other papers print. To maintain the huge circulations in the saturated home-delivery newspaper market, the major newspapers also do not want to provoke subscribers and make them terminate their paper subscriptions (Westney 1996). Excessively provocative editorial views and reports are undesirable. Finally, recruitment and lifetime employment of reporters from the same prestigious universities may be another factor generating the homogeneity of news content (Westney 1996).

In addition, students of the Japanese press argue that the major newspapers, such as Asahi, Mainichi, and Yomiuri, have developed unique fact-oriented news coverage as a result of pursuing larger circulations all over Japan (Ishizawa 1994; Krauss 1996). This is another factor that makes the major newspapers look alike. In the early 1950s, the major newspapers terminated their membership in Japan’s largest wire news service, Kyodo News, which most local newspapers relied on for their local news coverage. They did this in order to weaken Kyodo News Service and the local newspapers, to reduce fees paid to the news service (the major newspapers had paid much greater membership fees because of their larger circulations). Consequently, the major newspapers began to expect their reporters to cover news issues and events as wire service reporters do. That is, their reporters cover as many issues and events as wire service reporters; thereby, they tend to focus on basic facts and dismiss further details or deeper analyses.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\) As a former staff editor and reporter of Mainichi Shinbun, I think this makes sense, to some degree. The major newspapers assign their freshman reporters, who have usually just graduated from universities and colleges, to their local bureaus in prefecture capitals, where they learn how to compete with local newspapers that employ more reporters and publicize more articles on local issues. To make their local pages look at least as good as
efficiently and smoothly accomplish their missions, those reporters had to avoid conflicts with major news sources and rely more on press clubs. As a result, news articles in the major newspapers look similar to each other and focus on basic facts rather than details and analyses through which reporters' personal views might tend to appear.

Furthermore, Japanese newspapers' understanding of "objectivity" probably leads to the homogeneity in their news contents (Ishizawa 1994; Krauss 1996). Unlike American journalism that attempts to realize objectivity by balancing different interests or perspectives, Japanese newspapers tend to present factual descriptions of news based on authoritative news sources while avoiding personal perspectives or judgments. This is how they make their contents objective. In other words, Japanese newspapers tend to publicize announcements of newsworthy individuals without counter-perspectives. As a result, their articles on the same issues look alike and uncritical of those who in power.

Nevertheless, students of the Japanese press largely dismiss making a systematic analysis of the contents of the major newspapers' editorials and news articles. They discuss the factors above, having assumed that the major newspapers are not substantially different from each other in their editorials and news articles. Only in recent years have a handful number of scholars begun to pay attention to the contents of the major newspapers and to challenge the assumption of homogeneity. Nanri (2005) and Seaton (2006) challenge this assumption by examining the contents of media reports. Nanri (2005) studies editorials of national, regional, and local newspapers on the 9/11 terrorist
attacks and argues that the five major Japanese papers consist in their political views, of "a majority Left and a minority [of] Right groups, with the Mainichi Shim bun standing in the middle" (2005, 184-185). Seaton (2006) examines editorials and news articles of Asahi, Mainichi, and Yomiuri on the so-called comfort women issue in the early 1990s, and argues that the three major newspapers shows "distinct ideological positions in war-related reporting" (2006, 99). According to Seaton, Asahi and Mainichi are against the government because it has sabotaged apologies and compensation for former comfort women, while Yomiuri is subservient to the government. Studies based on content analysis of the Japanese press have only recently been launched and need further development.

**Why the Major Newspapers Deserve Close Analyses**

Many media pundits point out that newspapers in general have declined as media outlets. Radio and TV have caught up with newspapers in terms of the speed of news reportage. Today, ever fewer people read newspapers, and people increasingly rely on television news. In addition, new media technologies continue to emerge. The rise of the Internet has made many media pundits, if not all, believe that the newspaper industry will be short-lived or, at least, will have to drastically change the nature of its business if it hopes to survive the 21st century (Aoki and Yukawa 2003). In the meantime, many political scientists of American politics have dismissed the idea that "the media exist as a distinct force in political and social life" in the 1990s, and, indeed, it is not easy to determine how much impact the media have on the public (Pharr 1996, 19). But any industrialized society is media-saturated, and our lives do not function without the media. In case of Japan, as noted above, many well-known writers and critics, through popular
publications, seriously react to editorial opinions and news coverage of the major newspapers and pay attention to the people behind those editorials and articles. In addition, many ordinary citizens criticize the major newspapers' articles and editorials through their personal websites in the Internet. Do they respond to nothing? These responses to the editorials and news coverage of the major newspapers may not be statistically measured, but they are indeed part of the public opinion in Japan; many people read the newspapers, and they believe that there is an ideological division among the major newspapers. Readers' serious reactions to the major newspapers argue for the value of giving those newspapers' editorials and news coverage a serious examination.

Some studies point to a more direct impact of the press on public opinion. One of the studies points out correlations between individuals' opinions and their subscribed newspapers' contents (Kobayashi 1985; Ishikawa 2004). Individuals are perhaps receptive to different viewpoints of the major newspapers that they regularly read, or they tend to choose particular newspapers according to their own views. Another study of the Japanese media surveyed respondents from various major political and business sectors in Japan, including the media, and found that all of them, except for those from the media sector, believed that the media, including the major newspapers, hold the most power among them (Kabashima 1986). At the very least, with such perceived impact on the part of the major newspapers on Japanese society, the topic deserves further study.

18 Use the keyword search of the Japanese Google (www.google.co.jp) with word, "Asahi" (朝日) and "han'nichi" (反日); and then, a variety of website criticizing Asahi Shimbun will come up. Perhaps the site named "Anti-Asahi Links" (Han-Asahi-teki rinkushu 反朝日のリンク集) is one of the sites to find anti-Asahi websites: http://f3.aaa.livedoor.jp/~asapy/link.htm

A famous Internet bulletin board service, 2 Channel (2 chan 'neru 2 ちゃんねる) has a bulletin board for media criticisms for major newspapers and others: http://society6.2ch.net/mass/
The major newspapers are also key players in Japan's broadcast media industry, directly and/or indirectly being associated with TV and radio stations (Kawachi 2007). When major commercial TV stations in Tokyo and Osaka, the so-called key stations which today work like major TV networks in the United States, emerged in the 1950s, the major newspapers sponsored them. Close relationships between some of the major newspapers and TV key stations are still active. The major newspapers also supported the establishment of many local TV and radio stations at the prefectural level. In addition, the major newspapers publish a large number of books and magazines or have close relationships with major publishers; thereby, they are a substantial presence in the publishing industry, with a considerable impact on other media industries. These connections with the broadcast and publishing industries are more reasons why the newspapers deserve serious study.

Despite all these very good reasons for deserving attention, the major newspapers in Japan are still understudied. Hence, we can still see a conundrum: Why do contradictory arguments, discussed above, still exist over the political stances of the major newspapers in Japan? This question cannot be solved without seriously studying their contents, both editorials and news articles. Without knowing what kinds of messages newspapers send out, any other studies of newspapers would be established on shaky ground. Common sense says it is unfair to judge people’s political stances without listening to their opinions and understanding their thoughts on politics. Similarly, it is

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19 Asahi Shimbunsha, Mainichi Shimbunsha, Yomiuri Shimbunsha, and Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha have internal sections publishing books and magazines. In addition, the Yomiuri Shimbun Holdings acquired a respected publisher, Chūō Koronsha, which is now known as Chūō Kōron Shinsha, in 1999. Fujisankei Communications Group owns Sankei Shimbunsha and Fusōsha, a publisher of New History Textbook in 2001.
unfair to decide what kind of impact newspapers may have on the public without a serious reading of their editorials and articles. Most people in Japan have no opportunity to observe what goes on inside the press clubs or inside newspaper companies. The main channel for them to know about newspapers is to read newspapers. Thus it is essential to know what the newspapers’ messages are in order to decide whether they have an impact on the general public. It is also essential to know about their messages in order to determine whether they serve the interests of the elite. It is inappropriate to discuss the impact of the elite on newspapers without knowing similarities or dissimilarities between the elite discourses and their messages. Therefore, a better understanding of editorials and news articles in the major newspapers is the bottom line for studies of the relationships between the major newspapers and politics.

**Goals and Structure of the Dissertation**

As may be assumed, this dissertation does not intend to measure either the impact of the major newspapers on the public or the elite, or that of the public or the elite on the major newspapers. A main goal of this dissertation is to discover whether there is any real political or ideological division among the major newspapers. Does such a division exist? If so, what is the nature of that division? If the division is real, does it appear only in their editorials or also in their news articles? In seeking answers to these questions, this dissertation also hopes to go beyond an inquiry over the assumption of the homogenous nature of the Japanese press. Previous studies actually have discussed how the press or the media in Japan deviates from conventional roles such as playing watchdog for democracy, finding and attacking wrongdoers in power, and as transmitters
of information. For example, these studies variously argue that the Japanese press or media are one of the elite groups that govern Japan; servants of the governing system; a proxy for the public that the elite pays attention to; the guard dog that hounds wrongdoers once authorities have identified them; a trickster that plays a variety of roles simultaneously and inconsistently; and the guides of democracy in the postwar period (Akhavan-Majid 1990; Wolferen 1990; Campbell 1996; Farley 1996; Pharr 1996; Krauss 2000). However, they do not assume any ideological division among the press. If such a division exists, it would provide yet another role of the press in Japan to be discussed. This dissertation aims to discuss the division of political stance between Japanese press organs, and to present a new perspective on the press and politics in Japan.

Another important dissertation goal is to present an analytical framework for the content analysis of the major newspapers. As noted above, systematic content analysis of Japanese newspapers is still in its early stages. That is, this dissertation will attempt to formulate a systematic way of analyzing Japanese newspapers' editorials and articles. The next chapter discusses why Asahi and Yomiuri were chosen and explores methodological and theoretical foundations for this dissertation. Borrowing tools and concepts from the enriched content analysis-based studies of news media outlets in the United States, Chapter Two attempts to build a foundation for further studies of the Japanese press.

The most substantial part of this dissertation are the next three chapters. Chapter Three examines a certain kind of editorial published by both of the two newspapers, the

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20 This dissertation uses "the press" as newspapers as a whole unless otherwise noted, assuming that the major newspapers virtually represent the press in Japan. On the other hand, the media cover other media outlets, such as TV, radio, magazines, and Internet websites, in addition to newspapers.
so-called New Year’s Day editorials (gantan shasetsu 元旦社説) of the last half-century in order to trace the origins of the two newspapers’ modern political disputes. The analysis of those editorials is meant to illustrate the existence of a long-term political dispute between the newspapers over how to define the Japanese state, nation and national identity along in the face of shifts in the political landscape of the international community. The fourth and fifth chapters analyze the papers’ editorial views and news coverage of two outstanding news stories (the history textbook controversy in 2001, and the murders of two Japanese diplomats in Iraq in 2003) in order to present how differently the two major newspapers presented the same news stories and issues that occurred in relatively recent years. In so doing, these chapters aim to show how the editors’ different political stances affect short-term editorial opinions and news coverage on certain issues, and how the two major newspapers differently frame news stories based on their political stances. The findings of these chapters also confirm that the rivalry between the two newspapers, mentioned above, really does exist. Chapter Six discusses the implications of the findings of the three previous chapters, as well as the role that the Japanese press plays in its nation’s democracy. Chapter Six also defines possible further studies on politics and the press in Japan.
CHAPTER 2. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter Introduction

The primary goals of this dissertation are to clarify the ideological or political divisions between the two major newspapers as evidenced in their editorials and news articles; to examine how newspapers frame news based on their ideological or political views; and to develop a better method of conducting content analysis on major newspapers in Japan. As noted in Chapter One, only a handful of scholars, including scholars in Japan, have systematically analyzed the contents of any major Japanese newspapers to clarify ideological divisions of the Japanese press. That is, the development of methods and theories for conducting content analysis of Japanese newspapers is still in its infancy. This chapter explores the best possible method and reasoning for this dissertation project, and also aims to establish basic points important for effective content analysis of the major Japanese newspapers.

To establish an improved and systematic analysis method for Japanese newspaper content, this chapter first looks at American scholarship in political communication studies, where a number of techniques for systematic content analysis of newspapers have already been presented. Next, this chapter describes how these techniques of news framing analysis are adapted for use in this dissertation project. Because it is necessary to take into consideration the differences between the American news media and the Japanese press, this chapter pays attention to tendencies of Asahi and Yomiuri’s editorials, and news coverage and editing. The assessment of such tendencies relies on previous studies of the major Japanese newspapers as well as on the personal experience of this
writer when working for Mainichi as a layout editor and reporter. Mainichi Shimbun’s editorial and news coverage principles may not be exactly the same as those of Asahi or Yomiuri, but similarities can be identified, and lend perspective when analyzing Asahi and Yomiuri’s editorials, and news coverage and editing. Thus, basing the discussion on both previous studies and this writer’s personal experience, this chapter explores a working analytical framework based on the principles and tendencies of those major Japanese newspapers’ editorials, and news coverage and editing, and news framing analysis methods developed American scholars in order to examine their editorials and new coverage. This chapter first, will examine how scholars of the American news media have studied media bias of their news coverage; second, discuss the tendencies of the major newspapers in Japan regarding news coverage and editorials; and third, present a working analytical framework for this dissertation project.

**Analytical Frameworks in American Scholarship**

The main questions to be answered in this chapter are, what methods can be used to test the assumptions or hypotheses of this dissertation research; and, what theory can back up the arguments put forward in this dissertation research. Only a handful of scholars have conducted systematic content analyses or established theoretical frameworks for studying the Japanese press or news media, and there is almost no agreement or even discussion on which of their methods is best. To overcome this underdevelopment of methods and theories for use on Japanese subjects, this dissertation seeks to learn from American political communication scholarship on the government and press nexus in the United States. The theoretical and methodological development in this field may give students of the Japanese press meaningful clues to devise an analytical
framework for the study of the Japanese press, but it may not be fully applicable in the Japanese case because of different news editing and/or news-gathering principles. This section, therefore, explores theories and methods that American scholars have developed for the study of the American news media and politics, and attempts to apply these lessons to the study of the Japanese press and politics. First, the section examines the three schools of news media coverage and contributions by sociologists who study collective action and social movements through newspapers. Second, it discusses appropriate methods for doing media content analyses, focusing on the news framing analysis introduced by Robert Entman (1991; 1993; 2004).

American scholars in political communication state that major news media outlets, such as major newspapers, weekly newsmagazines, and TV network news shows do not necessarily present unbiased or objective news stories or transmit a wide range of people’s voices when they cover U.S. foreign policy issues. However, they do not assume that the major media outlets or their reporters slant news stories in accord with simple liberal or conservative bias (Bennett 2003). According to Entman (2004), at least two schools are prominent among the scholars of media bias in the American news media: hegemony theorists and indexing theorists. In addition, Entman has proposed a third way, the cascading activation model based on his news framing analysis technique, to examine biased news coverage of the American major news media. These three schools, in a sense, show how the Japanese news framing that this dissertation attempts to clarify is apparently different from American styles of news framing.

First, the school of hegemony theory asserts that a dominant ideological view shapes how major news media outlets cover newsworthy events or issues even in a
News stories are presented within "narrow ideological boundaries," so they are "pro-government propaganda" (Entman 2004, 4). It is "inequality of wealth and power" that can "filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public" (Herman and Chomsky 2002, 2). Accordingly, just as democracy or the impact of ordinary people on decision-making is a myth in a society with unequal distribution of wealth and power, so is objective journalism since news reporters actually rely heavily on government and business elites as their primary news sources. In Cold War America, anti-communism was a predominant view in major newspapers, news magazines, and TV news shows. The theorists discuss how those media outlets have adopted such a view and consequently produced biased news stories based on it. Most viewers also accepted the media’s view and hardly questioned this viewpoint in their news stories.

Similarly, the school of indexing theory contends that major news media are generally not very objective and unbiased, reflecting the range of views held by the elites. Yet, the media play the role of the gatekeeper at the same time. If the elites split over the issue, the gate opens up to non-elites such as citizen activists and grass-root organizations; and, accordingly, the media mirrors broader viewpoints, including those of the non-elites (Bennett 1989, 2003). That is, politicians, officials, and established interest groups usually enjoy the upper hand. Citizen activists need to wait for conflict and a split among the elites before they can make their voices audible to the general public through the media. The role of the media is generally passive, and the media acts to index views

21 This "hegemony" differs from "hegemony" in studies of international relations or IR realism. It is derived from Gramscian hegemony.
provided by the elites and other prominent actors, and only occasionally by citizen activists and grass-root organizations.

Finally, Entman (2004) proposes the cascading activation model to analyze the government-media relations in the post-Cold War period. With this model, Entman tries to explain how certain kinds of news stories become more prevalent than others. In this model, news framing, which we will discuss later, and networks among elite actors (e.g. White House officials, members of Congress) play crucial roles. When a given interpretation for some newsworthy issue is held by an increasing number of actors within a network, this interpretation would likely spread and become prevalent in wider circles. In this case, reporters are likely to hear this type of storytelling from their news sources within the network and to present the issue in the same way as the sources do. The cascading model presupposes that the type of consensus among the elites common during the Cold War no longer works, and attempts to delineate the mechanism of the contestation among the elites to disseminate their preferred news stories through major media outlets.

In addition, working from a somewhat different research intention, sociologists who study collective action and social movements through newspapers discuss biases in newspapers' coverage (McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996; Smith et al. 2001; Earl et al. 2004). Although their research focuses on what the media cover, these groups of researchers point out that two major biases of news coverage are the selection and description of news events: the former because newspapers selectively cover movements, and the latter because newspapers erroneously describe movements in their articles regardless of the intentions of movement organizers.
Political communication scholars of the three schools study the coverage by major news media of U.S. foreign policy issues to demonstrate the efficiency of their models. They examine the contents of print and broadcast news stories, including texts, transcripts, headlines, photos and motion pictures. However, they do not attempt to identify any ideological division among news media outlets that may have affected the news coverage. Even when they study newspapers, they do not focus on editorial views to examine ideological views that may be embedded in newspapers' editorials and news stories. Even in the case of hegemony theory, scholars rather presume the impact of a predominant ideological view, such as anti-communism, on news coverage than they detect such an impact by studying the ideological views that might appear in items such as editorials. Other schools pay little attention to the role of ideology in the American news media.

But a fundamental thesis of this dissertation is that there is ideological division among the major Japanese newspapers to the extent that it affects their news coverage. Their division or different ideological views can be deduced from their editorials. In American political communication studies, very few scholars have examined the connection between editorial views and news stories. These include Kahn and Kennedy (2002) who studied the impact of editorial views on the coverage of elections; and Page (1996), who discusses the impact of editorials on news coverage of certain issues as well as the editorial stances of major newspapers in the United States. But neither Kahn and Kennedy, nor Page demonstrates how editorials in general should be studied to detect ideological backgrounds; rather, they accept the existing spectrum of ideology in American politics or pay little attention to the role of ideology in news coverage.
Our next concern is about how to study news framing by the major newspapers in Japan. “News framing” here is discussed as an analytical concept. However, it should be noted that “framing” is a casual umbrella term used not only by scholars of communication, journalism, political science, and psychology but also by the general public. Similarly, other terms such as schema, script, and priming (more detail given below), are used to refer to similar behaviors by communicators (including editors and reporters), according to Entman (2004). Therefore, it is necessary to determine what news framing means in the context of this dissertation.

Generally speaking, just as a photographer frames his object by determining the angle of the object in his camera’s finder and lighting up certain sides of the object, an editor or reporter frames his issues, events, or actors by describing them in a certain way or highlighting certain aspects (Entman 2004). In so doing, journalists interpret events, issues, or actors. Indeed, they cannot present all the aspects of anything they cover, and as professional communicators they cannot just randomly list the various aspects of their subject. If they did so, their audience would not understand what they meant to report. So reporters must select certain aspects of the event and present them using the techniques of news reporting (including news gathering, writing, editing, etc.). Strictly speaking, news editors and reporters need to frame their subjects in order to present them to the audience in consistent ways. However, as a result of framing, they may manipulate news stories or wrongly present or interpret the stories in their news reports. Therefore, understanding how editors and reporters tend to frame the news allows an important departure, from simply reading news stories, to analyzing the news coverage delivering them.
In order to transform the term "framing" from a casual umbrella term to an analytical concept, Entman (2004) differentiates *framing* from others terms such as *schema, script, and priming*, and clarifies the functions of framing. According to Entman (2004, 23), *schema* is made of "tacit understandings." Those who belong to a society use their tacit understandings to grasp something new as well as to communicate with each other. In other words, "(a) schema is a cognitive structure that a person uses when processing news information and retrieving old information" (Patterson 1994, 56). We apply the understanding that we have already obtained and stored to a new phenomenon that we have just seen in order to figure out what that new phenomenon means. We also share a certain kind of "cognitive structure" and smoothly understand what we mean to say to each other. Needless to say, when we communicate based on that cognitive structure, we do not need to explain what that "cognitive structure" is.

On the other hand, *script* is a certain pattern of news storytelling. For example, reporters often "frame" an event as conflict or a human-interest story to appeal to the audience (Entman 2004). This type of story can be called a conflict script or a human-interest script. A horserace script, which is often used for the coverage of elections, is made by combining a conflict script and a human-interest script. Many media critics argue that instead of examining candidates' agendas or policies, editors and reporters tend to frame elections as races in which different individuals compete with each other over various points of conflict between them. This script, by providing human drama, is generally believed to be more appealing to the audience than a description of agendas or policies. Furthermore, Iyengar (1991, 13-16) categorizes news stories as "episodic" or "thematic" in order to examine how media coverage of policy issues affects people's
perceptions of politics: the former focuses on specific, discrete events to report on policy
issues, while the latter uses general data or abstract evidence to do so. This set of
episodic and thematic categories is another example of script.

Finally, priming is “activating an association between an item highlighted in the
framed text and an audience’s thinking about a related concept” (Entman 2004, 27). The
use of racial terms (e.g. “blacks”) in a news article about a welfare program would create
a different audience response compared to the use of class terms (e.g. “the poor”). If a
reporter calls the beneficiaries of a welfare program “blacks,” instead of “have-nots,”
non-black viewers with racial prejudices against the blacks would see the welfare
program as something inappropriate or unnecessary. On the other hand, if a news story
uses “have-nots,” they may see the same welfare program as something more appropriate
or necessary. By using a certain vocabulary, a news reporter can prime a certain aspect
of an issue in a way that corresponds to the viewer’s ideas or prejudices.

The three analytical concepts outlined above largely depend on how we tend to
transform observed reality into information and knowledge. We use existing patterns
with which we are already familiar in order to understand the complexity of reality. By
applying these patterns to newly occurred events or issues, we reach a better understating
of them quickly, even though our understanding may be wrong or inappropriate.
Communicators, including speakers, writers, and reporters, also use existing patterns to
understand new issues or events as well as to present them to their audience. Any
discussion of the characteristics of media reportage is greatly clarified with an

22 Iyengar actually uses “framing” or “frame” to discusses episodic and thematic
reportage. But, by taking into account Entman’s understandings of those concepts,
Iyengar’s framing is a script.
understanding of the concepts of schema, script, and priming. In addition to those concepts, Entman’s framing, while overlapping with them in some respects, provides us with the tools for an analytical process that we can use to study news framing by the Japanese press. Entman defines news framing as follows:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (1993, 52)23

That is, news framing consists of four functions: (1) “(d)efining problematic effects/conditions;” (2) “(i)dentifying cause/agent;” (3) “(e)ndorsing a remedy;” and (4) “(c)onveying moral judgment” (Entman 2004, 24). Furthermore, Entman (2004) clarifies his concept of news framing with two sub-concepts, magnitude and resonance. Magnitude refers to “magnifying those elements of the depicted reality that favor one side’s position, making them salient, while at the same time shrinking those elements that might be used to construct a counter frame” (Entman 2004, 31). Magnitude is basically about selection and salience. Repetition of the same issue, event, or actor in news coverage is the bottom line, followed by the aspect that is selected for repetition. What is not included in the selection and salience process is as important as what is selected and repeated. Probably the best way to detect what is included and not included is to compare different depictions of the same or similar events, issues, or actors. Magnification of certain aspects of a perceived reality in news coverage can be measured mainly through quantitative analysis.

23 Text in this case is not only written text: It includes written and verbal text and images such as photos and motion pictures.
Resonance is effected through a certain word (or phrase) or a certain image that carries a particular meaning of an issue, event, or actor (Entman 2004). The resonated word or image brings out how an editor and/or a reporter defines an issue, event, or actor as well as what kind causal analysis they depend on to understand it. Editors and reporters choose positive, negative, or impressive words to characterize certain aspects of anything they report, thereby suggesting or supporting a certain definition as well as a cause even before they explicitly lay out the definition and cause of a given event. Images in pictures, motion pictures, or even surrounding articles in newspaper or scenes in a TV news show can play the same role in news framing. Examination of resonated words and images is inherently qualitative. When analyzing news coverage in a newspaper, the researcher must be attentive to the text of each news article and images supplementing an article, and even the editorial design of each page is significant.

Magnitude and resonance are crucial sub-concepts in framing analysis for a Japanese newspaper. Recognizing magnitude and resonance as key to understanding the characteristics of Japanese newspapers’ news coverage, the next section explores how to adapt Entman’s news framing analysis techniques for systematic content analysis of Japanese newspapers.

**Principles and Tendencies of Japanese Newspapers for Systematic Content Analysis**

The four functions (defining a problem, identifying the cause, endorsing a remedy, passing a judgment) as well as the two sub-concepts (magnitude, resonating) of Entman’s framing analysis are good references to devise a method for the content analysis of Japanese newspapers. However, several crucial principles and tendencies of these
newspapers must be taken into account in adapting Entman’s analytical techniques. These characteristics concern both editorials and news coverage. Although most scholars of the press and politics in the United States do not pay attention to editorial views of major newspapers, a few scholars discuss the impact of editorial views on news coverage in newspapers (Page 1996, Kahn and Kennedy 2002). Similarly this dissertation assumes that in the case of Asahi and Yomiuri, as for all Japanese newspapers, their editorial views influence their news coverage. The primary question here is how to analyze editorials in a Japanese major newspaper and measure their impact on that newspaper’s news coverage. Basic principles and tendencies of editorials in a major newspaper could provide some clues for finding a better method of analysis. Of course, it is impossible to examine all the editorials that a major newspaper has published, so a more narrow focal point for editorial analysis must be established. In addition, the general tendencies of news coverage in the two major newspapers should be explored.

The influence of editorial views on news coverage has three layers. In the long run, this dissertation assumes, each major newspaper maintains certain political or ideological views, and those views appear in certain editorials. It is possible to identify these political or ideological views as a newspaper’s political stance by studying its editorials. The newspaper’s political stance inherently has an impact on the variety of editorials and news articles. In the short run, the editorial views on an issue or event directly shape news coverage on that issue or event, or the editorial views and news coverage reinforce each other, based on a certain political stance that a newspaper upholds; at the same time, a newspaper publicizes its political stance through its editorials and news coverage. However, only a few scholars have systematically examined
editorials of a major newspaper for data to understand newspapers’ political stances. Among these scholars, some study thematic editorial views of Japanese newspapers (e.g. Ariyama 1998; Nanri 2005). Others examine both editorial views and news coverage of the Japanese major newspapers (e.g. Seaton 2006). No scholars have systematically studied any major newspapers’ longtime political or ideological stances or particular tendencies of news coverage.

In the mean time, some scholars of the Japanese news media point out the interesting tendency of news articles in major newspapers in Japan to be very factual (Ishizawa 1994; Krauss 1999). In this type of article, the reporter focuses on the bare facts—the who, what, when and where of an event or issue, without presenting a certain view or balancing different perspectives. Often reporters rely on authoritative news sources, such as government officials and political party leaders; as a result, their news articles supposedly reflect a view of the government. The scholars of this fact-centered news coverage argue that because of this news coverage, Japanese newspapers look alike and seem subservient to those in power. However, this assumption of fact-centered news coverage has not been systematically tested. What if reporters of a newspaper selectively magnify certain aspects of an event? This dissertation attempts to use this tendency toward straight facts to examine the newspapers’ news framing, to show that a

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24 Ariyama (1996) has examined major newspapers’ editorial views on Japan’s postwar constitution and coverage of constitutional issues throughout the immediate postwar period to the 1990s. He discusses how major newspapers shifted their views on the constitution in the long run. Nanri (2005) has analyzed editorials on the September 11 terrorist attacks of Japanese newspapers—not only major newspapers but also local papers and questions the homogeneity of the Japanese press. Seaton (2006) has studied the coverage of the so-called wartime comfort women issue of three major newspapers, Asahi, Mainichi, and Yomiuri. He covers not only news articles but also editorials, op-ed articles, and letters to the editor, and challenges the homogeneity of the Japanese press that other scholars have argued.
newspaper’s political stance may still be visible in its factual articles, contrary to these scholars’ arguments. In fact, Japanese newspapers publish other types of articles such as news analyses, and in those articles writers express certain perspectives that the newspapers advocate, though admittedly, these types of articles probably appear less often appear than fact-centered articles. The rest of this section will discuss further the tendencies of Japanese major newspapers’ editorials and news articles, and seek to establish systematic content analysis methods for this dissertation project. We first examine more closely newspaper editorials; and second, discuss the fact-centered news coverage and its implication for a systematic content analysis.

Typically, a major newspaper publishes two editorials in its daily morning edition. Occasionally a paper will publish only one editorial in the space usually given to two when its editorial board members think an issue is particularly important. A long editorial may indicate the degree of magnitude the newspaper attributes to the issue. Among several hundreds of editorials in a year, at least two different types of editorials can easily be distinguished. Second, there are editorials that touch upon annual or regular events and issues. For example, May 3 is Japan’s Constitution Day, a national holiday celebrating the institution of Japan’s postwar constitution in 1947.

26 The discussion here is largely based on my readings of the major newspapers and my reasoning.
Most newspapers discuss the constitution, its history, and constitution-related issues in their editorials. By reading those May 3 editorials, it becomes clear which newspapers support the current constitution and which newspapers demand the reform of the constitution. To study the views held by Asahi and Yomiuri on the constitution, their constitution editorials on May 3 cannot be dismissed. Any plan to study newspapers’ views on Japan’s WWII experience or war memories, must include, at least, editorials published around August 15, Japan’s official anniversary commemorating the end of World War II. By reading those editorials, a researcher will be able to examine newspapers’ views on many of the WWII-related issues.

Having considered these different types of editorials, there are at least three ways to choose certain editorials for an analysis of a newspaper’s political or ideological stances. First, a researcher may randomly select editorials for analysis. Random sampling of a large number of editorials published over a period of time may be a way to figure out a newspaper’s political stance. This is a basic strategy to conduct a statistical analysis. In any given year, a newspaper publishes about seven hundred editorials. If we studied the political stances of Asahi and Yomiuri, and any possible shifts of these stances during Japan’s postwar period in this way, there would be over seven thousand editorials to choose from. Even if we narrowed our study to ten percent of these, there would still be seven hundred editorials. Reading such a large number of editorials would be incredibly time-consuming, and beyond the scope of this dissertation. Not only the sheer number of articles, but also the diversity of topics would be unwieldy, not to mention not always of interest to a political science paper. It would be not be practical to analyze so
many editorials in an attempt to find the political or ideological views of the two newspapers.

The second method for selecting editorials to look at is that the researcher chooses certain events and issues and then finds editorials dedicated to them in order to extract a set of coherent views. At first glance, this looks like a reasonable approach. One way to find editorials on a given topic is to search through a newspaper's electronic database. Asahi and Yomiuri have their own databases and CD-ROMs of their editorials and articles, both commercially available. By picking up certain key words, it is possible to collect specific editorials from these databases, though a researcher still needs to crop out numbers of editorials to make the search feasible. Another way to find certain editorials is to page through copies of the newspapers or monthly bound editions (shukusatsuban 縮刷版) and examine only the editorials for certain events and issues. Both Asahi and Yomiuri publish monthly bound editions as books and microfilms. These monthly bound editions contain all editions of their newspapers at least throughout the postwar period. But this obviously takes time since there are no practical indices for their editorials. Only the headlines of editorials appear in the bound editions' indices, and it is not always easy to tell the content of an editorial from its headline. More importantly, which event or issue should be studied? And how many different events or issues are enough? It is not easy to answer these questions. Probably the more events and issues covered, the more comprehensive the view of the political perspectives that a given

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27 For Asahi's database and CD-ROM-based archives, visit its website: http://www.asahi.com/information/db/index.html
For Yomiuri's database and CD-ROM-based archives, visit its website: http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/database/
28 Among the five national newspapers, only Sankei Shimbun does not publish monthly bound editions.
newspaper holds. Overall, this second approach of selection has several problems that a researcher would struggle to overcome.

Finally, the researcher might focus on a single annual event or issue the editorials focus on. To figure out the political or ideological stances of newspapers, this is probably the most convenient and effective way. The researcher would not need to worry too much about how many events and issues are necessary and how to find the proper editorials. Once an annual event or issue has been specified that would provide a good enough source to discuss newspapers' political stances, the work with the electronic databases or monthly bound editions becomes perfectly manageable. Such an approach would also provide a chronological or historical perspective to understand the arc of the newspapers' developing editorial views by allowing an examination of editorials regarding on the same annual event or issue over a long period. It is necessary for the purposes of this dissertation project to ascertain whether ideological viewpoints have been consistent in order to discuss the political or ideological stances of the two newspapers in question. That is, it is necessary to examine how certain editorial views of a newspaper have changed or not changed in order to make clear what political stance that newspaper espouses. By examining a consistent set of editorials over a certain time period, the researcher can be sure which editorial views of a newspaper make up its political stance.

Having considered the three possible types of editorial selection and analyses above as well as the recent editorial competition among the major newspapers, this dissertation project chooses to study New Year's Day editorials (gantan shasetsu 元旦社説) in order to examine the political stances of Asahi and Yomiuri. Japanese newspapers,
including the five major newspapers, tend to treat editorials on January 1 as something special. Typically newspapers talk about what happened in the previous year, what might be coming in the new year, and what readers might do to ensure a prosperous new year, such as setting New Year’s resolutions. How the newspapers discuss these issues depends on who their primary readers are. In case of the major newspapers, they publish New Year’s Day editorials as a special forum to reach their intended audience, the entire Japanese population, so their top editors express their views, as the spokesmen of their newspaper organizations, on current world and national politics and economy and discuss their visions for the Japanese government and the Japanese people for the new year (Suzuki 1997). That is, their New Year’s Day editorials examine Japanese politics and society as a whole, unlike other editorials during the year which usually discuss specific events and issues that have just happened at the time of publication (Tsujimura 1981). These editorials on New Year’s Day, accordingly, tend to propose what principles and ideals Japan and the Japanese should uphold, and what Japan or the Japanese should do to uphold them. Therefore, New Year’s Day editorials inherently provide a very inclusive picture of a major newspaper’s views on the Japanese nation and state, and which principles and ideals they feel are best suited for Japan. At the same time, New Year’s Day editorials are likely to incorporate changes in the political and/or economic landscape of Japan as well as the world in the discussion of Japan’s prospects in the coming year. Therefore, compared with editorials on Constitution Day or August 15, which are more likely to stress specific issues, New Year’s Day editorials would cover more numerous and broader issues. In other words, top editors, as representatives of their newspaper companies, discuss their preferred ground designs for Japan and the Japanese
people for the coming year. They provide easily accessible and useful data by which one can analyze the major newspapers’ political or ideological stances and understandings of nationhood and statehood.

This dissertation assumes that the major newspapers’ fact-centered articles may reflect their different perspectives and attitudes toward certain issues. Those observers who believe that fact-centered articles make the major newspapers in Japan look alike each other dismiss systematic analysis of those fact-centered articles. In addition, not all articles in the major newspapers are fact-centered; there are articles based on interviews and analyses, as well as relatively subjective articles with bylines. Regular readers of the major newspapers would recognize such articles. These articles also play important roles in a Japanese style of news framing. The remainder of this section discusses some important elements and tendencies of news coverage of major newspapers in Japan in order to establish an analytical framework for news framing.

The reporting style of the major Japanese newspapers is considered to be very factual or descriptive, according to Ishizawa (1994) and Krauss (1999). Major newspapers tend to publish numerous brief articles, focusing on the bare facts—basically who, what, when, where, and how—, while dismissing the whys and others—backgrounds, different opinions, analyses, and others. This is in contrast to major newspapers in the United States that often present the background of an event or issue, often scrutinize it from different perspectives, and attach an analysis in a lengthy article. Both Ishizawa and Kraus find the past development of the Japanese press gave rise to this

29 As a staff reporter, I wrote a large number of fact-centered articles. Based on my experience, I also find that such articles tend to be based on a single authoritative or official news source such as national or local government organizations. Accordingly, such fact-centered articles from different newspapers often look alike.
factual reporting style. Krauss (1999) argues that the Japanese understanding of objectivity is one of the important causes of this style. In contrast to the American press that attempts to reach objectivity by balancing opposing interests or perspectives, the Japanese press regards descriptive news articles as objective news stories. Krauss further contends that this comes from different experiences of the press in the two countries: The American press emerged through its experience as mouthpieces for competing political parties or ideologies, while the Japanese press went through heavy authoritative restrictions especially before 1945. As a result, the American press balances news stories with different perspectives, but Japanese newspapers likely draw a line between factual descriptions in news articles and opinionated perspectives in editorials. However, Krauss also asserts, since Japanese reporters maintain close relationships with authorities through institutions such as press clubs, Japanese newspapers are more likely to reflect authorities’ perspectives. Similarly, Hara (1997) argues that Japanese objective journalism tends to reflect the views of the elite. But Hara points out that such objective journalism is the major newspapers’ reaction to their subjective journalism that inflated people’s patriotism and nationalism during WWII. In addition, the major newspapers’ commercial expansionism in the postwar period made them hesitate to present opinionated views in order to make their papers acceptable to a larger number of people.

Ishizawa (1994) focuses on a point slightly different from Krauss and Hara’s. Ever since Asahi, Mainichi, and Yomiuri terminated their contracts with Kyodo News Service for domestic news coverage in the early 1950s, their reporters have had to report like wire news reporters. That is, the reporters have to collect and report the bare facts to effectively cover daily news stories. As a result, they have less time for formulating
analyses and gathering different opinions. This shift in the 1950s primarily came from the three newspapers’ business strategy. While covering almost all the regions in Japan as well as major cities in the world with their own news staff, the major newspapers also competed with local newspapers for sales. When the major newspapers noticed that they had no reason to keep subscribing to Kyodo News Service, which local newspapers heavily rely on for national and international news, they cancelled their subscriptions with Kyodo. In this way, they saved a substantial amount of money and caused a hike in the prices regional and local newspapers had to pay for Kyodo’s services.

Whatever the underlying causes of the fact-centered news articles might be, the matter has never been tested in a scholarly study using the techniques of content analysis. One goal of this dissertation project is to fill this gap, and make such a test. However, concluding that fact-centered articles have no political biases or only reflect authoritative views of those in power is not a foregone conclusion. The major newspapers do not always merely follow the lead of the elite. They cover people outside the elite circles as well. Whom do they most tend to cover and how? The test of the assumption that the major Japanese newspapers are merely the mouthpieces of government and power is made by exploring other possibilities. And as some American academics have argued, what if the elite is divided? Such division would surely appear even in coverage provided by fact-centered articles.

In addition to articles presumed to be providing fact-centered news coverage, other types of articles appear in Japanese newspapers. These also should be considered in establishing a better method of content analysis method of newspapers in Japan. These other types of articles may cover (a) the background of a news event or issue, (b) the
analysis of a news event or issue from certain perspectives, and/or (c) interviews with
individuals involved in an event or issue. Although most fact-centered news stories are
written anonymously, the above three types of articles are often printed with bylines.
This suggests that they are perceived as being subjective to some degree. In addition,
Japanese newspapers, not only major newspapers but also regional and local newspapers,
ocasionally publish series of feature articles for several consecutive days under the same
title in order to give a more in-depth report on the background or a particular aspect of a
newsworthy event or issue. Series of this type are usually called a “project” (kikaku 企
画), a “series” (tsuzukimono 続き物), or a “box” (kakomi カコミ), and are often written
from a particular perspective of an author reporter or reporters. Serial articles on
particular issues, events or themes may result from a reporter’s personal interests, but
more often the series are led or supervised by senior reporters and sometimes even by
senior editors who are more likely to adhere to their news firms’ traditions and
accomplishments. Hence, series articles may reflect newspapers’ political stances. In
fact, serial articles of this type often appear as part of campaign journalism, discussed
below (Yamamoto 1995). Many newspapers in Japan campaign often for the betterment
of society (e.g. anti-pollution and traffic safety campaigns). In addition, many
newspapers select a year-long project (nenkan kikaku 年間企画) every year, and assigned
group of reporters, representing their newspaper, write about an important issue from
various perspectives, publishing the articles in a feature series occasionally throughout a

30 As noted in Chapter One, Mainichi intentionally prints articles with bylines, but not all
articles. Accordingly articles with bylines in Mainichi may not reflect this generalization.
31 An article in a feature series often appears as a boxed article with the series title in
unique logo. This is why it is called a “box” (kakomi). This is a typical design technique
for Japanese newspapers.
year. There may be overlap between the articles of a feature series for a campaign and a
one-year project. By indicating what a newspaper as an organ of journalism as well as an
organ of public opinion believes is important for the nation, series article provide another
source by which to study that newspaper’s political stance.

As noted above, Japanese newspapers, including national, regional, and local
newspapers, often campaign against social injustices or for public goods by reporting and
discussing particular issues in series of articles (Shimbunhōdo Kenkyūkai 1995). This
fact provides evidence against political homogeneity among them. Reporters team up
and cover a long-term issue of concern from multiple perspectives, bringing up the issue
in front of the general public, and trying to make policy-makers take action to resolve the
issue. In a sense, this is intentional agenda-setting by a newspaper. Issues may include
environmental pollution, organized crime by the so-called yakuza, and financial scandals
involving bureaucrats and their organizations. This “campaign journalism” (kyanpēn
hōdō キャンペーン報道) is not considered objectionable for Japanese newspapers even
if they otherwise uphold “objective journalism.” Some newspapers may focus on issues
that others pay little attention to. Asahi frequently comes under attack from conservatives
who accuse the newspaper of campaigning against certain issues in the interest of its own
political ideals (Komori, Izawa, and Inagaki 2002). But it is not only Asahi that does
such a thing. Yomiuri openly proposed revisions to the constitution and published a
number of articles to question the legitimacy of the current constitution. In fact, Yomiuri
even has named this type of campaign reportage “proposal journalism” (teigen hōdō 提言
報道), and openly tries to play the role of agenda-setter in Japan’s public sphere.
(Yomiuri Shimbunsha Chōsa Kenkyū Honbu 2002).32 Yomiuri's top editor, Watanabe Tsuneo (2002), proudly argues that in its role as an organ of public opinion, Yomiuri maintains certain and consistent "company opinions" (sharon 社論) on important issues. Therefore, it should be understood that though fact-centered, objective news coverage by the major newspapers is one of their tendencies, non fact-centered articles may also provide important clues for examining the news coverage of each major newspaper.

**News Framing Analysis for Japanese Newspapers**

This dissertation assumes that there are substantial and consistent political or ideological divisions among the major newspapers in Japan, and that their different political or ideological views can be found in their editorials. It also assumes that their different political or ideological views affect many, though probably not all, of their editorials and news coverage on the events and issues that they cover. Once we positively identify an ideological division among the major newspapers, we should be able to determine which issues or events will be subject to interpretation according to political or ideological views.

To test these assumptions, we will study editorials and news articles of the major newspapers, focusing on two of the major newspapers, Asahi and Yomiuri. Ideally, all five newspapers should be examined, but such a huge project is beyond the scope of this dissertation. This dissertation thus chooses the two newspapers that should most reliably reflect two opposite sides of the ideological spectrum in Japan. Yomiuri and Asahi are the best choices for this dissertation's analysis since they are generally regarded as

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32 This book is actually titled *Teigen hōdō: Yomiuri no chōsen* (提言報道：読売の挑戦 Proposal Journalism: Yomiuri's Challenge).
political rivals, and are currently the largest commercial newspapers in Japan in terms of daily circulation.\footnote{Sankei may also be considered as Asahi's political rival, but its much smaller daily circulation and its status as only a regional paper make it unsuitable for comparison with Asahi. Nihon Keizai is unsuitable as it is a business and financial paper exclusively.} Yomiuri publishes over 10 million copies per day of the morning edition, and Asahi publishes 8 million; the other three newspapers, Mainichi, Sankei, and Nihon Keizai are far behind them in circulation figures (Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai 2006). The two newspapers also regard themselves as political rivals (Watanabe Tsuneo vs. Asahi Shimbun 1992; Yomiuri Shimbun Ronsetsuinkai 2001).\footnote{Yomiuri vs Asahi: Shasetsu taiketsu 50-nen (2001), edited by the Yomiuri Shimbun Editorial Committee, is a collection of sets of editorials from both Asahi and Yomiuri. Each set consists of two editorials, one from each of the two newspapers, discussing the same issue. The book includes two sets of New Year's Day editorials from 1982 and 1984.} At the same time, as noted in Chapter One, the Japanese generally believe that the two newspapers are political rivals, and the conservatives attack Asahi while the liberals watch Yomiuri. Hence, each of the two newspapers likely represents one of the two sides of the Japanese ideological spectrum, and their competition makes this dissertation feasible.

The content analysis in this dissertation project is done in three layers. The first layer is the analysis of Asahi's and Yomiuri's New Year's Day editorials in Chapter Three. The following two layers analyze the newspapers' editorials and look at their news articles regarding the issue under discussion in each of the fourth and fifth chapters. This section outlines how to analyze the data of each layer of editorials and news articles, taking into consideration the theoretical and practical concerns outlined in this chapter, in order to build an analytical framework for a Japanese style of news framing.

In the first layer, by analyzing New Year's Day editorials of Asahi and Yomiuri, this dissertation attempts to figure out their respective political or ideological stances,
assuming that the two newspapers have different views on the state and the nation in general, and for Japan and the Japanese in particular. These views are the foundations for their different editorials and tendencies in news coverage, allowing them to be categorized, respectively, as a left-leaning, liberal media outlet and a right-leaning, conservative media outlet. Discussions in their New Year’s Day editorials throughout the postwar period of Japan supposedly reflect those different views over time. Analysis of those editorials consists mainly of straightforward reading and interpretation. However, changes in the political and economic landscape of Japan over time, as well as the world, are also considered. To help make their discussions more understandable to a modern audience, the analysis also refers to other public discourses made by intellectuals and politicians in Japan who may have had an impact on the two newspapers’ editorial views. That is, the next chapter also seeks to include links between the newspapers’ ideological and editorial views and the broader public discourses.

This dissertation assumes that the views appearing in their New Year’s Day editorials would have shaped the newspapers’ editorials on specific issues and events as well as their news coverage of those issues and events. However, editorials on a specific issue or event may also directly affect its news coverage. Therefore, the second stage in each of the fourth and fifth chapters is made of a set of the last two layers. The first of the two last layers is to analyze editorials on a specific issue or event in question qualitatively, and the second is to examine news articles on that issue or event both qualitatively and quantitatively. At the same time, we study how the views appearing in their New Year’s Day editorials influence those editorials on a specific issue or event in question.
For the first layer in this set, a qualitative analysis of editorials on a specific issue or event is necessary. What kinds of ideas or principles regarding the state and the nation that have appeared in New Year’s Day editorials are reflected in those editorials? This is the main question for this stage. But, at the same time, this stage should be done for an analysis of articles on the issue or event. In this process, the four functions of Entman’s news framing would play an important role, and can be rephrased as questions. First, how do editorials define problematic effects or conditions of the issue? Second, what causes or agents do editorials identify? Third, what kinds of remedies do editorials endorse? Fourth, what kinds of moral judgments do editorials convey? Probably not all of these questions are always relevant to the two case studies. But, at least, the first three questions are likely answered in editorials, and answers to those three questions are relevant to examine news framing in news articles.

Any answer to the first question of how the editorials define the problematic effects of an issue might be difficult to find in most news articles in major newspapers in Japan given their fact-centered reportage. Many articles probably appear without the details of each event or issue, in order to report bare facts. In this type of article, a reporter simply refers to the issue or event with an arbitrary title or phrase such as “the history textbook problem” (rekishi kyōkashō mondai 歴史教科書問題), “the textbook problem” (kyōkashō mondai 教科書問題), or “regarding the history textbook” (rekishi kyōkashō o megutte 歴史教科書を巡って). For example, if a reporter writes about a

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35 This type of shorthand also causes difficulty in finding articles on a given issue through an electronic newspaper database. If you use a very common word like ‘textbook’ to search articles, you would get too many unnecessary articles and have to crop those articles. If you use ‘history textbook,’ you would miss articles on the ‘textbook’
comment made by an official of the Ministry of Education regarding the history textbook controversy, he likely notes, "Regarding the history textbook problem, an official of the Ministry of Education said..." This type of article does not clearly define the problematic effect or condition of the history textbook controversy. That is, a cause or agent may not be clearly outlined in detail in everyday articles on the controversy, but simply referred to indirectly, as in "regarding the history textbook problem." However, if a newspaper publishes editorials on an issue or event, it is highly likely to define the nature of the issue or event, including its causes and consequences. That is what an editorial is supposed to do. Otherwise editorials do not make sense. Therefore, if two newspapers have substantially different political or ideological stances, their editorials will define the same issue or event differently in accord with their political or ideological views. For example, editorials regarding the history textbook controversy need to define the controversy and its problematic aspects. In effect, defining the controversy probably also identifies its cause. Unless editorial authors identify the cause, they cannot persuasively discuss its definition. Editorials, thus, should argue what or who has created the controversy. Editorials inherently attempt to answer the third question concerning remedies when they recommend what the target individual or organization should do to solve the problem in question. Yet, if editorials simply told the target organization to do its best or encouraged the organization to find a solution, it would thereby not provide any answer to the third question. In offering solutions, editorials will also make moral judgments, even if only implicitly.

problem. If you use two words together to search articles, you would get many unnecessary articles and have to crop them. Therefore, for my case studies, as discussed below, I looked at each page of the newspaper and tried to identify articles on the issues that I studied.
This dissertation project attempts to analyze the news coverage of the two issues in Chapters Four and Five by seeking answers to the four questions above. The causes or agents, problematic effects or conditions, remedies, and moral judgments found or suggested in editorials are the sources of clues of which aspects of an issue or event are most likely to be magnified and what kind of words are more resonated in news coverage. It is possible to see that editorials themselves magnify some aspects of the issue by discussing it or by repeatedly presenting a certain word. To obtain answers to the four questions and to find what aspects have been magnified and/or which words are resonated, the analysis needs to conduct a careful reading of each editorial and news article as well as coding of news articles. The rest of this section discusses how to analyze news articles.

The content analysis in this dissertation basically codes the news articles in the two newspapers by focusing on four different elements of an article: (1) the published page, (2) the function (or style), (3) the actor(s), and (4) the context. Any two of the four sets of data can be cross-examined to clarify tendencies of a newspaper’s news coverage, while each data set can be individually presented in a meaningful manner to interpret the newspaper’s news coverage. The following introduces the details and rationales of how to code news articles in order to analyze articles quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

The first coding is based on the published page of each article. The published page is equivalent to a section in an American newspaper. Unlike an American newspaper, a typical Japanese newspaper has no sections, consisting instead of just one
section made of twenty-eight to thirty-six pages in its morning edition.\textsuperscript{36} News articles are allocated to pages due to its primary category such as the political affairs, international affairs, business and economy, and societal affairs. One category may have more than one page; there are usually two or three pages for societal affairs articles in each morning edition. This coding seems simple, but the coder has to know the rationales of news reporting and editing known and respected by editors, including how different kinds of pages are organized, how different articles are distributed to those different pages, and how a number of different news departments interact with each other, in order to use this coding for news framing analysis.\textsuperscript{37}

Many general-interest newspapers, including the major newspapers, publish twice a day, morning and evening editions, except on Sunday; and the major newspapers have similar page and department structures (Oishi, Iwata, and Fujita 2000). Each newspaper attempts 24-hour coverage with morning and evening editions. Roughly speaking, the morning edition covers from afternoon to midnight of the previous day, and the evening edition covers midnight to noon of the same day. Consequently, the morning edition has more articles and more pages than the evening edition. Although a copy of the morning edition consists of more pages than a copy of the evening edition, the morning and evening editions publish news articles sequentially: If a follow-up article is published in the evening edition, another follow-up may be published in the morning edition. That is,

\textsuperscript{36}Many Japanese newspapers publish an additional Sunday section in addition to the regular issue. A Sunday section features no news articles, but informative and entertaining articles on cultural issues and cartoons.

\textsuperscript{37}The coding in this dissertation and the discussion here is based in part on Oishi, Iwata, and Fujita (2000); and in part on my own experience as a staff editor and reporter at \textit{Mainichi Shim bun}. In addition, through a close examination of articles in each case study, I have further developed this coding technique in this dissertation.
the same articles do not appear in both morning and evening editions. The morning and evening editions are linked with each other. (In the evening edition, articles of international affairs, and economy and business are printed on the general interest page.) Thus, to follow the same news event sequentially, we need to examine both morning and evening editions.

A typical morning edition of a major newspaper has the front- (I-men 面), general interest (sōgōmen 総合面), political affairs (seijimen 政治面), international affairs (kokusaimen 国際面), business and economy (keizaimen 経済面), sports (supōtsumen スポーツ面), local affairs (chīkimen 地域面), and societal affairs (shakaimen 社会面) pages for news articles. It has also an op-ed page, a culture page, and others. An evening edition has the front-, general interest, societal affairs, and sports pages for news coverage.

The page structure of a Japanese newspaper reflects the organization of their news departments. This is largely applicable to all the major newspapers. The department of politics (seijibu 政治部) is in charge of the political affairs page; the department of foreign news (gaishinbu 外信部) the international affairs page; the department of economy (keizaibu 経済部) the economy and business page; the department of societal affairs (shakaibu 社会部) the societal affairs page.38

38 Another major department is the department of local affairs (chihōbu 地方部) that organizes local bureaus (shikyoku 支局). Reporters at a local bureau may write articles on an issue or event that gets national attention, and those articles would appear in a variety of pages (if it is a murder, articles on it are printed in the societal affairs pages). Reporters at a local bureau mainly write articles for its local pages that usually cover the prefecture where their bureau is located. But those local pages are exclusively printed for
In addition to these departments, the department of layout and design (seiribu 整理部 or henshubu 編集部) plays a pivotal role in daily newspaper editing. As a layout editor (seiri kisha 整理記者 or henshū kisha 編集記者) for Mainichi, the author of this dissertation once belonged to this department, which is the best place to observe how a newspaper is made everyday. That is because this department not only designs each page of a newspaper but also moderates between the various departments. Layout and Design departments list up the day’s news stories and allocate news articles to each page while negotiating with editors of the departments that are directly in charge of news coverage. To publish each edition, senior editors who do not belong to particular departments and staff editors from all the departments get together and collectively make decisions over the value of major news stories. For each page, a layout editor decides the location of each article, the length of each article, and the size of each headline and photo, although he has to listen to requests from staff editors in each department. He also consults with his senior layout editors if necessary (since a Japanese newspaper does not make an article jump from a page to a page, layout editors can shorten articles in order to place all the articles on each page).

Everyday, editors make decisions and negotiate with each other, but there are some principles that they follow to edit a newspaper. The political affairs page mostly features articles regarding political parties and politicians at the national level, or reports on the so-called political situation (seikyoku 政局). Reporters in the politics department the readers in that prefecture. For example, the local pages for Tokyo are not printed in copies of the newspaper that are delivered to the readers in Kanagawa, Chiba or any other prefectures. Monthly bound editions are based on copies of a newspaper published in Tokyo, so they include only the local pages for Tokyo readers. Actual names of departments may vary according to each newspaper.
are in charge of monitoring and covering political situations. Accordingly, articles on public policies may not appear in the political affairs page but in the general interest page or the economy and business page. In fact, articles on public policies are written by reporters of a variety of departments, not only the department of politics but also the departments of business and economy, and societal affairs. In the meantime, articles on international affairs in general appear on the international affairs page, but articles on Japan's international affairs or diplomatic issues may not. That is, they are more likely to be printed on the general interest page or the societal affairs page. Editors believe that the international affairs pages should feature international affairs that do not directly involve Japan or Japanese citizens. Macro- and micro-economic issues, which are handled by the department of economy, are published on the economy and business page. The societal affairs department mainly publishes articles on human-interest stories, crimes and scandals, and court cases on the societal affairs page. As suggested above, if a Japanese citizen died in an accident in a foreign country, articles on this accident may appear on the societal affairs page. As suggested above, none of the departments is in charge of the general interest page, so, in a sense, the general interest page is a convenience for editors: Articles that do not primarily fit the politics, international affairs, economy and business, societal affairs pages may appear on the general interest page.

To make the discussion above more concrete, let us look at a case of news coverage. If a newspaper covers a large earthquake that has occurred in a prefecture outside Tokyo, a story with the primary bare facts would appear on the front page. This front-page article would spell out the location, time and date, and size of the earthquake and its primary damage, including the number of its victims, if any. Sometimes the
national government releases such basic data on the earthquake from one of its organizations, but the report on the damage of the earthquake comes from the local government, including its police and fire departments. In addition to that, side-stories like detailed human-interest stories from the earthquake region, and reactions of political leaders and corporations that have a stake in the region would appear respectively in the societal affairs pages, political affairs, and business and economic pages. Reporters based in the prefectural local bureau go to the earthquake region, while politics reporters contact politicians, and economy and business reporters see the press secretaries of the corporations. If there are any reactions from abroad (e.g. critical reportage of an atomic energy plant damaged by the earthquake), those would be published on the international affairs page. Overseas foreign affairs correspondents gather those stories.

Having considered the discussion above, a researcher can assume that if Asahi and Yomiuri view a certain issue or event in a similar way, their articles on an event or issue are likely to be published on the same set of pages. On the other hand, if editorial views differ, they may allocate articles on that issue or event to different pages. For example, if one of the newspapers stresses an issue as an international problem while the other primarily sees it as a domestic problem, a researcher can assume that the former would publish more of the relevant articles on the international affairs page than elsewhere, while the other newspaper would not put so many articles on the international page. Thus, the comparison of article allocation in the two newspapers is likely to suggest differences in the tendencies of their news coverage.

The second set of coding identifies four different styles of news articles: fact-centered straight news reports, news analyses, news research, and news interviews. The
first style, fact-centered straight news reports, describes an event, issue, action, or statement, focusing on "what happens, where and when" or "who says or does what, where, and when." It is these articles that provide evidence for the assumption that news articles in Japanese newspapers are fact-centered. The second style, news analyses, introduces background to a news event or issue, focusing on "how and why." This also includes articles about possible consequences or anticipated future developments. The third style is news research. This is not investigative or muckraking journalism, but reporters doing some research to clarify some aspect of a news event or issue. For example, if reporters realize that the textbook controversy has caused some international exchange programs between Japan and South Korea to be terminated, they might want to find whether or not it has terminated other exchange programs to assess the significance of the controversy on the general public. Poll surveys can be classified in this category, too. The fourth category, news interviews, highlights individuals linked to news events or issues: An interviewee may be a participant or somehow affected. Such articles may also focus on someone who provides an authoritative opinion or perspective regarding a news event or issue. Of these four categories, the first will be cross-checked with other coding to see how fact-centered articles reflect certain editorial views in each newspaper. Fact-centered articles are not necessarily objective and may reflect subjective perspectives. Other categories will be qualitatively examined.

The third set of coding refers to the actor(s), including organizations, in each news article. By knowing which individual or organization each newspaper focuses on

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39 Some Japan watchers seem to believe that no investigative journalism exists in Japanese newspapers. But there is such journalism, such as that done in the Recruit Scandal in 1988 by Asahi. But investigative journalism is not the focus of this dissertation.
most, one can infer what aspect of a controversy a newspaper tended to select and make salient in its news coverage. For example, if Asahi covered Japanese citizen groups against the publication of New History Textbook more frequently than Yomiuri, we can infer their different attitudes toward the textbook controversy. Even if articles were fact-centered, not including any subjective or opinionated messages, newspapers’ different definitions of cause or problematic aspect of an issue or event would be indicated by which actors they covered more often.

The fourth set of coding is based on the context or main theme of a news article. Theme corresponds to the defined problematic effect or identified cause of an issue or event that would appear in editorials, too. For example, articles on the history textbook controversy may be written in the context of Japan’s international affairs as well as domestic affairs. The former include Japan’s diplomatic relations with China or Korea. The latter includes Japan’s education policy at the national level as well as the local level, and the opinions of Japanese citizen groups, teacher union members, and scholars against the controversial textbook. The cumulative number of articles in each context would tell us which context a newspaper preferred more than others.

Krippendorff (2004) points out that any type of quantitative content analysis is inherently qualitative. When a researcher decides which aspect should be measured, he qualitatively judges the text data; and then he transforms the text data into numerical data. All quantitative analyses in social sciences are inherently qualitative. Any quantitative analysts in social sciences judge their data qualitatively at some point in their analyses. This applies even to the different types of coding described above. Qualitative and quantitative analyses are often intertwined and complement each other, as they do in each
case study in this dissertation. When coded articles are examined solely and/or cross-checked, the concept of magnitude can play an important role. In that case, some articles should be selected for qualitative analyses. By doing so, a case study would be more persuasive in its conclusions. The concept of resonance as proposed by Entman would also play a role in qualitative analyses of articles. How does a newspaper define or characterize a certain sub-issue or event, and with what kind of word(s)? This question should be answered with a series of qualitative analyses. In addition, photos published along with articles may be the objects of qualitative analyses. A writer using strong adjectives and adverbs and striking images in the text as along with powerful photographs to characterize an event thereby implies a causal explanation, moral judgment, and evaluation (Entman 2004). The results of the analysis of news articles are also compared to the results of the editorial analysis.

To collect news articles for the two case studies in the fourth and fifth chapters, monthly bound editions of Asahi and Yomiuri in print and/or microfilm were examined page by page. This is probably the best way to systematically collect articles on a certain issue or event in the two newspapers. The monthly bound editions of the two newspapers have indexes that include entries for the textbook controversy and the murders of the two diplomats, but they actually miss many articles that can be categorized as those issue and event. Both newspapers have commercial databases with keyword search functions. But, as in the case of the analysis of editorials as noted above, there is no perfect keyword that will find all the articles that this dissertation intends to examine. The articles for the two case studies were collected from the front-, general affairs, international affairs, and
societal affairs pages in the morning editions and the front-, general affairs, and societal affairs pages in the evening editions.

**Chapter Conclusion**

This chapter has sought an analytical framework for news framing analysis of Japanese newspaper contents. Many scholars in Japan and in English-speaking countries have discussed major newspapers in Japan and their political stances and roles in Japanese politics, but most of them have never been interested in refining content analysis methods for Japanese major newspapers. Seeking a better method for a content analysis of Japanese newspapers is the secondary goal of this dissertation project. Relying on Entman’s news framing analysis, this dissertation attempts to test and refine a Japanese style of news framing analysis. The next chapter examines New Year’s Day editorials of *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* in order to discuss their original ideological differences. This will provide the foundation for the two case studies in the following two chapters, which analyze editorials and news coverage of the two newspapers regarding the history textbook controversy in 2001 and the murder of the two Japanese diplomats in Iraq in 2003. These case studies may show how the two newspapers’ ideological views are reflected in the editorials and news coverage of those two major news stories.
CHAPTER 3. THE ORIGINS OF THE TWO NEWSPAPERS' EDITORIAL VIEWS

Chapter Introduction

This chapter clarifies the origin of the political division between Asahi and Yomiuri, Japan's two largest newspapers. Just as this dissertation project assumes that these two newspapers compete with each other in editorials and news coverage of certain issues, so does this chapter assume that the two newspapers espouse competing nationalist ideals. By examining their New Year's Day editorials from 1953 to 2005, this chapter attempts to demonstrate this nationalist nature of the two newspapers' rivalry. In doing so, this chapter will also contribute to studies of nationalism in postwar Japan. It may sound odd to assert that two different views of nationalism have competed through the postwar period, since most watchers of nationalism in Japan usually pay attention only to political conservatives' version of nationalism. However, studies of nationalism in Japan have recently broadened their perspectives by incorporating nationalism as espoused by liberals and leftists in addition to that of the conservatives and rightists. This new trend provides a new perspective to examine the editorial rivalry between Asahi and Yomiuri.

Recent Studies of Nationalism for Japanese Newspaper Analysis

It is commonly believed that conservatives monopolize nationalism in Japan. Recent studies, however, have drawn attention to the complexity of nationalism in

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postwar Japan by stressing that the progressives (*kakushin seiryoku*革新勢力) were also nationalists in rivalry with the conservatives (*hoshu seiryoku*保守勢力) in the early postwar period. Scholars of Japanese politics have shed light upon progressive or anti-conservative nationalism from the late 1940s to the 1960s (Gao 1998; Oguma 1998; Sato 1998; Gayle 2001; Oguma 2002; Gayle 2003). Proponents of such nationalism were the progressives, including socialists, communists, and the so-called progressive intellectuals (*shinpoteki chishikijin*進歩的知識人). They promoted a new national identity, revised national history, and led citizen protests against the conservative government and its partner, the United States. They were against wartime ultra-nationalism and “bad nationalism” sponsored by the government in postwar Japan, seeking “healthy nationalism” by the “ethnic nation” (*minzoku*民族) of the Japanese (Oguma 1998, 531). They upheld pacifism and Japan’s position of unarmed neutrality between the capitalist and communist camps, pursuing Japan’s independence from the United States (Sakamoto 1960). What those nationalists did is labeled as oppositional or popular nationalism in contrast to state or official nationalism (Anderson 1991; Breuilly 1994; Doak 1996; Sato 1998; Gayle 2003). Those anti-state nationalists are believed to have declined by the 1970s (Gao 1998).

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41 Although the term “progressive nationalism” can be used for all these nationalists as a whole, they each followed slightly different sorts of nationalism. For example, Oguma (1998, 2002) examines two different nationalistic movements, those of communist historians and progressive intellectuals, but used progressive nationalism to refer to both of them.

42 Please note that all translations of Japanese materials, including newspaper editorials and articles, throughout the dissertation are the author’s own unless otherwise indicated.

In another trend, students and watchers of Japanese nationalism customarily have paid attention to state nationalism (Doak 1996). Seminal works on Japanese nationalism have focused on pre-war imperialists or ultra-nationalists as well as postwar right-wingers and conservatives who followed the lead of state nationalism (Morris 1960; Maruyama 1963). Post-war Japan’s economic recovery and success are also understood in the context of a state nationalism sponsored by the conservatives. Pyle (1996) focuses on a form of state nationalism, economic nationalism, introduced by Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru. The Yoshida Doctrine was Japan’s ground strategy for economic high-growth and international status while exploiting the U.S. military for its security. Pyle (1996, 56-58) finds “political nationalism” (in contrast to economic nationalism) when Prime Ministers Ashida Hitoshi, Hatoyama Ichiro and Kishi Nobusuke sought Japan’s “own independent military capacity and foreign policy,” but “(t)he success of the Yoshida Doctrine during the period of high growth suppressed political nationalism.”

Similarly, Johnson (1982) points out economic nationalism, through which Japan’s policy-makers protected its national interests against other states, in early postwar Japan’s industrial policies. However, according to Pyle (1996, 58-62, 94-101), “political nationalism” in the conservative camp made a come back in the 1980s along with Japan’s economic success; conservative writers such as Ishihara Shintaro helped the resurgence of “political nationalism”; and neoconservative Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro promoted “new nationalism,” hoping that Japan would become a world leader not only in

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44 This chapter also calls the progressives ‘the anti-conservatives.’

45 Pyle’s political nationalism is based on the concern for Japan’s military and security independence. In this paper, this political nationalism is also called old conservative nationalism in contrast to Nakasone’s neoconservative internationalist nationalism.
economy but also politics and security. Since then, nationalism in the conservative camp has continued to take precedence over economic nationalism. Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro and popular conservative nationalists, such as Kobayashi Yoshinori, have gained considerable attention from Japan-watchers (Matthews 2003; Nathan 2004).

These two competing trends of Japanese nationalism between the conservatives and the progressives have been seen as separate phenomena. But they were already treated in the same context when they were still fairly new on the scene. Scalapino and Masumi (1962, 43-44) assert that "postwar Japanese nationalism has served in some capacity as a political weapon for all contenders after power, 'left' as well as 'right'"; they also point out that "(n)eutralism is nationalism in foreign policy" for the left. Yet, it seems that few scholars have attempted to further develop this observation. This chapter seeks to do so, assuming that different nationalist groups have contended with each other during the last five decades and that the two newspapers, Asahi and Yomiuri, have been part of this contestation. In other words, these two newspapers, often regarded as political rivals, represent competing nationalist groups for an analysis of nationalism in postwar Japan.

By regarding postwar Japan’s nationalism as consisting of contestations and interactions of different nationalist groups or sub-nationalisms, this chapter tries to show a new perspective of nationalism studies in general. In an attempt to better understand nationalism in general, we can benefit from studying specific examples. The example of nationalism in Japan is illuminating and a worthwhile study. Japan’s leaders drew on all the varied sources available to them, including Japan’s postwar peace movement, goals of

46 Royama (1967) also discusses the two different trends of nationalism by rightists and leftists throughout the 1950s to the early 1960s.
economic reconstruction, long traditions and culture, and status in the international community. Apparently non-nationalistic resources helped the elites in an established nation-state that had just gone through identity crises after the war to forge new nationalisms. Indeed, the nationalism they have forged is the product of no single ideology, but of a multiplicity of nationalisms, traditions, and expectations of making a recovery from the war. Clarifying this complexity of postwar Japan nationalist politics can give us a fresh perspective for nationalism studies in general. This is another goal of this chapter. The remainder of this chapter discusses a working definition of nationalism, followed by an account of the method and data used for this chapter. Finally, it analyzes the two newspapers’ New Year’s Day editorials.

**New Definition of Nationalism for Japanese Newspaper Analysis**

In regarding both conservatives and anti-conservatives as nationalists and examining them together, this chapter defines nationalism as a process of contestations and interactions between different nationalist groups. The nationalisms above, such as economic nationalism, can be considered to be sub-nationalisms in this context. Contestations in this definition are struggles between rivals, and bring about interactions between them. Generally rivals or competitors in a contestation negotiate, compromise, share and learn; as a result, they may face what they have not seen before (e.g. thesis, antithesis, and synthesis). The contestations of different nationalist groups may include these aspects while each nationalist group modifies and changes its views, principles, and ideals in response to political and economic changes in Japan and the world. This is another assumption of this chapter’s analysis.
The working definition of nationalism above is an analytical concept, inspired by Duara's conception: "Nationalism is rarely the nationalism of the nation, but rather marks the site where different representations of the nation contest and negotiate with each other" (1995, 8). Duara stresses that an individual's identity is plural and formed within relationships with others. A person maintains multiple identities in accord with ethnicity, gender, religion, nationality, and others. Collective identities coexist with national identity. Different collective identities are not mutually exclusive; they compete with, connect with, and contradict each other. Similarly, a nation is a collection, and contestations of different national identities where those who uphold different views of the nation and the state compete and interact with each other. Accordingly, national identity is often in contradiction, and can even include transnational aspects like the pan-Asianism that overlapped with nationalism and imperialism in prewar Japan. In addition, nationalists often rely on other ideologies to handle actual issues, according to Smith (2001), Freeden (1998), and Greenfeld (1992). Smith contends:

Nationalist ideology is...structurally incapable of dealing with such major social and political issues as social justice, the distribution of resources or conflict-management. In fact, nationalism is often not a distinct ideology at all, as it simply fills out the more mainstream ideologies, such as liberalism, socialism and conservatism (2001: 23-24).

This means that any ideological group, such as conservatives or socialists, can be a nationalist group. This chapter assumes that different nationalist groups characterized by different ideologies contest and interact with each other; at the same time, they modify their views, principles, and ideals, having learned from their rivals and taking changes of

47 Duara (1996) notes that trans-nationalism can be both good and bad. It realizes international cooperation but justifies aggression toward others.
the nation and the world into consideration. Their movements and ideologies make sub-
nationalisms as well as nationalism as defined above.

The next question is to ask what primarily makes a nationalist group or sub-
nationalism, regardless of its ideological backgrounds. This question evolves around the
nation and the state. As Duara (1995) argues, the uniqueness of modern nationalism
resides in the nation-state system based on a sovereign state, or a political unit with
territorial boundaries, that represents a nation or a people. Gellner (1983) explains that
the congruence of the state and the nation is a crucial concern for nationalists. The
primacy of the state-nation relationship lets nationalists ask, “How well does the state
represent the nation?” Nationalists are those who believe that the state is a political agent
of the nation and that the state must rightly represent the nation (Seo 2005). If the
people of a nation see that their present state fails to represent them, they attempt to
establish an independent state through “separation” from the present state, “unification”
with other states, or “reform” of the present state (Breuilly 1994, 9). These movements
occur along with another crucial question about national identity: Who are we? They
make a process of assimilation of people into a nation-state.

However, the first question above has to be rephrased in the case of state
nationalists in postwar Japan. State nationalists believe that the state is “at the core of
social identity” and that the “national loyalty” is to the state, not the nation (Doak 1996,
79-81). State nationalism is not only nationalism sponsored by the state or the
government but also nationalism based on the state as a political community.48 State

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48 Rose (2000) notes that political elites have driven state nationalism in contemporary
Japan in order to raise the level of patriotism among the general public. However, as
nationalists do not necessarily think that the state is an agent of the nation. Rather they believe that the state is synonymous with the nation or their community in international society. Since state nationalists and conservatives generally overlap in postwar Japan, they are hardly worried that the conservative-led government would betray them. Rather, they tend to be afraid that some members of the state would betray them. When they find members upholding a different political view from theirs, they accuse those members of being unpatriotic (e.g. anti-Japan or anti-Japanese; *han'ichi* 反日 in Japanese). Accordingly, they ask, “How well do members of the nation stand for the state?” This question is essential in examining nationalism in postwar Japan. For them, the state is a more important entity than the nation.

**Method and Data**

This chapter aims to make a qualitative analysis of the New Year's Day editorials published by *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* from 1953 to 2005. The analysis focuses on their arguments regarding the state, nation, and national identity of Japan and the Japanese; and it examines what views, principles, and ideals each newspaper preferred to promote. At the same time, their arguments are compared with public discourses by political leaders and intellectuals, to gain a wider perspective of the background of the editorials. Oguma and Ueno (2003) present, ordinary people have voluntarily sustained conservative state nationalism. Breuilly (1993, 8) discusses this tendency as one of the traits of his 'state-led nationalism' or 'governmental nationalism' (e.g. Nazi Germany). In his discussion, state nationalists occupy the government. The other tendency is territorial expansionism. However, territorial expansionism is not a major issue to think about state nationalists in post-war Japan. New Year's Day editorials are examined from 1953 to 2005. The occupation period is excluded because the GHQ censored newspapers. It is not clear whether the censorship affected their editorials. See Ariyama (1996), Yamamoto Taketoshi (1996), and Suzuki
As noted in the previous chapter, the major newspapers treat New Year’s Day editorials published on January 1 as a special forum to reach their intended audience, the entire Japanese population. In these editorials, the top editors express their views, as the spokesmen of their newspaper organizations, on current world and national politics and economy (Suzuki 1997). They discuss their visions for the Japanese government and the Japanese people for the new year. These editorials, accordingly, tend to propose what views, principles and ideals Japan and the Japanese should uphold, and what Japan or the Japanese should do to uphold them. The nature of these editorials inherently provides a picture of the newspapers’ views on the Japanese nation and state, and which principles and ideals they feel are best suited for Japan. Therefore, they provide convenient and useful data by which one can analyze the major newspapers’ political or ideological stances and understanding of nationhood and statehood. Nevertheless, nearly no systematic study of New Year’s Day editorials has been made by academics.51

The account of the editorials is divided into the four periods, from the 1950s to the 1960s, the 1970s, from the 1980s to the 1990s, and from 2000 to 2005. Overall, Asahi has been a pacifist-nationalist, drawing on its underlying sentiments about the Japanese ethnic identity, while Yomiuri has supported conservative nationalisms, though

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later it shifted from a passive support of economic nationalism to being an active promoter of internationalist nationalism. The qualitative content analysis following the account of the editorial will demonstrate these claims.

**Asahi's Pacifist Nationalism**

One of Japan's most successful commercial papers, *Asahi* was established in 1879 and has changed its political stance more than once through its history. Its pro-democracy stance during the Taishō period contrasted with its ardent support, like other newspapers, of Japan's imperialism during WWII (Uchikawa 1983; Ariyama 1995). Since WWII, *Asahi* has been critical of the conservatives and the government; conservatives accuse it of being anti-Japanese, anti-American, and pro-communist even today (Komori, Izawa, and Inagaki 2002). Indeed, *Asahi* is commonly known as a liberal, left-leaning paper, and thus it may sound absurd to call it a nationalist. A closer look at its editorializing, however, clarifies how *Asahi* crafted nationalism out of its ideals of world federalism and pacifist nationalism in its editorials from the 1950s to 1960s. *Asahi* apparently followed progressives who had constructed pacifist nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s. In this respect, *Asahi* holds pacifist-nationalist views. But this pacifist nationalism was *Asahi*'s reaction to Japan's prewar and wartime ultra-nationalism and imperialism. This is the first contestation between different sub-nationalisms.

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52 *Asahi* is a recurrent target of conservatives and radical rightwing activists. According to *Asahi Shinbun Shashi: Showa Sengo-hen* (1994), radical rightwing activists led the boycott of the newspaper when it criticized Prime Minister Kishi in the late 1950s, and a radical rightwing group claimed responsibility for the murder of an *Asahi* reporter in 1987 (no one has been arrested for this murder). Conservative writers have produced *Asahi Shimbun no Daikenkyū* (Komori, Izawa, and Inagaki 2002) and *Asahi Shimbun no Seigi* (Izawa and Kobayashi 1999), perhaps the most commercially successful anti-*Asahi* books, as noted in Chapter One.
The occupation of Japan ended in April 1952. *Asahi* celebrated Japan's new independence in a New Year's Day editorial for 1953. The editorial proudly addressed that the Sun Flag (*hinomaru* 太陽の丸) could now be displayed anywhere without hesitation since the General Headquarters of the Allied Powers (GHQ) no longer had the power to restrict national flag raising. *Asahi*, which in 1999 would oppose the legislation establishing the official status of the national flag and anthem, in 1953 regarded the Sun Flag as a symbol of independence. More importantly, *Asahi* in this early editorial alluded to the future emergence of a world government by discussing how nuclear arms would compel the world to rethink the modern sovereign state system.

Three years later, *Asahi* delineated the idea of “world government” or “world federal government.” This idea appeared in its editorials every year from 1956 to 1962, except in 1957. In 1956, *Asahi* saw the growing number of Asian and African countries represented at the Bandung Conference and in the United Nations as a symbol of the emerging “international democracy” and assumed that the world government as “a future

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53 In this chapter, each “editorial” is a New Year’s Day editorial published by *Asahi* or *Yomiuri* in a certain year as cited unless noted otherwise.
54 Ogura (2002) discusses that the *hinomaru* was a symbol for new post-war nationalism based on the peace constitution in the occupational period. For example, *Mainichi Shinbun* encouraged the Japanese to display the *hinomaru* to show support for the peace constitution on May 3, Constitution Day.
55 *Kimigayo* and *Hinomaru* had been Japan’s de facto national anthem and flag since the Meiji period. That is, there was no law formalizing their status until 1999. In the post-war period, leftists eventually opposed *Kimigayo* and the public display of the *hinomaru* because of their association with wartime ultra-nationalism. The legislation in 1999 confirmed the official status of the *hinomaru* and *Kimigayo*, and this was considered to be a symbolic victory for conservative nationalists.
56 *Asahi* interchangeably used ‘world government’ and “world federal government.”
world regime” would follow. Asahi supposed that the world government would be the solution to the deadly nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Asahi’s support for world federalism had its roots not only in cosmopolitanism, but also in its sentiment for the Japanese. The 1958 editorial contended that “unarmed Japan” (marugoshi no Nihon, 丸腰の日本) was the best proponent of world federalism; in 1961, it asserted that Japan held the best position for promoting world armament reduction. With the introduction of Japan’s Self-Defense Forces in 1954, the emphasis of “unarmed” may seem ingenuous. Nonetheless, Asahi assumed that the state that had renounced war could be more persuasive in promoting world federalism and armament reduction, thereby setting up an honored position for the Japanese.

World federalism received considerable attention in early postwar Japan. It was part of the World Federalist Movement initiated by peace activists in Western countries. Ozaki Yukio, a respected liberal politician, founded Japan’s World Federalist Movement Association in 1948. His impact on Asahi seems clear in the New Year’s Day editorials from the 1950s to 1970s, since they used his favorite analogy. Ozaki encouraged Japanese youth to be unpatriotic people, urging them to work to abolish sovereign states and federalize the world, just as young samurai had once contributed to the establishment of the Meiji Government at the expense of their feudal lord domains and the Tokugawa Shogunate (Ozaki 1955; Oguma 2002). Asahi used an analogy similar to Ozaki’s in 1953, 1962, and 1970, but only the 1970 editorial referred directly to Ozaki. This was not a

57 Ueyama (1965) and Suzuki (1997) point out the surge of nationalism and independence of African and Asian nations had made the Japanese rethink of positive sides of nationalism in the 1950s.
coincidence: *Asahi*’s editorial board chair from 1948 to 1962, Ryu Shintaro, was a member of the World Federalist Movement Association (Ryu 1969a, 1969b). Ryu (1969a, 437) recommended that world federalism be Japan’s “national principle” and regarded it as a source for the development of postwar Japan’s national pride. Another *Asahi* editorial board chair, Mori Kyozo, was Ryu’s successor, and also a proponent of world federalism (Hayashi 2006). Together they wrote most of the New Year’s Day editorials from 1953 to the early 1970s.

In *Asahi*’s New Year’s Day editorials in the second half of the 1960s, world federalism turned out to be a new nationalism based on the peace constitution. This nationalism was the opposite of prewar ultra-nationalism since it aimed at realizing world peace, denouncing the use of military force in international disputes, and enjoining Japan to handle ideological disputes between capitalist and communist camps. *Asahi* believed that the Japanese could attain this nationalism because of their traditional character of tolerance and adaptation, and their recent experiences in WWII. *Asahi* in 1965 and 1966 contended that “the Japanese” (*Nihonjin* 日本人) traditionally tolerated foreign cultures and integrated them into their own culture: The syncretization of Shinto beliefs with Buddhism exemplified this aspect of the national character. The 1966 editorial asserted that the Japanese had already learned about the pros and cons of nationalism and the value of internationalism through the lessons of WWII. This old national character and the recent war experience made the Japanese an ideal moderator between the drastically different great powers, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the People’s Republic of China. Such was *Asahi*’s theory of the Japanese as developed in its New Year’s Day editorials. The 1966 editorial ultimately proposed a “new nationalism of Japan”
(atarashi’i Nihon nashonarizumu 新しい日本ナショナリズム) based on the principle of “peaceful coexistence and cooperation” (heiwa kyōzon kyōryoku 平和共存・協力) in the constitution. In this respect, this nationalism inherently incorporated both pacifism and internationalism.

Asahi in its 1969 editorial linked world federalism with pacifist nationalism and noted that the war-renouncing constitution presupposed the world government. This editorial also argued that the Japanese had developed a high moral standard through the “three nuclear perils.” It was this high moral standard, Asahi believed, that pushed the Japanese to join the antinuclear movement and uphold the peace constitution, which became, as a result, both “an ardent national wish” (nashonaru na higan ナショナルな悲願) for the Japanese and “an international ideal” (intōnashonaru na risō インターナショナルな理想) for the world. Japanese nationalism and internationalism here are “two sides of a single coin” (Hayashi 2006, 205). The following year’s editorial characterized the constitution as the foundation of “open and universal nationalism” for an international ideal. In this respect, as this editorial argues, this postwar nationalism was completely different from prewar Japan’s “narrow-minded, self-righteous nationalism.”

Asahi attempted to bolster the Japanese people’s sense of national pride by transforming their experiences in WWII and in Hiroshima and Nagasaki into their moral authority to lead in the development of world peace. Asahi editorials combined those national experiences with an old Japanese tradition, the tolerance and acceptance of

58 Asahi did not clarify the three nuclear perils in this editorial. However, they are likely the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Lucky Dragon (Dai-5 Fukuryūmaru) incident in 1954.
foreign cultures. Thus, this new nationalism for peace was essentially crafted for the Japanese as an ethnic nation with shared memories and traditions. In theory, *Asahi*'s pacifism aimed to limit the sovereignty of each state under the world federal government and renounced wars as a means to solve international disputes.

Like the decision to promote world federalism, *Asahi*'s postwar nationalism was not totally original. Activists in the antinuclear peace movement in the 1950s also regarded themselves as a part of an ethnic nationalist movement (Orr 2001). More importantly, the impact of "progressive intellectuals" on *Asahi* is discernible. According to Oguma (2002: 555), progressive intellectuals such as Matsushita Kei’ichi hoped that "progressive nationalism" (*kakushin nashonarizumu* 革新ナショナリズム) would overtake other forms of nationalism, "nationalism upheld by the establishment" (*taisei nashonarizumu* 体制ナショナリズム) and "nationalism supported by the masses" (*taishū nashonarizumu* 大衆ナショナリズム). The intellectuals believed that politically conscious, independent citizens could sustain a progressive nationalism that would prevail over the others, which were supported, respectively, by conservatives and the apolitical, ordinary populace. One of the intellectuals, Sakamoto Yoshikazu, attempted to publicize the term "progressive nationalism": His essays in monthly magazines, *Chūō Köron*, (1960), *Shisō* (1961a), and in *Sekai* (1961b) clarify his discussion on progressive nationalism and share key aspects with *Asahi*'s editorials.

First, Sakamoto (1961a, 1061) stressed that the Japanese had undertaken a "unique mission" (*yuniku na shimei* ユニークな使命) for world peace because of the atomic bomb experiences in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Those experiences made the Japanese uniquely qualified for progressive peace movements in the world. Second, he
argued that world peace was not only an international goal but also a national goal for the
Japanese (1960). Third, he (1961b, 23) asserted that pacifism had become Japan’s “state
principle” (kokka no genri 国家の原理) as well as the “national ideal” (minzoku no rinen
民族の理念) of the Japanese people; that was why the constitution had incorporated
pacifism as one of its great principles. According to Sakamoto, internationalism,
pacifism, and antimilitarism, as principles of the constitution, should define Japan’s new
nationalism.

However, there are some differences between the Asahi editorials of the second
half of the 1960s and Sakamoto’s essays. First, Sakamoto (1960, 1961a) demanded that
Japan stand neutral between the capitalist and the communist camps. Second, he (1960)
disparaged the ordinary people, or the masses (taishū 大衆), since he believed that they
were not truly pacifists, but simply afraid of being caught up in others’ wars. Third, he
(1960) blamed the major newspapers for neglecting to address the remilitarization of
Japan. Asahi largely dismissed these points by disregarding them in its editorials.

Nevertheless, Asahi pronounced its support for Japan’s future neutrality and for
progressive nationalism on January 1, 1972. This announcement ran in a three-page
featured section, instead of among the regular New Year’s Day editorials.59 Asahi
clarified its views on Japan’s security and economic policies, recommending that Japan
demilitarize the Japan-US Security Treaty, ultimately to terminate it in the name of
“neutrality,” and that Japan cease its economic expansionism. This neutrality was
supposed to contribute to the normalization of Japan’s relationship with the People’s
Republic of China in order to correct the mistake that Japan had made in the San

59 “Nihon no heiwa o kangaeru” (Think about Japan’s peace), Asahi Shimbun, 1 January
Francisco Peace Treaty of 1951. Unlike Yomiuri, Asahi had argued against the Peace Treaty in its 1950 editorial, because no socialist states, such as the PRC, had joined it (Ariyama 1998). The editor-in-chief of Yomiuri, Watanabe Tsuneo, afterwards criticized the neutrality advocated in these featured pieces and regarded it as the origin of its editorial confrontation with Asahi (Watanabe Tsuneo vs. Asahi Shimbun 1992).

In sum, Asahi was a pacifist-nationalist, promoting world federalism and pacifist nationalism. Asahi framed this pacifism based on a national identity of the Japanese, making the Japanese people’s national experience and their nation’s long-standing traditions the foundation of pacifist nationalism.

In other words, Asahi’s original principle of world federalism was developed from the lessons taught by prewar imperialist nationalism; and pacifist nationalism was formulated from the Japanese war experience and traditional culture. However, in reality, pacifism in postwar Japan merely prevented Japan from obtaining full-fledged military capability in overseas involvement in international military conflicts, but did not actively contribute to world peace. Asahi was part of this self-serving style of pacifism: Yomiuri attacked on this point later.

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60 Asahi believes that Japan made a mistake through the San Francisco Peace Treaty by excluding communist states from the Treaty.
61 For ethnic nationalism in Japan, see Doak (1996) and Gayle (2001, 2003). Doak examines ethnic nationalism in prewar Japan and points out ethnic nationalism in rightwing nationalists in postwar Japan. However, Gayle studies ethnic nationalism in leftist historians. Ethnic nationalism can co-exist with both sides of Japan’s ideological spectrum. This ethnic nationalism does not necessarily mean a particular type of nationalism that incorporates the mass killing of others, but rather nationalism based on a people’s ethnic identity.
62 Yamamoto Mari (2004) points out that pacifism in post-war Japan is different from pacifism in Western traditions. The latter is an absolute refusal of wars, but post-war Japan’s pacifism is merely popular sentiment for peace or antimilitarism. McVeigh (2004, 207-210) calls this type of nationalism ‘peace nationalism,’ arguing that Japan pacifism is ‘passive’ and ‘self-centered.’ This paper uses ‘pacifist nationalism’ in contrast to Yomiuri’s ‘internationalist nationalism.’
Yomiuri's "Good Nationalism" and the Welfare State

In the meantime, Yomiuri New Year's Day editorials seemed to follow the conservatives who pushed economy-centered policies. Yomiuri, founded in 1893, had emerged as an apolitical newspaper publishing serializations of popular novels; however, the modern Yomiuri began in 1924 when newspaper faced a financial crisis and a former high-ranking bureaucrat, Shoriki Matsutaro, became its owner (Sano 1994). Shoriki transformed Yomiuri into one of Japan's largest newspapers by the end of WWII. Because of Shoriki's political aspirations within the conservative camp in the 1950s and 1960s, it may be plausible to regard Yomiuri as a conservative nationalist. Yet, Yomiuri New Year Day's editorials of the 1950s showed it as a model student of democratization, stressing the merits of democracy and individualism for the Japanese. By the 1960s, however, Yomiuri's editorials were arguing that "good nationalism," which was the opposite of pre-war nationalism, was needed to reunite the nation, and attempted to popularize the notion of the welfare state (fukushi kokka 福祉国家) as a resource for this new nationalism. This section attempts to clarify Yomiuri's nationalist tendency in the 1950s and 1960s.

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63 Shoriki was a member of the House of Lords in 1944 and, afterward, arrested as a class-A war criminal but not prosecuted. He was in the House of Representatives from 1955 to 1969 and involved in the integration of conservative parties in 1955 (Sano 1994). Yet, Sano stresses that Shoriki, as a top leader of Yomiuri, gave priority to its business success. For example, Sano thinks that Shoriki used war stories to sell more copies of Yomiuri but was not a fanatic supporter of Japan's imperialism. In the post-war period, Sano believes that Shoriki used Yomiuri for his own political fame but not for conservative agendas in general. In the meantime, Arima (2006) has uncovered the collaboration between Shoriki and the US Government, including the CIA, to introduce a TV network and other media to Japan in order to create pro-US attitudes among the Japanese. Arima does not, however, present any impact of this collaboration on Yomiuri's editorials or news reportage.
In the 1950s, at least, two themes in Yomiuri editorials deserve attention. First, they stressed individualism and democracy in 1953, 1955 and 1957, and argued that self-helping, autonomous individuals were the foundation of the state and that the state was for the sake of individuals. In those days, individualism was regarded by intellectuals such as Maruyama Masao and Otsuka Hisao as a key trait that would change Japan’s feudalistic society into a democracy (Odanaka 2006). Second, Yomiuri’s editorials in 1953 and 1956 showed its unwillingness to accept the changes to the constitution proposed by old conservatives. Yomiuri apparently would not follow old conservative nationalists who gave priority to Japan’s security independence.

Subsequently, Yomiuri’s 1960 New Year’s Day editorial demanded the establishment of “good nationalism” to reunite the divided nation. The editorial suggested that even competing political parties could agree to create “a society for the happiness of all the people,” thereby providing a national goal under which to unite the nation. This editorial lamented that political parties and activists had been sharply divided over the Japan-US Security Treaty renewal, and hoped this new nationalism would settle the keen dispute. Although this editorial did not use the term “welfare state,” the phrase “a society for the happiness of all the people,” seems to imply a welfare state. Indeed, the 1964 editorial urged Japan to become “a welfare state.” It argued that this would be “a state ideal” (kokka risō 国家理想) upon which both conservative and progressive parties agreed, and pointed out that Prime Minister Ikeda upheld the welfare state in his policy speech. Yomiuri occasionally discussed the welfare state in this way, as a vision for Japan and the Japanese throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Its editors, apparently, did not agitate for Japan’s economic expansion, nor did they approve of the
constitutional revision, and they supported the welfare state as Japan’s “state ideal” or “state goal.” The stance of Yomiuri as a nationalist was ambiguous, but it clearly sought the reunification of the divided nation in the name of a new form of nationalism.

Yomiuri’s 1966 editorial deserves some attention. It opined that “Japan’s postwar nationalism” (Nihon no sengo nashonarizumu 日本の戦後ナショナリズム) should not be self-righteous as it had been before 1945, but should support “international democracy” (kokusai teki minshushugi 国際的民主主義), prosperity, and peace in Asia. In this respect, Yomiuri seemed similar in its views to those of Asahi in the same year, but unlike Asahi, Yomiuri did not mention the constitution at all. In addition, the editorial stressed that postwar Japan’s nationalism should be clarified along with a “state goal” (kokka mokuhyo 国家目標). Whereas “state” is a positive key word for Yomiuri, states cause international and domestic problems for Asahi, as will be discussed later. This pro-state tendency continues in Yomiuri to the present: its views have long been, and still are, those of state nationalism.

To which side, conservative or progressive, did Yomiuri’s new nationalism based on the welfare state belong? Asano (2006) argues that Yomiuri was a progressive paper before the 1980s, since it promoted the welfare state as a national goal for the Japanese. This is a good point, but only if progressives had monopolized the welfare state. However, it was the Liberal Democratic Party that upheld the welfare state in its party platform upon its establishment in 1955. Prime ministers from the LDP, including Ishibashi Tanzan, Kishi Nobusuke, and Ikeda Hayato, emphasized the welfare state in their administrative policies; on the other hand, the Socialist Party, the opposition party as well as the party for a workers’ revolution, hesitated to declare for the welfare state in
its agenda (Ishikawa and Hirose 1989). The welfare state as publicized by Yomiuri should be understood in this context. At the same time, Yomiuri in the 1950s disapproved of conservatives' efforts to change the constitution. Therefore, Yomiuri seemingly agreed with economic nationalist conservatives.

In the 1960s, against the backdrop of the domestic upheaval around the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty Renewal of 1960, Asahi and Yomiuri simultaneously sought to establish their own visions for a postwar nationalism in order to resuscitate nationalism. Watanabe Osamu (1994) asserts that throughout the anti-Security Treaty Renewal movement, the popular sentiment for pacifism and the peace constitution as it stood had become a major determinant factor in postwar politics. Watanabe Osamu further argues that having learned from this 1960 upheaval, conservative leaders afterwards began to focus on Japan's economic recovery and expansion, and let the constitution stand as the sine qua non of the postwar political system. The people loved their recovery from the postwar poverty and the vast improvement of their material life. As a result, the conservatives and the progressives compromised (Gao 1998). The old conservatives who demanded Japan's security independence began to decline (Pyle 1996). That is, because of its great success, economic policy became a less important issue for a contestation between conservative and progressive parties. The conservatives gave less priority to the security issue while the progressives primarily played the role of guardians of the peace constitution (Otake 1994). Yomiuri shared the former's views while Asahi lined up with the latter. However, the success of the high-growth economy would raise a question to Japan as a full-fledged member of the world community in the 1970s, and the two newspapers attempted to answer this question.
**Worries about the Consequences of Economic Nationalism**

The postwar high-growth economy had matured and slowed by the early 1970s. The Japanese noticed that Japan had become a world economic power. The terms, “major state” (*shuyōkoku* 主要国) and “economic power” (*keizai taikoku* 経済大国), haunted Japan’s public discourses, including newspaper editorials. The two newspapers contemplated what role Japan, as an economic power and a major state, should play politically. This led to the exploration of a new national identity for the Japanese, who also began to question the consequences of economic nationalism.

In 1970, *Yomiuri* was afraid that Japan as an economic power would spend more money to be a military power. As before, *Yomiuri* supported the formation of a welfare state, instead of a “military state” (*gunjikokka* 軍事国家), and paid critical attention to the hawks in 1970, 1971, and 1976. Meanwhile, it feared in 1973, 1974, and 1975 that the high-growth economy and materialism had had a negative impact on the Japanese people. The solution to materialism was presented in 1978: a return to “the traditional Japanese spirit” (*yamato-gokoro* 大和ごころ), which stressed consideration for others. *Yomiuri* believed that materialism had allowed egotism to burgeon among the Japanese and asked them to recover the traditional Japanese spirit.

*Asahi* also questioned the consequences of the high-growth economy and economic nationalism. Its 1971 editorial lamented that the Japanese people had apparently adopted the two principles of “peace and democracy” merely as a disguise for the “economic-growth-first policy” (*keizaiseichō dai’ichishugi* 經済成長第一主義), and asked the Japanese to re-affirm their commitment to those two principles. In 1973, *Asahi* argued that the Japanese should ditch “economic nationalism” because it scared other...
countries. It stressed the peace constitution as Japan’s national principle in 1972, and recommended that Japan have a “comprehensive strategy for peace” (heiwa no tameno sōgō senryaku 平和のための総合戦略) in 1979. That was how Japan as a major power would take its responsibility in the world.

In the 1970s, Asahi and Yomiuri shared negative views on the consequences of the high-growth economy and were concerned about Japan’s future role as a major state. However, Asahi adhered to the peace constitution while Yomiuri embraced the welfare state. In the next decade, Yomiuri’s views underwent a significant shift and its editorials shifted to an open attack on pacifist nationalism.

**Yomiuri’s Internationalist Nationalism**

In the 1980s Japan had been an economic power while struggling in trade disputes with its allies in the West, and feeling the Cold War tensions at the eastern end of the Eurasian continent. At the same time, affluent Japan with limited military capability was accused of being “a free rider” of world peace by Western countries, as the 1978 and 1979 Asahi editorials pointed out. In 1979, Asahi expressed the hope that Japan as a major state would present a “comprehensive strategy for peace.” On the other hand, Yomiuri’s response to the accusations was to support a new conservative nationalism in the name of internationalism.

In the 1980s, Yomiuri accused postwar pacifists of having made Japan a selfish pacifist state in international society. It supported neoconservative nationalist Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro, who hoped to internationalize Japan as an active ally of the West led by the United States. It was Nakasone, as a most verbal proponent of internationalist nationalism, who popularized the terms “international state” (kokusai
As an economic power and a member of the developed Western community, Nakasone believed, Japan should contribute to world peace not only through finance, but also politics and military assistance. This is the Japanese neoconservative styling of Japan’s international contribution as an international state.

By then, Nakasone had attempted to win nationalism back from the progressives on behalf of conservatives (Sado 2003). Once an old-style conservative who sought Japan’s security independence, he changed his approach and began to attack postwar pacifism and solve Japan’s international and domestic problems by promoting his version of internationalism for world peace. He also aimed to bring back to Japan its prestige in the international community, while nurturing a new national identity for its people (Otake 1994; Pyle 1996). Unlike old conservatives, including both political and economic nationalists, Nakasone clearly placed Japan into a contemporary international context, seeing both its strengths and weaknesses, and accepting the negative impact of Japan’s economic nationalism on the international community. Pyle (1996, 94) named his approach “liberal nationalism,” because Nakasone “argued for an appreciation of Japan’s special strengths and abilities within an international framework that combined national pride with appreciation for the cultures and traditions of other nations.” Otake (1994,

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64 Nakasone preferred to use “international society,” “international state,” and “international contribution” in his policy speeches at the Diet. He discussed Japan’s role in “international society” in his speech at the regular Diet session in January 1983, touched on the “international state” at the extraordinary session in September 1983 and at the special session in January 1984, and clarified “international contribution” at the extraordinary session in September 1986. The transcripts of the speeches above can be retrieved from the Internet database, The World and Japan: http://www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~worldjpnl/
calls Nakasone’s effort “international nationalism” (kokusaiteki nashonarizumu 国際的ナショナリズム) and argues that Nakasone challenged the “isolationist-pacifism” (sakokuteki heiwashugi 鎮国の平和主義) sponsored by the progressives and dovish conservatives. Yomiuri in the 1980s apparently shared Nakasone’s internationalist nationalism. Since then, Yomiuri has been an internationalist-nationalist medium. However, it can also be regarded as a state nationalist since its editorials viewed domestic and international politics through the eyes of the state. The next section examines Yomiuri’s collaboration with Nakasone and its support for the neoconservative internationalist nationalism and its state nationalist tendency of the 1980s to 1990s.

In 1980 Yomiuri had already begun to present new goals for Japan as an international state, although it did not use that term. The 1980 editorial suggested three points; (1) Japan should stop being a selfish economic power; (2) Japan should uphold a new national ideal to be a world leader, not only for the sake of Japan but also for the world; and (3) Japan should cooperate with the West led by the United States and contribute to world peace in some way other than by providing financial support. This editorial emphasized that the “Pax Americana” that had nurtured Japan’s postwar peace was ending and regarded the U.S. hostage crisis in Iran as a symbol of the declining U.S. superpower status. Yomiuri contended that Japan as an economic power could no longer enjoy being “an isolated island of prosperity” and should use its wealth for international cooperation and world peace. According to the editorial, Japan had to articulate “a new national ideal” for “its further advancement of international cooperation beyond its nationalism.” Only thereby could Japan gain other countries’ trust and become a world leader along with the United States.
This editorial was published nearly three years before Nakasone gained the prime ministership in November 1982. However, the three points above nicely overlap with the “four major tenets of Nakasone’s grand design to reorient Japan’s national purpose and to establish a new national consensus in place of the Yoshida Doctrine” presented by Pyle (1994, 89):

1. Japan would no longer be a follower nation.
2. Japan would be prepared for global leadership by being remade into an international state.
3. A new liberal nationalism would be based on the concept of the country’s national interests beyond traditional nationalism.
4. Japan would assume an active role in global strategic affairs.

Both Nakasone and Yomiuri hoped Japan would become a world leader, and they dismissed its narrow national interest. There is no mystery about whether Yomiuri and Nakasone collaborated to formulate similar views and visions for Japan: Watanabe Tsuneo, Yomiuri’s Editorial Committee Chair in those days, and Nakasone had maintained a close relationship since the 1950s (Uozumi 2000; Watanabe et al. 2000).

The new internationalism can be discerned in Yomiuri’s 1981 editorial when it attacked the conservatives who demanded Japan establish military independence through nuclear armament, and stressed that in today’s world, security in general depended on “international mutual dependence.” The next editorial in 1982 declared the superiority of the capitalist countries in the West to the socialist countries in the East while recommending that Japan fix its trade disputes with Western countries. Yomiuri’s support for Nakasone was even more obvious after he became prime minister. The 1983 editorial used Nakasone’s term in naming Japan “a member of the West.”

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In 1984, Yomiuri took a further step to attack the leftists in Japan. Its editorial asserted that the leftwing activists in the West and Japan had used anti-nuclear movements to benefit the Soviet Union and to disrupt the alliance of the West. This editorial is well-known as a symbol of Yomiuri’s drastic conservative swing (Maezawa 2000a, 2000b). It also discussed how the leftists had intentionally neglected the Soviet threat against Japan and allowed only the United States to be held responsible for the world’s armament expansion. These editorial opinions seem to be Yomiuri’s counterattack to Asahi’s editorials of 1982 and 1983. In the previous year, anti-nuclear movements had flourished in industrialized countries, and Nakasone had stunned the Japanese public by announcing that the Japanese archipelago could be an “unsinkable aircraft carrier” (fuchin kūbo 不沈空母) for the Japan-U.S. security alliance. The 1984 editorial may have been written to back Nakasone’s apparently hawkish statement, and to support his on-going efforts to revise Japan’s defense budget limit. In 1985 and 1986, Yomiuri’s editorials criticized the media firms and scholars who took the side of pro-Soviet and anti-American leftists in Japan. The 1986 editorial also stressed that biased media firms wrongly had labeled Japan’s security alliance with the United States as a resurgence of prewar militarism.

Furthermore, Yomiuri’s 1984 editorial introduced another shift of opinion. In this editorial, it disparaged Japan’s welfare policy, arguing that it was a handout and discouraged diligence and saving. Yomiuri had apparently changed its mind about the welfare state as a national goal. The 1985 and 1986 editorials also questioned Japan’s welfare policy, coinciding with Nakasone’s welfare reform. While promoting internationalist nationalism for foreign policy, Nakasone attempted to reduce government
expenditure and privatize government-own corporations. Nakasone and his advisers, economic neo-liberals, sought administrative, educational, and welfare reforms; Nakasone was part of the world's neo-liberal reform trend along with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher (Otaki 1994; Pyle 1996). If Japan's high-growth economic policy strengthened Japan's economic nationalism, Nakasone's introduction of neo-liberal economic reforms could be interpreted as Japan's attempt for economic internationalism.

Again Yomiuri asserted in its 1988 editorial that Japan should play a major role in establishing world peace and stabilizing the world economy. It argued that postwar Japan had been a selfish member of international society by upholding "one-country prosperity-ism" (ikkoku han'eishugi 一国繁栄主義) and "one-country pacifism" (ikkoku heiwashugi 一国平和主義). Yomiuri contended that the constitution had been exploited as an excuse for Japan's selfish peace-seeking, and argued that in order to realize another constitutional principle, internationalism, and to be an international state, Japan had to be prepared to deploy the Self-Defense Forces on UN peacekeeping operations. In a sense, Yomiuri had hit on the truth about postwar pacifism and economic nationalism, and demanded that the Japanese depart from their old practices.

The post-Cold War era provided a shock to the conservative government when the international community did not appreciate Japan's "checkbook diplomacy" during the Gulf War of 1990, when the government failed to send SDF ground troops to the Middle East despite LDP leaders' serious efforts to do so. Japan's robust financial contribution to the US-led multinational forces failed to impress the Kuwaitis and the nations that had

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67 Ito (1991) uses this "one-country prosperity-ism" as a translated term of ikkoku han'eishugi. I followed Ito's term in English. Meanwhile, "one-country pacifism" as a translated term of ikkoku heiwashugi is found in many English articles.
joined the military campaign. Conversely, this “Gulf Shock” helped *Yomiuri* to promote the internationalization of Japan after the Shock made the general public in Japan aware of the awkwardness of Japan’s “checkbook diplomacy” in military-operated international cooperation. *Yomiuri*’s 1991 editorial lamented the Diet’s decision not to send troops to the Gulf, and blamed the left opposition parties and media for their resistance to the SDF deployment plan in the previous year as well as their one-country pacifism. In 1992, *Yomiuri* argued that one-country pacifism conflicted with “the principle of international cooperation” (*kokusai kyöchōshugi 国際協調主義*) in the constitution. *Yomiuri* asserted that the preface of the constitution criticized selfish countries and aspired for Japan to hold “an honored place in an international society.” *Yomiuri* thus concluded that Japan should send the SDF on UN peacekeeping operations to make the country “an honored international state.” In its 1993 editorial, *Yomiuri* asked the Japanese why they were not respected in the world even though they provided major economic contributions. The answer: Japan’s “one-country pacifism.” *Yomiuri* thus emphasized the necessity of a constitutional amendment to allow Japan to participate in UN peacekeeping operations. This logic was repeated in the 1994 editorial. Indeed, *Yomiuri* proposed its own version of constitutional revisions in its morning paper on November 3, 1994, and repeatedly argued against postwar pacifism over the following three years. The editorials called postwar pacifism an “emotional, religious peace theory” in 1996 and “unrealistic, emotional, isolationist-pacifism” in 1997.

In addition, two editorials in the late 1990s are worth mentioning. *Yomiuri*’s 1998 editorial revealed that its internationalism was the flipside of a new conservative nationalism. While condemning prewar state nationalism for its linkage with wars, this
editorial contended that the Japanese should share "nationalism sustained by healthy democracy and the honor of Japanese culture" in order to develop an "internationalism truly accepted in international society." This combination of good nationalism with tradition and internationalism is also what Nakasone attempted to promote in the 1980s (Otake 1994; Pyle 1996; Hood 2001). We now know that the combination of nationalism and internationalism is a crucial format for postwar nationalism not only for the progressives but also the conservatives.

The second intriguing editorial in this decade was in 1999. Yomiuri attacked "postwar democracy" (sengo minshushugi 戦後民主主義), on the grounds that it had popularized three detrimental notions among the Japanese: (1) extreme anti-state thinking, (2) excessive egalitarianism, and (3) one-country pacifism. Yomiuri believed that postwar democracy was fostered under the influence of the socialist camp and the progressive intellectuals and that the three detrimental notions were consequences of it. As noted above, the "state" had been a positive entity for Yomiuri. The first notion apparently reflected this belief. The criticism of egalitarianism may be a flashback to its support for individualism in the 1950s. In addition, Yomiuri seemed to share the criticisms of postwar democracy with the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform. The history textbook reformers enthusiastically argued that the postwar democracy had caused the degeneration of the Japanese people (Eiji Oguma 2003). However, from Asahi's viewpoint, delivered in the 2001 New Year's Day editorial, the neoconservatives' combination of nationalism and internationalism was a symptom of the revival of prewar aggressive nationalism, and the history textbook reformers were xenophobic state nationalists.
Asahi’s Criticism of Internationalist Nationalism

Asahi reconsidered Japan’s role as a major state from the 1970s, and its answer was its favorite slogan: peace. Japan was expected to be a “peace state” (heiwa kokka 和国家), upholding the peace constitution. In contrast to Yomiuri, Asahi believed that the United States would endanger Japan and continuously blamed the conservative government for cooperating with the United States on Japan’s defense policy change in the 1980s. Consequently, Asahi attacked Nakasone’s internationalism. From Asahi’s viewpoint, it was a symptom of resurging jingoistic, state nationalism. In the 1990s, Asahi lamented that the world was in peril because of self-serving states and upheld pacifism as an antidote to dangerous state-centered politics in the world. From the 1980s to the 1990s, Asahi seemed to go back to its old principle, world federalism, doubting the state per se as a political institution. The rivalry between Asahi and Yomiuri was clearer than ever before in these last two decades of the twentieth century. This section introduces how Asahi reacted to the neoconservative nationalism and internationalism of the 1980s and 1990s.

Asahi’s 1980 editorial wondered how Japan as a major state took responsibility in the world. Like Yomiuri editorial in this year, Asahi argued that America’s power had relatively declined while stressing that Japan had to find its new role as “a peace state.” In 1982, Asahi discussed a “peace strategy” (heiwa senryaku 和平戦略) for Japan to become “a major state” in the world. It asserted that Japan’s “three anti-nuclear principles” should be the core of the peace strategy while warning the Japanese of the “prewar syndrome” (senzen shōkōgun 戦前症候群) and questioning “Soviet threat theories” (Soren kyōiron の連脅威論). It blamed the United States for pushing Japan’s
defense budget hike, and believed that conservatives used the “Soviet threat theories” and were caught up in the “prewar syndrome” to serve such goals as changing the constitution. The 1982 editorial argued that Japan, as “an economic power with no nuclear arsenal” (hikaku no keizaitaikoku 比較の経済大国), must contribute to the world in a different way from the United States. In 1983, Asahi regarded the Nakasone Cabinet and the United States as threats to the peace state, Japan. From Asahi’s viewpoint, Japan had become an economic power and major state by being a peace state. In 1984 and 1985, Asahi again demanded Japan follow a peace strategy. The 1986 and 1987 editorials argued that Japan might be reversing its course toward the prewar period in the name of nationalism and internationalization promoted by pro-American conservatives. After Yomiuri openly attacked one-country pacifism and economic isolationism in 1988, Asahi asserted in its 1989 editorial that Japan should be “a respected merchant state” (ikeisareru tsūshōkokka 懇敬される通商国家). In this decade, Asahi’s bottom line was pacifism as before and its arguments sounded like forthright counter-arguments against Yomiuri’s editorials.

After the Diet decided in November 1990 to not send SDF ground troops to the Persian Gulf, Asahi in its 1991 editorial contended, “Our way of life is basically not wrong”: It is morally right that a rich state like Japan should choose not to be a military power. But Asahi admitted that Japan had failed to gain respect in the world, so the editorial again asked the government to present a “clear philosophy for peace

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68 Japan actually sent its Maritime Self-Defense Force’s sea minesweepers to the Gulf for the postwar operations. Compared with this type of international cooperation, the deployment of ground troops tends to be controversial for politicians as well as the public probably because ground troops might have to participate in an actual battle and lose personnel upon being deployed.
diplomacy.” Meanwhile, *Asahi* evidently believed that the Japanese were destined to promote “the world without borders.” Nonetheless, *Asahi* was afraid that international politics was still “the clash of state egotism.” Similarly, in its 1992 editorial, *Asahi* repeated the idea of the clash of state egotism as an evil of international politics, and hoped that postwar Japan’s economic recovery based on pacifism would be a universal model in the world. It seems that the state was becoming a menace to the world for *Asahi*. But this was not a brand-new subject for *Asahi*’s New Year’s Day editorials. It was more like the reemergence of the world federalism of the 1950s when *Asahi* hoped sovereignty would be limited under a world federal government. Again the two newspapers’ mutual criticism was clear: The two newspapers’ competing views on the state appeared more clearly contrasted than before.

*Asahi*’s 1994 editorial warned the Japanese people that “narrow-minded nationalism (*henkyō na nashonarizumu* 偏狭なナショナリズム) and arrogant internationalism (*nohōzu na kokusaishugi* 野放囲な国際主義) could prevail in a drastically changing society.” Although this editorial did not name Nakasone or *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* recognized that the neoconservative nationalism and internationalism could be a threat to world peace. Consequently, *Asahi* in 1995 asked people in the world to transcend national borders and cooperate to control “states” (*kokka* 国家) and resist “radical nationalism” (*kokusuishugi* 国粹主義). This editorial also questioned the state-centered international system and the United States. This was only a year after *Yomiuri* had proposed its own constitutional reform plan. Although *Asahi* did not mention Yomiuri’s proposal in this New Year’s Day editorial, it should be noted that Asahi proposed a new government organization for non-military international cooperation,
including humanitarian and post-natural disaster aids, in its morning edition on May 3, Constitution Day, while emphasizing its support for the constitution and its Article 9 in particular (Asahi Shimbun Chōsa Kenkyūshitsu 1994; Asahi Shimbun Ronsetsu Iinshitsu 1995).

In 1996, Asahi again argued that the Japanese were obligated to promote the principles of the constitution, such as pacifism and antimilitarism, in the world. Thirty years had passed since Asahi stressed the constitutional principles for Japan's new nationalism. To strike back against the rising neo-conservative internationalist nationalism, it seems that Asahi had return to its old favorites, the constitutional principles and world federalism. Asahi continued to believe that sovereignty of states must be limited for world peace. This anti-state stance would clash with Yomiuri's state nationalism.

**Pro-State Yomiuri and Anti-State Asahi**

Since the turn of the century, the rivalry between the two newspapers has become much sharper than before: The attacks on September 11, 2001, followed by the Iraq War, have especially accentuated their editorial duel. Yomiuri and Asahi display their clearly different views on international politics while continuing to stress, respectively, the importance of state identity and national identity for the Japanese. In other words, Yomiuri has hardened in its state nationalist tendency while Asahi has virtually returned to its old favorite, world federalism, and strengthened its anti-state nationalist posture. In addition, the two newspapers are now clearly divided by their respective pro- and anti-U.S. stances.
In the first year of the new millennium, even before 9/11, Asahi and Yomiuri coincidentally showed very conflicting views on the problems that Japan and the world faced, and their proposed solutions. Yomiuri's 2001 editorial pointed out the ongoing inter-state economic competition. To win this competition, Japan should terminate its egalitarian postwar educational system to produce "capable human resources." In yet another attack on postwar democracy, Yomiuri held that the postwar system of education discouraged Japanese youths from improving themselves through competition with their classmates. The editorial recommended that Japan clarify its "state identity" (kokka toshiten no aidentiti 国家としてのアイデンティティ), because any powerful state must clearly understand its own identity if it wishes to maintain a position of leadership. According to Yomiuri, state identity was made of "state visions" and "state goals" based on its traditional culture and history. Here, Yomiuri saw international politics as inter-state politics, and the "state" was evidently not synonymous with the government. It was a political community and entity in international society. In contrast to Asahi, this is the way Yomiuri, even today, understands the state and the nation, and the world: The state is the primary unit in both domestic and international politics, a view once shared by Prime Minister Nakasone. In 1985, Nakasone said that the Japanese state had been constructed as a "natural community" (shizen teki kyōdō tai 自然的共同体), unlike the Western states, which based their communities on social contracts.69 Therefore, for the Japanese, the nation and the state are inseparable. In this respect, Yomiuri clearly differs

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69 This was addressed in Nakasone's lecture at the fifth Karuizawa Seminar on July 27, 1985. The transcript of this lecture was retrieved from the Internet database, The World and Japan: http://www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~worldjpn/documents/texts/exdpm/19850727.S1J.html
from *Asahi*, where the state is often regarded as a threat to the nation and international society.

By contrast, *Asahi*’s 2001 editorial, mentioning the UN Year of Dialogue among Civilizations, stressed that the world transformed by globalization needed dialogues between the different ethnic-nations and religious groups. *Asahi* believed that the world’s peoples had gone back to their own traditional values and become narrow-minded and inward-looking. In Japan, similarly, “state nationalistic movements” (*kokkashugiteki na undō* 国家主義的な運動) had generated a “xenophobic and narrow-minded attitude” (*haigaiteki na henkyōsa* 排外的な偏狭さ) on the part of the people. The Japanese Society of History Textbook Reform exemplified this attitude. Yet, just as in past editorials, *Asahi* found hope in Japan’s age-old traditions. It spoke of how the Japanese traditionally accepted foreign ideas and thought systems, integrating them into Japanese culture, such as the adoption of the Chinese political system and Buddhism in the 7th century; the Westernization of the Meiji period; and even the postwar democratization led by the United States. *Asahi* believed that the Japanese imported things foreign and skillfully modified them for Japanese usage.

In the four years after 9/11, the two newspapers escalated their editorial duel. In 2002, *Yomiuri* asserted that Japan must change the constitution in order to promptly deploy SDF troops against terrorism. Its 2003 editorial contended that international terrorist organizations were the common enemy of Japan and the United States. *Yomiuri*’s 2004 editorial highly praised Japan’s decision to deploy SDF troops in Iraq and asserted that this risky deployment was going to be a crucial test for Japan as a member of international society. In 2005, *Yomiuri* demanded the renewal of the constitution as well
as the Fundamental Law of Education. As it had done in 1999 and 2001, *Yomiuri* blamed the postwar education system for promoting too much egalitarianism, arguing that Japan needed capable human resources for inter-state economic competition. Again *Yomiuri* asked the Japanese to formulate a state identity and to be aware of themselves as a state.

*Asahi* showed its skepticism of the sincerity of the United States. Its 2002 editorial criticized President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro for their sound-bite remarks, and in 2003, further questioned the legitimacy of the United States as a world leader. At the same time, *Asahi* was afraid that the intensive media coverage of North Korea's abduction of Japanese civilians would produce “unhealthy nationalism,” that is, xenophobia, among the Japanese, and stressed the Japanese traditional tolerance for others as a warning against it. In illustration of its point, the editorial mentioned the importance of the theme of polytheism in the 2002 hit animation *Spirited Away*, and argued that this theme reflected the Japanese traditional tolerance of foreign cultures. That was what today's Japanese needed; *Asahi* argued that the Japanese should return to “the spirit of multitudinous gods” (*yaorozu no kami no seishin* 八百神の精神). Unlike *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* in its 2004 editorial condemned the Diet's decision to deploy SDF ground troops in Iraq and argued that the Japanese should be proud of the SDF as “an unusual military force” with limited international operations. For *Asahi*, the Iraq War seemed to be a nightmare, while for *Yomiuri*, it provided a great opportunity for Japan's international contribution.

For the first years of the new millennium, the two newspapers have further discussed their different views on the state and nation, and the world that the Japanese faces. The continuity of each newspaper's individual viewpoint is clear. *Yomiuri* views
the world through the prism of the state. The state is a primary actor in world politics, and Japan and the Japanese must be encouraged to face the world as a state. On the other hand, Asahi sees the nation as primary actor, and understands that sovereign states become entangled with the negative side of world politics. While Yomiuri is concerned about Japan’s lack of state identity, Asahi repeats that Japan’s ethnic traditions and culture are a positive support as the Japanese face world politics. The two newspapers contrast clearly in supporting or doubting the United States as Japan’s partner or the world leader. Pro- and anti-US attitudes are as important in today’s nationalism as they were in the 1960s.

**Chapter Conclusion**

Perhaps it is odd to contend that pacifism and internationalism may combine to make nationalism. But, as this paper has demonstrated, both conservatives and anti-conservatives have attempted to combine nationalism and internationalism while seeking Japan’s role in the development of world peace. Asahi and its progressive allies upheld pacifism to unite the Japanese people, and to bolster their national pride. They emphasized the peace constitution as the main resource for nationalism and internationalism. They hoped Japan would become a world leader in promoting world federalism and world peace although their dreams were never realized, especially at the international level, as they hoped. Their ideas of pacifist nationalism, as well as Asahi’s support for world federalism, came from their regret and criticism of wartime Japan’s aggressive nationalism sponsored by the state. When they started their movement for pacifist nationalism, Japan was not at all a world economic power, so even if their attempt lacked a substantial contribution to world peace, few found their act futile.
However, the enormous success of Japan’s postwar economic recovery fostered by economic nationalism, along with the continuation of the Cold War, dragged the progressives into an uncomfortable spot. There, neoconservatives found a way to dislodge pacifist nationalism. Nakasone and Yomiuri especially blamed the postwar pacifists for having made Japan into a selfish pacifist state, and attempted to promote their version of a combined internationalism and nationalism. They hoped to make Japan a world leader that could contribute to world peace as an equal partner to the capitalist states of the West. This made more sense than persevering with pacifist nationalism, given the continuing Cold War and Japan’s new status of world economic power. Neoconservatives seemed to learn from the failures of wartime ultra-nationalism as well as old conservative nationalism in the early postwar period and had to fix negative consequences of Japan’s economic nationalism while they shared the demand for “good nationalism” not only for Japan but also for the world with pacifist-nationalists. But for them, the state is an essential foundation for the nation and the world. In recent years, Asahi seems to have lost its taste for pacifist nationalism while further strengthening its anti-state stance while its editorials have overtones of world federalism. Although Asahi has repeatedly demanded that Japan have a strategy for peace, it apparently remains critical of internationalist nationalism and has failed to find new principles to guide the nation.

That is to say, these two newspapers, as well as the anti-conservatives and the neoconservatives, have developed a style of postwar nationalism that apparently promotes non-nationalistic principles, pacifism and internationalism, in an attempt to remove the stigma left by prewar ultra-nationalism, and to raise the status of Japan in
international politics. This is one of the most important motifs of nationalist politics in postwar Japan. However, the combination of nationalism and internationalism is not unique to postwar Japan. As Stegewerns (2003) and Doak (2003) show, political theorists have begun to question the mutual exclusiveness between nationalism and internationalism in general. Nationalism arises from a nation's consciousness of its international membership; nationalism and internationalism intertwine; and nationalism and internationalism even complement each other (Nairn 1993; Billig 1995; Ishay 1995). Iriye stresses that non-Western countries such as Japan and China "had to embrace both nationalism (imagining themselves to be modern nation-states) and internationalism (visualizing themselves as members of the world community) as they sought to transform themselves" (1997, 20). After the defeat of WWII, political leaders and intellectuals in Japan, including Asahi, again adopted internationalism and nationalism together to regain Japan's membership in the international community. After its partners in the West criticized Japan's economic nationalism and free-riding of world peace, Nakasone and Yomiuri in particular again attempted to combine internationalism and nationalism in a different way.

As noted above, an individual's collective identities are not mutually exclusive; they can overlap each other while contesting and interacting. So, too, can a nation's several identities overlap. Asahi has repeatedly stressed Japan's traditional culture and its wartime experience in arguing for pacifist nationalism. In this respect, Asahi also has played the role of the ethnic nationalist against the state. This does not necessarily mean all ethnic nationalists are always against the state: whereas both Yomiuri and Nakasone regarded the state as a unit of world politics, Nakasone can well be regarded as an ethnic
nationalist. He publicly maintained that the Japanese were an “ethnically homogenous nation” (tan’itsu minzoku 単一民族), and believed that Japan was the state of the “ethnic nation of the Japanese” (Nihon minzoku 日本民族). The tone of ethnic nationalism is clear in these statements. Apparently Nakasone was a state nationalist as well as an internationalist-nationalist. Only in theory are views, principles and ideals and labels well-organized and distinct; in reality, however, contradicting and competing identities can co-exist within a single entity, whether a person, an institution, or a political movement. Japan’s largest newspapers are no exception to this rule: Asahi is a pacifist, and an internationalist, and an ethnic nationalist; Yomiuri is a state nationalist, and an internationalist, and an economic neo-liberal. No nationalist, person or party, emerges or exists alone. National identity does not exist in a vacuum, nor does it exist as something monolithic. Rather national identity coexists with other collective identities along with the political dynamic. The example of nationalism in Japan teaches that nationalism, anywhere, in any place, should be regarded as a dynamic political process in which a variety of nationalist groups contest and interact with each other. It is not enough to observe nationalism by focusing on the nationalist ideology of only one particular group, making it clear that future studies of this topic should observe the plurality of nationalisms that make up the greater nationalism of any groups.

The following two chapters examine the news coverage of the history textbook controversy in 2001 and the murders of two Japanese diplomats in Iraq in 2003. The primary aim of these chapters is to show how the views and ideals that the two newspapers prefer for the nation or the state affected their editorials and coverage of

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70 See the transcript of Nakasone’s lecture at the fifth Karuizawa Seminar on July 27, 1985 and also Otake (1994).
those specific stories. In Asahi’s case, pacifism, and anti-state and anti-US stances affected its editorials and news coverage. In Yomiuri’s case, neo-conservative internationalism, and pro-state and pro-US stances can be detected in its editorials and news articles.
CHAPTER 4. THE HISTORY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY OF 2001

Chapter Introduction

Conservatives and progressives in Japan have disputed the contents of school textbooks. Especially history textbooks for junior high school education become primary target for ideological controversy. The tale of the rise and fall of Imperial Japan from the Meiji Period to the end of World War II has been the most disputed part of these textbooks. Conservatives are concerned that the textbooks lack national pride and fail to develop patriotism among Japanese youths. Progressives fear that textbooks may downplay Imperial Japan's aggressions in Asia and allow a revival of prewar state-centered nationalism. The textbook authorization or screening (kyōkasho kentei 教科書検定) performed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Monbu Kagakushō 文部科学省 or Monkashō 文科省; hereafter Ministry of Education) provides ideologues with an opportunity to dispute over the textbooks.71 As victims of Imperial Japan's aggressions and colonization, Japan's neighbors, South Korea and China, have been occasional but important participants in Japan's textbook controversies since the 1980s, and they assume that nationalistic education in Japan is a symptom of the resurgence of its militarism. A series of textbook controversies in Japan culminated in 2001 with the publication of a history textbook for junior high school students by a group

71 Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (Monbu kagakushō) was established in January 2001 as a result of the merger between the Ministry of Education, Science, Sports, and Culture (Monbushō 文部省) and the Science and Technology Agency (Kagaku Gijutsuchō 科学技術庁). Its official acronym is MEXT. The Textbook Authorization Council under the Ministry of Education examines school textbooks submitted by private publishers about every four years.

This chapter examines the two newspapers' editorials and news articles regarding this history textbook controversy. Both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* devoted numerous news articles and editorials on to this apparently nationalistic issue. Chapter Three already has shown *Asahi* as an anti-state pacifist-nationalist critical of conservatives in its New Year's Day editorials. This fourth chapter, hence, assumes that *Asahi* would attack the controversial textbook in both its editorials and its news articles. On the other hand, Chapter Three has presented *Yomiuri* as a pro-state nationalist likely to be supportive of conservative organizations promoting education reform. This chapter accordingly expects that *Yomiuri* in its editorials and editorials would have argued in support of the Society for History Textbook Reform, and defended its textbook. But how did the two newspapers editorials define this textbook controversy? How did their definitions differ from each other? In addition, did their editorial views clearly reflect their different sub-nationalisms that we have seen in their New Year's Day editorials? Did they frame their news stories based on their different editorial views and nationalist ideals? This chapter first introduces the outline of the history textbook controversy of 2001. Second, it discusses their editorial analyses. Third, it presents a quantitative and qualitative analyses of their news articles. The final section of this chapter reexamines the two newspapers' views and news coverage of the controversy, and reconciles these results with the results found in Chapter Three.
**Background for Analysis: Conservatives and Textbooks**

Miyake (2002) points out that there have been three tides of textbook controversies raised by conservatives; the first came in the 1950s, the second in the 1980s, and the third in the 1990s. During the so-called reverse-course period in the 1950s, conservative politicians campaigned against textbooks and authors. In 1982, governmental textbook authorization created a diplomatic issue between Japan and its neighbors; as a result, the Japanese government introduced the Neighboring-Countries Clause (*kinrin shōkoku jōkō* 近隣諸国条項) for textbook screening. The clause states, "Textbooks ought to show understanding and seek international harmony in their treatment of modern and contemporary historical events involving neighboring Asian countries." In 1986, a conservative organization, the National Conference to Defend Japan (*Nihon o Mamoru Kokuminkaigi* 日本を守る国民会議), attempted to publish its own version of a high school history textbook, *Shinpen Nihonshi* (新編日本史72), which led to another international dispute and, under pressure from China and South Korea, failed to pass authorization.

By the middle of the 1990s, the issue of the so-called military comfort women (*jūgun ianfu* 徴軍慰安婦) received considerable public attention in Japan. In 1990, women's groups in South Korea began to protest the Japanese government's treatment of Korean comfort women. Former comfort women from South Korea sued the Japanese government in 1991. Subsequently, the Cabinet by Prime Minister Miyazawa Ki'ichi issued an apology for the wartime establishment of the comfort women system (See Table 1: Timeline of Textbook Controversy, 1992 - 2001). After this public apology,

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authors of junior high school history textbooks began to mention the comfort women issue in their textbooks, and in turn, conservatives in Japan began to speak out on the issue.73 Conservative scholars founded a study group of Japanese history, the Association for the Advancement of an Unbiased View of History (Jiyūshugi shikan kenkyūkai 自由主義史観研究会) in 1995, to criticize history education in general and authorized textbooks specifically.74 In 1997, those scholars established the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (hereafter referred to as the Society or JSHTTR) and demanded the removal of a description of the military comfort women issue from junior high school textbooks. A scholar of German literature, Nishio Kanji, a professor of pedagogy, Fujio Nobukatsu, and a cartoonist and social critic, Kobayashi Yoshinori, were the most outspoken members of the Society at that time.75 However, not only conservative scholars and writers but also many ordinary citizens joined the Society, creating a conservative populist movement (Eiji and Ueno Yōko Oguma 2003).

(Continued on the page 105)

73 The Society shows its own “Timeline of the Textbook Problem” (Kyokasho mondai no henreki 教科書問題の歴史) in its website: http://www.tsukurukai.com/02_about_us/03_move_02.html. The timeline covers textbook and education-related issues from the end of WWII to the present, so for the Society, the textbook problem has been an issue during the entire postwar period. This timeline gives considerable detail on the comfort women issue throughout the first half of the 1990s, presenting the official apologies and statements made by the Miyazawa Cabinet.
74 The Association’s website in English can be found at: http://www.jiyuusshikan.org/e/index.html
75 They are among the founding members of the Society. Nishio is the first president of the Society. Fujio is the current president since May 30, 2007. Nishio and Fujio co-authored Kokumin no yudan: Rekishi kyōkasho ga abunai (national negligence: history textbooks are in danger), published from PHP Kenkyūjo in 1996, criticizing pre-existing history textbooks. Kobayashi authored and co-authored several books in the late 1990s in order to criticize history textbooks and introduce the Society’s activities. However, Kobayashi left from the Society in 2002.
Table 1. Timeline of Textbook Controversy, 1992-2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Prime Minister Miyazawa Kimito apologizes for Japan's colonization of Korea and the military comfort women on a visit to South Korea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chief Cabinet Secretary Kato Koichiro (PM Miyazawa) announces that the government was involved in the establishment of comfort stations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>June</td>
<td></td>
<td>The textbook authorization process is completed. All history textbooks for use in junior high schools touch on the military comfort women issue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohsei (PM Miyazawa) apologizes for Imperial Japan's government involvement in the establishment of comfort stations, suggesting that many women were forced to be comfort women.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Association for the Advancement of an Unbiased View of History is established (exact date unknown).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (Society or JSHTR) is established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>April</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fusōsha applies for textbooks, including <em>New History Textbook</em>, edited by JSHTR to undergo the textbook authorization process (exact date unknown).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July</td>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>Asahi Shimbun</em> reports on the contents of the Society's civics textbook in its morning edition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>South Korea's Parliament passes a resolution demanding corrections in Japanese history textbooks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>A Chinese official meets with the Japanese ambassador in Beijing regarding the history textbooks in Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ministry of Education announces corrections for the new junior high school history textbooks, including <em>New History Textbook</em>, as part of its authorization process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ministry of Education announces the completion of the authorization process, and <em>New History Textbook</em> passes authorization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May</td>
<td></td>
<td>South Korean and Chinese governments demand corrections to the new junior high school history textbooks, including <em>New History Textbook</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>JSHTR submits its own corrections for <em>New History Textbook</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Japanese officials respectively meet with South Korean and Chinese officials regarding the history textbooks and announce that most of the corrections demanded by the two states have been rejected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Selection of textbooks for junior high schools by local educational boards starts in early July.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August</td>
<td></td>
<td>Textbook selection is completed in early August.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because of their frustration with pre-existing textbooks, members of the Society decided to write their own history textbook and civics textbook for junior high school students, planning to publish them through Fusiisha as authorized textbooks in 2001.76 The Society and Fusiisha submitted the history textbook and the civics textbook to the government to undergo the authorization process in April 2000.

Although the government’s textbook authorization process and the contents of the textbooks undergoing the process are usually not open to the public or the press, Mainichi released the text of the Society’s civics textbook in its morning edition of July 28, 2000. This was the first article reporting the contents of the Society’s textbook by a major newspaper. Subsequently, Asahi reported on the Society’s civics textbook in its morning edition on July 29, 2000.77 This article noted that the textbook questioned the righteousness and effectiveness of anti-nuclear movements and suggested the need for amendment of Article 9 in the Constitution. This article was evidently critical of the Society’s civics textbook.78

Although Asahi did not publish any articles regarding the Society’s textbooks in the month of August 2000, it did publish at least eleven articles on the Society’s

76 For junior high school education, there are three sub-fields, geography, history, and civics, for social studies. Textbooks that passed the authorization in 2001 would be used in schools from the academic year starting in April 2002.
78 The primary coverage spotlighted the Society’s civics textbook. However, afterwards, both Asahi and Yomiuri, as well as others, including the South Korean and Chinese governments, focused on its history textbook.
textbooks and related issues in news articles from September to January 2001. For example, in its morning edition on September 13, Asahi published an article reporting that the textbook justified Imperial Japan's annexation of Korea. On September 15, Asahi informed its readers that the South Korean government had expressed to the Japanese government its concern about the textbook justifying the annexation. In its morning edition on November 26, Asahi criticized the Society's petitioning of local assemblies in order to make local educational boards favorable toward its textbooks. In contrast, Yomiuri seemed disinterested in the Society's textbooks and related issues in 2000 and January 2001, as it had released no significant news article on those topics. This difference between the two newspapers illustrates Asahi's enthusiasm and Yomiuri's indifference for the issue. However, it should be noted that neither of the newspapers published any editorials on the Society's textbooks or its related issues between July 2000 and January 2001. That is, the substantial confrontation over the textbooks between the two newspapers started after this period.

Accordingly the analysis in this chapter focuses on the news coverage of this textbook controversy between February and August 2001, during which period both

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79 To find the eleven articles, I did not scan from page to page of Asahi's monthly bound editions, but I relied on their indexes.
80 "Kankoku heigō wa hitsuyō: Tsukurukai teian no kyōkasho ni" (The annexation was needed, the Society's textbook says), Asahi Shim bun, 13 September 2000, morning, p. 37.
81 "Tsukurukai kyōkasho: Kankoku seifu ga yūryo no i" (The Korean government concerned by the Society's textbook), Asahi Shim bun, 15 September 2000, morning, p. 37.
82 "Kyōkasho sentaku, kyōi handan ni" (The textbook selection should be done solely by the educational board), Asahi Shim bun, 26 November 2000, morning, p. 36.
83 I did not scan Yomiuri's monthly bound editions, but searched its online database with the key word, "Atarashi'i rekishi kyōkasho." I found only three short articles regarding the Society's petitions at local assemblies, but they were published in local pages, which usually do not appear in its monthly bound editions.
newspapers published several editorials and a large number of articles. From February to March 2001 in particular, politicians and officials in South Korea as well as China showed their disapproval of or concern over the New History Textbook in particular and other history textbooks in general. That is, the controversy clearly emerged as a diplomatic issue during this period. In early April, the Society’s New History Textbook was authorized. In May, the South Korean and Chinese governments examined the history textbooks that had passed the authorization process and officially requested corrections for those textbooks. In July, the Japanese government responded to the two foreign governments’ requests, announcing that only several factual corrections were necessary. At the same time, the textbook selection at the local level began, and it was completed by early August.

Analysis of Editorials

The previous chapter presented the two newspapers Asahi and Yomiuri as upholders of two different sets of sub-nationalisms. Asahi is a pacifist-nationalist, upholding the so-called peace constitution and critical of the state as a primary political entity in both domestic and international politics. Asahi also relies on the Japanese national experience of WWII and the nuclear bombings, and its ethnic tradition, to sustain its pacifist-nationalist discourse. Yomiuri, on the other hand, is an internationalist-nationalist, preferring the state as a primary entity of international politics and believing the state and the nation are inseparable. Since the 1980s, Yomiuri has assiduously attacked postwar pacifists and pressed for change to the peace constitution. In the 1990s, Yomiuri apparently shared some beliefs with the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform in that it was critical of the democracy of postwar Japan. The
first question that this section seeks to answer is how those characteristics of the two newspapers’ political stances have affected their editorial views on the history textbook controversy. The second question is how each newspaper has defined the controversy. This second question is based on Entman’s news framing analysis, discussed in Chapter Two. By seeking an answer to this question, this chapter expects to find clues for uncovering the two newspapers’ news framing of this textbook controversy through their news articles.

The method for examining editorial views in this section is a simple, straightforward interpretative analysis, along with consultation of the result of the analysis in the previous chapter. There are several aspects or actors of the controversy that each newspaper focused on in its editorials, such as the Society and its textbook, the Japanese government, the South Korean and Chinese governments, and Japanese citizen groups and union-organized teachers united against the Society’s textbook. The analysis revolves around those aspects and actors. More specifically, the analysis attempts to answer sub-questions of the questions given above: What kind of problem did each newspaper recognize as an effect of the publication and the authorization of *New History Textbook*? How did each newspaper evaluate each important actor in the controversy (e.g. the Society, the Japanese government, and the foreign governments)? More specifically, what did each newspaper believe caused the textbook controversy? What kind of problems did each newspaper point out during the controversy? What were their proposed solutions to the controversy? The rest of this section first gives an overview of the two newspapers’ editorial views on the textbook controversy. Second it examines similarities between their New Year’s Day editorials and editorials on the textbook
controversy. Third, it analyzes those editorials on the textbook controversy to see how each newspaper defined the controversy.

From February to August 2001, Asahi published eight editorials while Yomiuri printed six editorials concerning the textbook controversy (See Table 2: Headlines of Editorials on Textbook Controversy, 2001). When the controversy emerged as an international issue from late February to early March, the two newspapers started to express their editorial views. Just after the textbook adoption at the municipality level from July to August, the two newspapers stopped publishing editorials on the textbook controversy. On April 4 and May 9, both newspapers published editorials on the textbook controversy at the same time; the Ministry of Education had announced the results of the textbook authorization process on April 3, and the South Korean Government had officially asked the Japanese government to revise its already-authorized history textbooks on May 8.

(Continued on page 111)
Table 2. Headlines of Editorials on Textbook Controversy, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>PAPER</th>
<th>Editorial Headlines</th>
<th>新聞記事見出し</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.22</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>History Textbook: We Watch Textbook Authorization</td>
<td>歴史教科書 検定の行方を注視する</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Textbook Selection: Do Not Ignore the Voices of Classroom Teachers</td>
<td>教科書採択 現場の声を排除するな</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>History Textbook: Japan Accepts a Diversity of Viewpoints</td>
<td>歴史教科書 日本は思想の多様性許容の国だ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>The Society's Textbook: Indeed, Inappropriate</td>
<td>「つくる会」教科書 やはり、ふさわしくない</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>History Textbook: Ask Them to Understand &quot;the Fairness of the Authorization Process&quot;</td>
<td>歴史教科書 「公正な検定」に理解を求めよ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>The Demand for Corrections: Make It Help for Better Textbooks</td>
<td>再修正要求 よい教科書への一助に</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>History Textbook: South Korea's Demand for Corrections Is Interference in Japan's Domestic Affairs</td>
<td>歴史教科書 韓国の修正要求は内政干渉だ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.27</td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>History Textbook: It Is Impossible to Accept China and South Korea's Demands for Corrections</td>
<td>歴史教科書 中韓の修正要求には無理がある</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.28</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>The Society's Textbook: We Demand for History Education to Communicate with the Past</td>
<td>「つくる会」教科書 過去と対話する歴史を</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.10</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Textbook: We Hope for Real Communication in History Education</td>
<td>教科書 本格的な歴史対話を</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.10</td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>History Textbook: Ask Them to Understand Japan's Sincere Response</td>
<td>歴史教科書 誠意を尽くした回答に理解を求めよ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>Textbook Selection: Is Their Perspective Really on the Behalf of Children?</td>
<td>教科書採択 「子どものため」の視点観るか</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.17</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Textbook Controversy: Make It the First Step for a Better Historical View</td>
<td>教科書問題 歴史観を深める一歩に</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Textbook Authorization and Selection: Take Drastic Measures to Improve It</td>
<td>教科書制度 抜本的見直しを急げ</td>
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</table>
If the frequency of editorials on the same issue in one newspaper is drastically different from that in the other newspaper, this suggests that the magnitude of the former newspaper’s interest in the issue is stronger than that of the latter. Given that both 

*Asahi* and Yomiuri regularly publish two editorials per day in their morning editions, *Asahi* magnified the history textbook issue slightly more than Yomiuri did. This is plausible since *Asahi* began to cover this issue much earlier than Yomiuri. But such a conclusion may inappropriate since there is only a difference of two editorials between the two newspapers.

In addition to the simple descriptive statistical data above, the two newspapers generally presented very different views on four aspects of the textbook controversy and the controversial textbook itself, while sharing views on two sub-issues (See Table 3: Editorial Views on Different Aspects of Textbook Controversy, 2001). *Asahi* clearly criticized the Society and their textbook for embracing Japan’s past wars and colonization, and contended that the textbook was inappropriate for junior high school education. *Asahi*, at the same time, showed its support for the South Korean and Chinese governments as well as people in those countries who had criticized the Society and the textbook. On the other hand, although *Yomiuri* was not ardent in its support, its editors did defend the Society and its arguments. In addition, *Yomiuri* argued against acceding to the South Korean and Chinese governments’ requests regarding Japan’s textbook screening. Finally, the two newspapers had competing views on the process of textbook adoption at the local level and citizen protesters against the controversial textbook.

(Continued on the page 113)
Table 3. Editorial Views on Different Aspects of Textbook Controversy, 2001

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Criticizes the Society and/or its Textbook</th>
<th>Defends the Society and/or its Textbook</th>
<th>Supports or Accepts S.Korea and/or China’s Demands</th>
<th>Criticizes S.Korea and/or China’s Demands</th>
<th>Supports Local Education Board-Controlled Textbook Adoption, while Demanding Teacher Involvement</th>
<th>Supports Local Education Board-Controlled Textbook Adoption, while Criticizing Teacher Involvement</th>
<th>Praises Protest against the Selection of New History Textbook</th>
<th>Criticizes Protest against the Selection of New History Textbook</th>
<th>Demands More Exchange between Japan and S.Korea and China for Better Historical Studies and Education</th>
<th>Demands More Disclosure of the Textbook Authorization Process</th>
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The origin of these competing views on the textbook controversy lies in the two newspapers’ competing views on the state in the context of domestic politics, as well as that of international politics, examined in the previous chapter in their New Year’s Day editorials. Their competing views on the state have informed their New Year’s Day editorials since the 1980s when Nakasone became prime minister. By examining in detail the discourse of each of these editorials, this section seeks to clarify the two newspapers’ competing views on the textbook controversy and the origins of those views.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Asahi criticized the Society in its New Year’s Day editorial in 2001. In this editorial, the Society is given as an example of a “state-nationalistic movement” (kokkasyugiteki undō 国家主義的な運動).

Asahi believed that the history textbook written by the Society was intended to create an inter-state confrontation with China and South Korea. In other words, the Society as a movement was part of neoconservative nationalism, which Asahi regarded as a reemergence of prewar state nationalism. The bottom line of Asahi’s views was its anti-state perspective or its critical stance toward state-centered, prewar Japan. In fact, in its editorial on February 22, 2001, Asahi suggested that the Society upheld a historical view to glorify Japan’s prewar history. On February 24, Asahi also suggested that the Society’s textbook was written from a self-righteous, unbalanced perspective, so the textbook was inappropriate for children who would live in the era of internationalization. In addition, Asahi argued on April 4 that the textbook attempted to promote “the self-sacrifice of the people for the state” (kokka e no kenshin 国家の献身) by showing letters written by

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kamikaze attack pilots and gave priority to "the state and its order" (kokka chitsujo 国家秩序). Asahi's editorial on June 28 again stressed that the textbook was inappropriate for students since the textbook was written from the perspective of the state or the government.

On the other hand, Yomiuri primarily saw this controversy as an inter-state diplomatic issue. The state is Yomiuri's primary prism for observation of world politics, as discussed in Chapter Three. Yomiuri believed that the South Korean and Chinese governments' requests for corrections to Japan's history textbooks were interference on their part in Japan's domestic affairs, suggesting that they violated Japan's autonomy as a sovereign state. On March 2, Yomiuri, in its first editorial on the textbook controversy, noted that the Chinese government must lack respect for Japan's constitutional rights of freedom of speech and press, since the Chinese government had asked the Japanese government to censor the words of history textbook authors. Its May 9 editorial again stressed that it was "obviously interference in the country's domestic affairs" (akirakana natsetikanshō 明らかな内政干渉) to ask the Japanese government to reexamine its already-authorized textbooks. Yomiuri on May 27 more articulately argued against the actions of the two foreign governments when it stated that if the Japanese government had conceded to these requests and made the authors and publishers change the contents of already-authorized textbooks, it would have violated a principle upheld by "a constitutional state" (hōchikokka 法治国家). Accordingly, Yomiuri noted, Japan would have lost its "dignity as a state" (kokka no songen 国家の尊厳). As examined in the previous chapter, for Yomiuri, the state (kokka 国家) is the primary, autonomous actor in world politics. Yomiuri chastised leftists for their negative attitude toward the state in its
New Year’s Day editorials in 1995, 1999, and 2001.\textsuperscript{85} In the May 27 on the textbook controversy, \textit{Yomiuri} demanded to preserve the state sovereignty of the Japanese. This makes a clear contrast to \textit{Asahi} that had shown no outrage over the foreign governments’ requests to Japan in regard to the authorized textbooks.

In fact, \textit{Asahi} criticized those who emphasized the requests as foreign states’ interferences of Japan’s domestic issue. In its May 9th editorial, \textit{Asahi} accused those who had regarded South Korea’s demand as “unreasonable foreign pressure” (\textit{futōna gaiatsu 不当な外圧}) of upholding “19th-century sovereign state theory” (\textit{19-seikitekina kokka shukenron 19世紀的國家主權論}). Obviously \textit{Asahi} was critical of state-centered international politics and did not support the supremacy of state sovereignty. \textit{Asahi} had already criticized the principle of no interference between states in its New Year’s Day editorial in 1995.\textsuperscript{86} In fact, \textit{Asahi} in this New Year’s Day editorial positively encouraged citizens and NGOs to interfere in other states’ domestic issues to make the world better.

In addition, \textit{Asahi} on May 9 recommended that the Japanese government listen to the South Korean government, arguing that South Korea as “a neighbor” (\textit{rinjin 隣人}) had examined Japan’s textbook and offered “opinions” (\textit{iken 意見}) on those textbooks.

\textsuperscript{85} “21-seiki e ima nani o nasubekika” (What should we do for the 21st century?), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 1 January 1995, morning, p. 3. “Yuganda ‘sengo minshushugi’ no kiseki o tadashi katsuryoku aru Nihon no sinro o hirake” (Correct the crooked ‘postwar democracy,’ open the path to be energetic Japan), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 1 January 1999, morning, p. 3. “Shinseiki, genkina Nihon o mezasō, meikaku na kokkazō o daitan na senryaku de” (Let’s make Japan energetic in the new century and present a clear vision of the state with bold strategy), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 1 January 2001, morning, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{86} “Atsui totanyane no uede: Sengo 50-nen ashita o motomete” (On the hot tin roof: Seeking tomorrow in the 50 year-old postwar period), \textit{Asahi Shimbun}, 1 January 1995, morning, p. 5.
Perhaps *Asahi* intended to show its warm sympathy for South Korea, a victim of prewar Japan’s state-centered nationalism, by calling it “a neighbor” instead of a foreign government. But this may be a rhetorical usage in *Asahi*’s own interest. It was the government of South Korea that made the correction request to Japan’s authorized textbooks. It was not an NGO or the citizens whom *Asahi* wished to see being more active in world politics, as discussed in the previous chapter. But *Asahi* treated the South Korean government’s action as a friendly gesture by a neighboring people and avoided depicting it as a diplomatic action by a foreign state in order to strengthen its criticism of the state-centered view upheld by some Japanese people.

It seems that the two newspapers’ editorial views on the textbook controversy respectively correlate with their editorial views on the state that appeared in their New Year’s Day editorials. Their views on the state compete with each other in the editorials on the textbook controversy just as they do in their New Year’s Day editorials. In addition, the two newspapers appeared to understand this editorial competition was another facet of their rivalry with each other, although neither explicitly identified the other in their editorials, as they had not in their respective New Year’s Day editorials. *Yomiuri*, in its first textbook editorial on March 2, actually argued that “some media outlets” (*ichibu masukomi 一部マスコミ*) in Japan, in order to manipulate public opinion under “foreign pressure,” intentionally informed the South Korean and Chinese governments of the textbook in question as it was undergoing the authorization process. Since *Asahi* was one of the first major media outlets to report on the textbook written by the Society, *Asahi* could well have been the “some media outlets” that *Yomiuri* meant to point out. In the meantime, as noted above, *Asahi* stressed that anyone who criticized the
correction requests made by the neighboring countries was upholding an old-fashioned state-centered view. *Asahi* did not clarify who they meant, but it could obviously have been the editors at *Yomiuri*. All this is more evidence of the editorial battle between the two newspapers.

How did each of the newspapers define this textbook controversy? What kinds of effects followed from the history textbook controversy? Although this newsworthy event is generally called “the history textbook controversy” (*rekishi kyōkasho mondai* 歴史教科書問題), this event evidently had more than one problematic effect. It is, thus, possible for those who are from different ideological backgrounds to define this event in different ways. Let us explore each newspaper’s definition of the controversy.

In its first editorial on the subject on March 2, *Yomiuri* suggested that the Society’s textbook reflected a diversity of opinions in Japan. *Yomiuri* also stressed that Japan’s authorized textbooks were different from China’s state-designated history textbook or South Korea’s *de facto* state-designated history textbook. This editorial argued that it was unreasonable that China, under the dictatorship of the Communist Party, should criticize one of Japan’s history textbooks based on their standard. In addition, *Yomiuri* contended that the media as well as the general public in South Korea mistakenly thought that the Society’s textbook would be Japan’s state-designated history textbook like that used in Korea. In its second editorial on April 4, just after the conclusion of the authorization process, *Yomiuri* clearly defended *New History Textbook* by arguing that the textbook existed because Japanese citizens enjoyed the freedom of speech, although *Yomiuri* did acknowledge that the textbook *per se* was “indeed unique” (*tashikani yuniku* 確かにユニーク). In those editorials, Yomiuri appeared hesitant to
actively support the Society, which goes against one of our assumptions regarding Yomiuri's views on the textbook controversy. However, the newspaper holds that the cause of this controversy was not the Society's textbook, but rather misunderstandings on the part of the foreign governments and people.

Yet, Yomiuri apparently agreed with the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform on the issue of military comfort women, as well as in its historical view in general when the subject was conflicting historical views of wartime issues between Japan and its neighbors. On March 2, Yomiuri contended that some media outlets “fabricated history” (rekishi o netsuzō 歴史を捏造) by confusing Korean women who were mobilized to work at munitions factories with military comfort women who were forced to have sex with Japanese soldiers. In fact, the Society members often stressed that the Imperial Japanese government and military did not systematically force Asian women to be comfort women, and also argued that it was inappropriate to teach young students about subjects such as the military and sex, and they criticized the public apologies issued by the Miyazawa Cabinet (Atarashii Rekishi Kyōkasho o Tsukurukai 1998). In general, they argued that historians and history textbook authors regarded Japan as an evil in modern world history and a war criminal of WWII, dismissed the positive aspects of modern Japanese history, and depicted Japanese history as a series of confrontations between those in power (or the state) and ordinary citizens (Nishio 2000). They often pointed out that pre-existing history textbooks were written from the inappropriate perspectives of radical leftists, Western powers, and other nations such as China and Korea (Atarashii Rekishi Kyōkasho o Tsukurukai 1998; Nishio 2000). They generally called those perspectives the “anti-Japanese historical view” (han’nichishikan
or the “masochist historical view” (*jigyaku shikan* 自虐史観), since they believed that those textbook authors were too critical of Japan and the Japanese in the past despite the fact that they were themselves Japanese (Atarashii Rekishi Kyōkasho o Tsukurukai 1998: 112). Indeed, *Yomiuri* argued on March 2 that some media outlets held the “masochist historical view” (*jigyaku shikan* 自虐史観). We can assume that *Asahi* was one of these media outlets since the military comfort women issue has been one of the points that anti-*Asahi* conservative intellectuals and writers have often stressed as an example of *Asahi*’s manipulations of history (Komori, Izawa, and Inagaki 2002). In addition, *Yomiuri* on May 9 commented that South Korea's government-designated history textbook should be corrected, since it included this false story of the military comfort women.

How did the newspapers suggest that this inter-state problem should be remedied? *Yomiuri* answered this question on April 4, May 4, and May 27. The remedy was simply to achieve better mutual understandings between Japan and its two neighbor states. In the April 4 editorial, *Yomiuri* recommended that the government clarify its authorization process to its neighbor states. In addition, it argued that the government should add more openness to the textbook authorization process in order to improve the states’ understanding of the process. The May 4 editorial also asked for more communication between history researchers and educators of the three countries. The last editorial repeated the need for better international mutual understanding.

In sum, *Yomiuri* suggested that the two foreign states’ own misunderstanding sparked the controversy with Japan. In other words, the causes or agents of the controversy were South Korean and China. The problematic effect lay in the inter-state
textbook controversy over one of Japan’s authorized textbooks. The remedy was to improve the mutual understanding between Japan and its neighbors. A moral judgment was made over interference in one country’s domestic affairs.

Asahi, on the other hand, on February 22 clearly expressed its concern about the Society, its textbook, and the possible negative consequences due to the Society’s biased view on history, but showed no concern over the reactions to the textbook made by China and South Korea. Asahi, an ardent supporter of the postwar peace constitution, was critical of the Society and its textbook because the Society had embraced a “historical view that beautified the past” (kako o bikasuru rekishikan 过去を美化する歷史観), accepting Imperial Japan’s aggression and colonialism and ignoring the agonies that this forced on ordinary Japanese and colonized people. Accordingly Asahi was afraid that the textbook would cause “confusion in education” (kyoiku no ba ni konran 教育の場に混乱), though Asahi did not clarify what sort of confusion it meant. Asahi also questioned the appropriateness of the textbook for junior high school education in this editorial. It unequivocally opposed the adoption of the textbook on April 4, the day after the textbook had passed the authorization process, and again on June 28 when the textbook appeared in regular bookstores. In addition, Asahi attributed the emergence of the textbook to the secrecy of the authorization process. Therefore, Asahi demanded a more open authorization process on February 22, in this case agreeing with Yomiuri. In other words, for Asahi, the problematic effect of this issue was that more Japanese people in the next generation would accept prewar Japan’s aggression and invasion, and the cause of this effect was a textbook based on a problematical historical view. Asahi’s editor’s made a
moral judgment on the Society and its historical view. The remedy for the problematic
effect was to reject the textbook although Asahi's editorial did not explicitly say this.

The newspapers' competing thoughts surfaced in two more views on sub-events
in the textbook controversy. One concerned the adoption process of textbooks at the
local level, and the other the protests at the local level against the adoption of the
Society's textbook. On February 24, Asahi argued against a change of the textbook
adoption process at the local level. After the Ministry of Education completes its
authorization of textbooks, each school district's education board members, who usually
are not schoolteachers, choose textbooks for their schools. However, in many cases,
schoolteachers become involved in the adoption process conducted by local education
boards by pre-screening textbooks. According to Asahi, local branches of the Society
petitioned their local assemblies to prevent schoolteachers from participating in the
adoption process. Asahi criticized that those petitions, if successful, would cut off
teachers' valuable voices. In this respect, Asahi was a strong supporter of teachers,
arguing that since teachers taught with the textbooks, they should choose the textbooks.

However, the situation looks completely different in the Yomiuri's take on the
participation of schoolteachers in the textbook selection process. On April 4, Yomiuri
argued that only certain politically-motivated teachers joined the selection process, so the

87 Textbook adoption at the local level actually varies. An education board is typically
established in each municipality. Each education board is in charge of the public schools
established by its municipal government (usually elementary and junior high schools),
and selects textbooks for those schools. Several neighboring education boards can make
a special joint-committee decision concerning textbooks. In addition, the prefectural
education board is directly in charge of public schools (usually high schools) established
by the prefecturel government. Private schools independently choose textbooks for their
students. See "Ichikara wakaru kyōkasyo saltaku" (How to adopt textbooks), Asahi
process did not necessarily reflect the views of a majority of teachers. After the adoption process was almost over, *Yomiuri* said disapprovingly, a minority of teachers virtually dominated the textbook adoption in many districts and prevented the voices of a variety of people such as parents from being heard by regional educational boards. The participation of teachers in the textbook adoption process was also a focal point for the Society’s leaders. They were afraid that teachers who belonged to the Japan Teachers’ Union (*Nihon Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 日本教職員組合) could affect textbook adoption by local educational boards and might prevent their textbook from being adopted (Fujioka 2001).

Another contrast between *Yomiuri* and *Asahi* appears in their different views on the protest against the textbook at the local level. In its last editorial on August 2, *Yomiuri* opined that the textbook adoption in Shimotsuga district, Tochigi Prefecture, was “chaos” (*konran* 混乱), noting that there was “an intense protest” (*hageshi’i kōgikatsudō* 激しい抗議活動) both for and against the adoption of the *New History Textbook*. As noted above, *Asahi* believed that protests against the Society’s textbook and the result, the low rate of its adoption, symbolized the advancement of democracy in postwar Japan. In contrast, *Yomiuri* in its editorial on August 2 asserted that it could not see any “matured democracy” (*seijukushita minshushugi* 成熟した民主主義) in the protests in Shimotsuga. This editorial pointed out that protesters against the adoption of the Society’s history textbook faxed and called the district educational board, followed by counter-protests by textbook supporters. The editorial suggested that to avoid seeing further intense protests and counter-protests, the board simply decided not to adopt the Society’s textbook. *Yomiuri* believed those protests were out of control and symbolized
the nonexistence of matured democracy. *Yomiuri*’s critical view of democracy here was nearly exactly in accord with its criticism of democracy in postwar Japan that it stressed in its New Year’s Day editorials.

In its editorials, *Asahi* primarily declared that it was the *New History Textbook* that caused problematic effects. Its primary problematic effect was its inappropriateness for use in junior high school history education. Secondly, the textbook had generated an international problem between Japan and its neighboring countries, China and South Korea, by provoking those two countries. For *Asahi*, the two countries’ criticism on the textbook was understandable, as it believed that the textbook wrongly recorded the wartime history of East Asia. *Asahi* condemned anyone who regarded the South Korean and Chinese governments’ requests for the textbook corrections as foreign interference, saying they were guilty of upholding an old-fashioned, state-centered view of international politics. On the contrary, *Yomiuri* interpreted the controversy mainly as a diplomatic issue. *Yomiuri* believed that the South Korean and Chinese governments failed to understand Japan’s textbook authorization and therefore wrongly interfered in a domestic issue of an independent state, Japan. In other words, *Yomiuri* did not argue that the textbook *per se* caused any problematic effect although it acknowledged that the textbook was unique. Rather, *Yomiuri* suggested that the South Korean and Chinese governments inappropriately created the international dispute. These respective views become the bottom line in the two newspapers’ news coverage of the controversy.

**Analysis of News Coverage**

This section discusses how the two newspapers framed news coverage of the textbook controversy based on their editorial views. First, this section approaches the
two newspapers' news coverage mainly via quantitative data sets, while adding in qualitative aspects of the news coverage to complement the numerical data. Second, the section pinpoints crucial news articles and qualitatively examines them.

The quantitative analysis of the two newspapers' news coverage of the textbook controversy focuses on news articles from February 16 to August 17. *Asahi* published nearly twice as many news articles as *Yomiuri* did, with 310 articles to Yomiuri's 166. Unlike their editorials whose ratio was 8 (*Asahi*) to 6 (*Yomiuri*), this huge difference cannot be ignored and can be interpreted meaningfully: *Asahi* clearly magnified the textbook controversy to a much greater degree than *Yomiuri* did.

The number of articles published in each month also illustrates the magnitude of *Asahi*'s news coverage (See Figure 1: Number of Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Month). From February to August, *Asahi*'s articles outnumbered those of *Yomiuri*. However, the intensity of the two newspapers' news coverage shifted similarly as the period progressed. The first peak came in May along with the announcement of the textbook's successful authorization, followed by the international reactions. The second and highest peak was in July when the Japanese government responded to the foreign governments' demands.

But this similar change must also be examined from different perspectives. In fact, in respect to page distribution of articles, *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* show differing tendencies when examined in ratio to each other (See Table 4: Articles on Textbook

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88 In addition to the number of articles, another kind of magnitude for articles can be discussed by measuring their length. In fact, content analysts of American newspapers often measure the length of stories in column inches. However, I did not use this measurement for the case studies in this dissertation I relied on the monthly bound editions of the two newspapers and their microfilm version, both of which are reduced-scale copies of actual newspapers that would greatly complicate the measuring process.
Controversy Classified by Page). Although both newspapers similarly allocated articles to the front-, general-interest affairs, and political affair pages, their differences appear in the international and societal affairs pages. These are crucial since they apparently coincide with the newspapers' different editorial views on the history textbook controversy.

First, whereas Asahi published only 2 articles on the international affairs page, Yomiuri printed 17 articles there. In percentage, Asahi's two articles represent less than one percent of its total articles, but Yomiuri's 17 articles represent 10.2 percent. Second, Asahi printed 119 articles on the societal affairs page while Yomiuri published only 27 articles there. In ratio, Asahi's 119 articles make up nearly 40 percent of its total articles; Yomiuri's 27 articles are only 16.3 percent. Given the similar distributions of articles in the other pages, these two differences complement each other, and they likely reflect the two newspapers' different editorial views on the controversy. Their editorials suggest that Asahi magnified the controversy as a social affair while de-magnifying it as an international affair, and vice versa for Yomiuri. A degree of understanding of the philosophy of Japanese newspaper editing will make this clearer.

(Continued on the page 127)
Figure 1. Number of Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Month

Articles in Asahi (total 310)
Articles in Yomiuri (total 166)
Table 4. Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Page

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<th>General Interest Page (Asahi)</th>
<th>General Interest Page (Yomiuri)</th>
<th>Political Affairs Page</th>
<th>Int'l Affairs Page</th>
<th>Societal Affairs Page</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asahi (%)</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri (%)</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally speaking, the international affairs pages in the major newspapers present issues and events in foreign countries in which Japan or Japanese nationals play no or only minor roles, but which the Japanese audience still finds interesting; on the other hand, the societal affairs pages largely introduce news stories regarding domestic issues and events, such as crime, accidents, natural disasters, and human interest stories.

From a different perspective, the international affairs pages are within the category of "hard news" (kōha 硬派) while the societal affairs pages are "soft news" (nanpa 整派). The former basically covers politics and economy, and the latter includes material related to people’s daily life and casual interest, including culture, entertainment and sports. It can be assumed that since Yomiuri believed that the South Korean and Chinese government wrongly made an international controversy out of an acceptable textbook in Japan, Yomiuri attempted to show that something other than Japan’s domestic issues was important in the textbook controversy, by often placing the stories on the international affairs page. Conversely, Asahi primarily regarded the controversy as a domestic or educational issue, of interest to the people. It only secondarily regarded the matter as an international problem between Japan and its neighbors, sparked by the textbook, so Asahi did not have the same motivation that Yomiuri had, to place its stories in the section.
devoted to news from foreign countries. From a different perspective, because Asahi stressed that the Society’s textbook per se was inappropriate for use in junior high school education, it tried to show the controversy as a Japanese problem for the Japanese people by placing it mainly on the societal affairs pages.

In the case of Yomiuri, several articles on its international affairs pages accord with its editorial view primarily regarding the controversy as an inter-state issue caused by the neighboring countries: Yomiuri tended to show the textbook controversy as a result of the two neighboring countries’ internal politics. Yomiuri’s article on the international affairs page of the March 1st morning edition discussed how major newspapers in South Korea used the controversial textbook in Japan as an opportunity to attack the Korean government led by President Kim Dae-Jung, and depicted the textbook as a negative consequence of its own government’s soft attitude toward Japan. Similarly, Yomiuri’s international affairs page article of May 9 (morning) focused on the role of South Korean major newspapers in the development of the textbook controversy, and argued that those newspapers’ editorials and criticisms were emotional and preoccupied with the idea that the history textbook symbolized a resurgence of Japan’s prewar militarism. This article suggested that despite the Korean newspapers’ emotional reactions, the general public failed to follow the issue as the newspapers directed, and they did not necessarily show any anti-Japanese feeling. In sum, Yomiuri’s focal point was the power struggle between Kim Dae-Jung’s government and the mainstream media outlets in South Korea.

Furthermore, two additional articles on *Yomiuri*’s international affairs pages coincide with its editorial view regarding history education in the two foreign countries. First, in the March 2 editorial, *Yomiuri* described South Korea’s own history education as a remote cause of the textbook controversy. Then, *Yomiuri*’s article in the April 3rd morning edition reported that South Korea’s history education in junior high school was supposed to provide students with sources for their Korean national identity.91 Imperial Japan’s colonization of Korea had become one of these sources. Consequently, the article suggests, South Koreans paid a considerable amount of attention to Japan’s history education. The article also stressed that South Korea, at any given time, had only one official history textbook designated by the government, unlike Japan where eight publishers published different history textbooks. The article implied that Koreans might misunderstand that the Society’s textbook was to be Japan’s single, state-designated textbook. Moreover, a *Yomiuri* article on May 18 (morning), just after the Chinese government made its demands for corrections to the contents of the Society’s history textbook, reported on China’s state-designated history textbook.92 This article showed how China’s state-designated textbook presented the past events over which the Chinese government questioned the Society’s textbook. This article stressed that the Chinese government wished to make the Japanese publish textbooks similar to the Chinese one, and stated that this was an inappropriate interference of one country’s domestic affairs by a foreign government. In this way, the two articles on the international affairs page followed the line already made on the editorial page.

92 *Yomiuri Shimbun*, “Chugoku no kokutei kyokasho no kijutsu wa” (What does the China’s state-designated textbook teach?), 18 May 2001, morning, p.6.
In contrast, *Asahi*'s two articles on its international affairs pages did not focus on education or the press in China and Korea. The first article, on May 24, reported on the Hong Kong assembly's resolution against Japan's history textbook.\(^9\) The second article on July 22 (morning) analyzed the two neighboring countries' internal political dynamics regarding their diplomatic relations with Japan.\(^4\) It focused on the textbook controversy as well as Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine. However, this article did not stress history education or textbooks in the two countries at all. Not only on the international affairs page but also on other pages, *Asahi* never discussed the role of the press or education in either of the foreign countries as important factors of the textbook controversy with Japan. *Asahi* in its editorials primarily defined the textbook controversy as a Japanese domestic issue while accepting China's and South Korea's demands as simply friendly advice from Japan's neighbors. That is probably why *Asahi* seldom put articles on the textbook controversy in its international affairs pages.

(Continued on the page 134)


\(^4\) *Asahi Shimbun*, "Koizumi shushō no Yasukuni sanpai: Chūgoku Kō shuseki ga hanpatsu" (Chinese President Jiang offended by Prime Minister Koizumi's visit of Yasukuni Shrine), 22 June 2001, morning, p.3.
### Table 5. Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Page and Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Diplomatic Issue Authorization</th>
<th>Textbook in Japan</th>
<th>Critics of the Society and/or its Textbook at Local or Citizen Level</th>
<th>Actions by the Society Exchange Programs at Local Level</th>
<th>Int'l Affairs Exchange Programs at Local Level</th>
<th>Textbook Adoption at Local Level</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Front-Page</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asahi</strong></td>
<td>67.5 (27)</td>
<td>5.0 (2)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>27.5 (11)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomiuri</strong></td>
<td>82.5 (14)</td>
<td>5.9 (1)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>5.9 (1)</td>
<td>5.9 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asahi</strong></td>
<td>91.9 (114)</td>
<td>1.6 (2)</td>
<td>0.8 (1)</td>
<td>0.8 (1)</td>
<td>1.6 (2)</td>
<td>3.2 (4)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomiuri</strong></td>
<td>85.6 (77)</td>
<td>3.3 (3)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>1.1 (1)</td>
<td>2.2 (2)</td>
<td>6.7 (6)</td>
<td>1.1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Political Affairs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asahi</strong></td>
<td>80.0 (20)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>8.0 (2)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>12.0 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomiuri</strong></td>
<td>73.3 (11)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>13.0 (2)</td>
<td>6.7 (1)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>6.7 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Int'l Affairs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asahi</strong></td>
<td>100.0 (2)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomiuri</strong></td>
<td>100.0 (17)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Societal Affairs</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asahi</strong></td>
<td>28.6 (34)</td>
<td>1.7 (2)</td>
<td>20.2 (24)</td>
<td>6.7 (8)</td>
<td>7.6 (9)</td>
<td>29.4 (35)</td>
<td>5.9 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomiuri</strong></td>
<td>7.4 (2)</td>
<td>3.7 (1)</td>
<td>0.0 (0)</td>
<td>7.4 (2)</td>
<td>14.8 (4)</td>
<td>55.6 (15)</td>
<td>11.1 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Asahi</strong></td>
<td>63.5 (197)</td>
<td>1.9 (6)</td>
<td>8.7 (27)</td>
<td>2.9 (9)</td>
<td>3.5 (11)</td>
<td>16.1 (50)</td>
<td>3.2 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Yomiuri</strong></td>
<td>72.9 (121)</td>
<td>3.0 (5)</td>
<td>1.2 (2)</td>
<td>2.4 (4)</td>
<td>3.6 (6)</td>
<td>13.3 (22)</td>
<td>3.6 (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2. Ratio of Articles on Societal Affairs Page Classified by Context

- Diplomatic Issue
- Textbook Authorization
- Critics of the Society and/or its Textbook in Japan
- Actions by the Society
- Int’l Exchange Programs at Local or Citizen Level
- Textbook Adoption at Local Level
- Others

Asahi (%)
Yomiuri (%)
Figure 3. Ratio of Articles on Front-Page Classified by Context

- Diplomatic Issue: Asahi 82.5%, Yomiuri 67.5%
- Textbook Adoption at Local Level: Asahi 5.9%, Yomiuri 5.9%
- Critics of the Society and/or Its Textbook in Japan: Asahi 0%, Yomiuri 0%
- Actions by the Society: Asahi 0%, Yomiuri 0%
- Int'l Exchange Programs at Local or Citizen Level: Asahi 27.5%, Yomiuri 0%
Meanwhile, Asahi's greatest enthusiasm for news coverage of the controversy appeared in its societal affairs pages. Asahi printed 119 articles, 38.4% of its total, on societal affairs pages; Yomiuri published only 27 articles, 16.3% of its total (See Table 4). What kinds of articles did each newspaper publish on the societal affairs pages? The answer to this question appears in a cross-checking articles on the societal affairs page with their themes or contexts in the fourth set of data in each newspaper. In both newspapers, the largest portion of the articles on the societal affairs page concerned the textbook adoption at the local level (See Table 5: Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Page and Context; Figure 2: Ratio of Articles on Societal Affairs Page Classified by Context). 55.6% (15 articles) of Yomiuri's articles and 29.4% (50 articles) of Asahi's articles on those pages covered the whirl surrounding the textbooks and their adoption at the local level. The articles in both newspapers basically reported on whether or not some local education boards selected the Society's textbook for their schools. This was a crucial news issue for both newspapers at that time.

However, their different attitudes toward the textbook controversy are obvious with two different types of news framing, the news coverage of the controversy as a domestic conflict in Japan and as a diplomatic issue between Japan and other countries. First, 20.2% (24 articles) of Asahi's articles on the societal affairs page were about those who criticized or protested against the Society and its textbook. Meanwhile, none of Yomiuri's news articles on the societal affairs page covered the Japanese protesters. Since Asahi had stressed in its first editorial that the Society's textbook was inappropriate for Japanese students, it now seemed to emphasize that there was a strong opposition to the textbook in Japan by covering protest activities against the Society and its textbook.
by scholars, citizen groups, and teachers’ union members. On the other hand, Yomiuri had, from its first editorial, dismissed the Society and its textbook as a cause of the textbook controversy, considering the controversy primarily as a diplomatic issue. This makes Yomiuri’s lack of interest in the protesters in Japan unsurprising. In fact, even if we examine other pages, only two articles covering those who objected to the textbook appeared in Yomiuri during the entire period (See Table 5). These two articles both appeared on the political affairs page, covering political leaders as objectors against the Society’s textbook. They were Secretary-General of DPJ Kan Naoto and Chair of the Japanese Communist Party Fuwa Tetsuzo. For state-centered nationalist Yomiuri, party leaders might deserve news coverage, but civilian protesters do not.

Second, 34 (28.6%) of Asahi’s articles appeared in the context of a diplomatic issue on the societal affairs page, while only 2 articles (7.4%) were printed in Yomiuri in the same context (See Table 5 and Figure 2). But Asahi’s 34 articles actually include several covering protesters against the Society and its textbook outside Japan. They were mostly citizen groups in South Korea, and scholars in South Korea, China, and other countries. This type of articles parallel articles covering Japanese scholars, educators, and citizen groups protesting against the Society and its textbook. Printing these articles may reflect the anti-state/pro-citizen attitude discernable in Asahi’s New Year’s Day editorials. In the same respect, Asahi likely prefers to see citizens in its articles, instead of officials, politicians, and governments. On the other, Yomiuri’s two articles about

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diplomatic issues on the societal affairs page focused on the actions of the South Korean government.

Overall, *Asahi* may have attempted to explain the controversy as a problem for ordinary people in Japan by publishing a large number of articles (119 out of 310) on its societal affairs pages. Conversely, *Yomiuri* probably meant to illustrate the controversy as an international political problem or a diplomatic issue, and did not necessarily need to magnify the controversy on the societal affairs page. The societal affairs pages are partially to serve people's casual interests: Crimes, accidents, and human-interest stories are the main topics there, although serious political and business scandals and crimes may also be handled there. Thus, it can be interpreted that *Asahi* printed a large number of articles regarding the textbook controversy on the societal affairs page to make it clear to ordinary citizens in Japan that the textbook controversy was a problem of concern to them.

The most newsworthy stories are supposed to be on the front-page. Which news articles appear on the front-page is the most important decision that senior editors make on behalf of their newspaper company. It is thus essential to examine what kind of sub-issue of the textbook controversy was covered on the front-page of the two newspapers. In both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, the largest number of articles on the front-page reported on the textbook controversy as part of a diplomatic issue between Japan and South Korea or China (See Table 5 and Figure 3: Ratio of Articles on Front-Page Classified by Context). Twenty-seven out of 40 front-page articles (67.5%) in *Asahi* and 14 out of 17 articles (82.4%) in *Yomiuri* were published in that context. In *Asahi*, the second largest number of articles was about the controversy over the textbook adoption process at the local level.
Eleven articles were of this type, making 27.5% of the total number of articles on the front-page. In contrast, only one article in this category was published on the front page of *Yomiuri*. Evidently *Asahi* magnified the textbook controversy as a domestic problem while *Yomiuri* did not stress this aspect of the textbook controversy. In other words, *Asahi*’s belief that the controversy was primarily a domestic issue again seemed to appear in its front-page by stressing the textbook adoption at the local level. In the meantime, it can be assumed that *Yomiuri* again mainly saw the controversy as a diplomatic issue as it discussed in its editorials. One could ask why *Asahi* put so many articles on the diplomatic aspect of the controversy on the front-page if *Asahi* believed the controversy was primarily a domestic issue. In practice, the front-page of a major newspaper in Japan serves more official or public interests, so the front page is more likely to show matters of politics, economy, and international affairs of concern to the entire nation. It is thus not surprising if a major newspaper’s front-page focused more on the diplomatic aspects of the textbook controversy than on the textbook adoption by local educational boards.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Straight News Report</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Research</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Asahi</em> (%)</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Yomiuri</em> (%)</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the articles in each newspaper are classified by the four functions or styles of news articles, and this classification basically affirms the fact-centered news coverage assumption of the Japanese major newspapers (See Table 6: Articles on Textbook

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Controversy Classified by Function). In Asahi, 261 of 310 articles (84.2%) were in the straight news report style while, in Yomiuri, 134 out of 166 articles (80.7%) were in the same style. The second largest portion was in the analysis style article, including articles that introduced some background of the textbook controversy. In Asahi 37 articles (11.9%) were in the analysis style compared to 27 articles (16.3%) in Yomiuri. In both newspapers, the rest of the articles were either split between the other two styles (interview and research), or did not fit in any of the four styles.

### Table 7. Straight News Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Diplomatic Issue</th>
<th>Textbook Authorization</th>
<th>Critics of the Society and/or its Textbook in Japan</th>
<th>Actions by the Society</th>
<th>Int'l Exchange Programs at Local or Citizen Level</th>
<th>Textbook Adoption at Local Level</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asahi (%)</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri (%)</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Straight news articles are, in a sense, objective in that they focus on facts: Each straight news article is apparently not opinionated, simply reporting who did what, when, and how. But in the long run, there may be a certain tendency of fact selection in very newsworthy issues like the textbook controversy. That is to say, a newspaper selectively may show certain aspects or facts of an issue in a series of apparently fact-centered news articles that in effect magnify those aspects. Asahi and Yomiuri show slightly different tendencies in their straight news articles (See Table 7: Straight News Articles on Textbook Controversy Classified by Context). Although the largest number of straight
news articles in each newspaper was in the context of a diplomatic issue, more of Asahi's than Yomiuri's straight news articles were published to report on those who were against the Society and its history textbook: 10.3% (27 articles) of Asahi's straight news articles was in this context in contrast to only 1.5% (2 articles) of Yomiuri's. In other contexts, Asahi and Yomiuri show almost similar tendencies, except for the diplomatic issue (64.0% in Asahi and 73.1% in Yomiuri). Thus, the difference between Asahi and Yomiuri in the straight news coverage in the context of a diplomatic issue comes from their different attitude towards those who protested against the Society and its history textbook.

This tendency is also magnified if we look at actors covered by the two newspapers' straight news articles (See Table 8: Actors in Straight News Articles on Textbook Controversy). Asahi very often covered those outside the official political circle in Japan who opposed the Society and its textbook, while Yomiuri seldom covered individuals and organizations in Japan who protested the Society and textbook. Asahi actively covered their demonstrations and comments on crucial moments of the controversy. Yomiuri largely ignored them. A citizens' organization, the Children and Textbooks Japan Network 21 (Kodomo to Kyokasho Zenkoku Netto 21, 子どもと教科書全国ネット21; hereafter Net 21), probably the most active protest group against the Society's textbook, appeared in Asahi seven times and in Yomiuri only once. The Japan Teachers' Union was seen five times in Asahi and just once in Yomiuri. In addition, scholars against the Society were covered fourteen times in Asahi. Moreover, Korean or Chinese residents who were critical of the Society appeared in Asahi six times, and others

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96 According to this organization's website, the organization was established in 1998 to inherit "the spirit of Ienaga Textbook suit."
http://www.ne.jp/Asahi/kyokasho/net21/top_f.htm
against the Society sixteen times. In contrast, anti-Society scholars and foreign residents never appeared in *Yomiuri*’s straight news articles. Even when we examine all the articles that *Yomiuri* published on the textbook controversy, Net 21 appeared only four times, Japan Teacher’s Union only once, others twice, and Korean or Chinese scholars and residents never showed up. In other words, those Japanese organizations and individuals against the Society and its textbook virtually did not exist for *Yomiuri*. In addition, *Asahi* covered those who opposed the Society and textbook in South Korea seventeen times while *Yomiuri* covered them only four times (“Others in South Korea” in Table 8). The category of “others” includes citizen groups, historians, and former comfort women in South Korea.

(Continued on the page 142)
Table 8. Actors in Straight News Articles on Textbook Controversy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Actor Category</th>
<th>Asahi Frequency</th>
<th>Asahi Rate</th>
<th>Yomiuri Frequency</th>
<th>Yomiuri Rate</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Japan's Cabinet Members (Prime Minister, etc.)</td>
<td>4.5% (17)</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.5% (12)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Liberal Democratic Party Leaders</td>
<td>1.9% (7)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.1% (2)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Secretary-General of the 3 Ruling Parties</td>
<td>1.9% (7)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.3% (6)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Party Leaders of the 3 Ruling Parties</td>
<td>1.6% (6)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ministry of Education (Including the Minister)</td>
<td>6.1% (23)</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.7% (16)</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Including the Minister)</td>
<td>4.5% (17)</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.0% (11)</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (1-6)</td>
<td>20.5% (77)</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>25.6% (47)</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Members of Democratic Party of Japan</td>
<td>2.7% (10)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.3% (6)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (7)</td>
<td>2.7% (10)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.3% (6)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Members of Socialist Party or Communist Party</td>
<td>1.6% (6)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.5% (1)</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Critic of the Society: Kyokusha Net 21</td>
<td>1.9% (7)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.5% (1)</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Critic of the Society: Japan Teachers' Union</td>
<td>1.3% (5)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.5% (1)</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Critic of the Society: Scholars</td>
<td>3.7% (14)</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Critic of the Society: Koreans/Chinese in Japan</td>
<td>1.6% (6)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Critic of the Society: Others</td>
<td>4.3% (16)</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>1.1% (2)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (8-13)</td>
<td>14.4% (54)</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>2.7% (5)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The Society or Its Members</td>
<td>5.1% (19)</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.1% (13)</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Society or Its Members: Fujibumi</td>
<td>2.1% (8)</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1.1% (2)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The Society or Its Members: Diet Members</td>
<td>1.3% (5)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Society or Its Members: Others</td>
<td>0.5% (2)</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (14-17)</td>
<td>9.0% (34)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8.1% (15)</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chinese Government (Communist Party)</td>
<td>6.4% (24)</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>12.5% (23)</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Others in China</td>
<td>1.6% (6)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.2% (4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (18-19)</td>
<td>8.0% (30)</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>14.7% (27)</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>South Korean Government (PM, Ambassador, etc.)</td>
<td>18.3% (68)</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>22.3% (41)</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>South Korean Parliament</td>
<td>1.3% (5)</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.3% (6)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>South Korean Ruling Party</td>
<td>2.4% (9)</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.6% (3)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>South Korean Opposition Party</td>
<td>1.9% (7)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>South Korean Parliament Members</td>
<td>1.9% (7)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.1% (2)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>South Korean Press</td>
<td>0.3% (1)</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.5% (1)</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Others in South Korea</td>
<td>4.5% (17)</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2.2% (4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (20-26)</td>
<td>30.5% (114)</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>31.0% (57)</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Other Asian Countries</td>
<td>1.6% (6)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.1% (2)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Other Countries outside Asia</td>
<td>1.1% (4)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6% (3)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>International Exchange Programs in Japan</td>
<td>1.9% (7)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.6% (3)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Local Education Boards and Private Schools</td>
<td>5.9% (22)</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>7.1% (13)</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sankei Shimbun (Yomiuri's Sister Company)</td>
<td>0.8% (3)</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Other Textbook Publishers in Japan</td>
<td>0.8% (3)</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tokyo Governor Ishihara Shintaro</td>
<td>0.3% (1)</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Uncategorized</td>
<td>2.4% (9)</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.3% (6)</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sub-total (27-34)</td>
<td>34.5% (55)</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>14.7% (27)</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total (1-34)</td>
<td>99.9% (374)</td>
<td>100.1% (184)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The rate is based on how often each actor (or group of actors) appeared in the straight news articles. As noted above, some ministers are not included in the Cabinet. If the Prime Minister and his chief cabinet secretary, both appeared in the same article, I counted them as two in the Cabinet. That is, although they are categorized as one group, each of them was counted. But if the same person appeared twice in the same article, he was counted as one.
The different attitudes toward organizations and individuals protesting against the Society and its textbook in Japan as well as in South Korea reflect Asahi's and Yomiuri's respective views on the textbook controversy in their editorials. Asahi attempted to stress that the controversy was primarily a domestic issue since people in Japan openly protested against it. On the other hand, Yomiuri seemed to be nearly disinterested in this aspect of the controversy, arguing in its editorials that the controversy was essentially a diplomatic issue between Japan and its neighbors, South Korean and China, (although Asahi did not ignore this aspect of the textbook controversy). This difference corresponds with the two newspapers' different views on the state/nation. As noted above, Asahi in its New Year's Day editorials encouraged people to act against the state or the government regardless of their citizenship or nationality.97 Focusing on those protesting against the Society and its textbook in Japan and South Korea, Asahi showed that people could protest against the government's authority regardless of their national borders. Conversely, the pro-state nationalist paper Yomiuri diminished the existence and power of those people against the government or the state.

It is also right to say that both newspapers paid great attention to governmental officials in Japan and their foreign counterparts in South Korea and China (See Group 1 and 6 in Table 8). In Asahi, 20.59% of the actors who appeared in its articles belonged to the Japanese government, including ruling parties; 30.48% of the actors were from South Korea; 8.02% were from China. In Yomiuri, 25.54% of the actors appearing in its articles belonged to the Japanese government, including ruling parties; 30.98% of the

97 "Atsui totanyane no uede: sengo 50-nen ashita o motomete" (On the hot tin roof: Seeking tomorrow in the 50 year-old postwar period), Asahi Shimbun, 1 January 1995, morning, p. 5.
actors were South Korean; and 14.67% were Chinese. This means that the controversy was well narrated as a diplomatic and international issue between Japan and the two countries in both newspapers, and this tendency might at first glance make them look alike.

However, there is a distinction between the two newspapers regarding their coverage of politicians from both ruling and opposition parties. Asahi covered Japan’s socialist and communist party leaders more often than Yomiuri when those politicians criticized the Society’s activity or supported the protests of the foreign countries. Those opposition party leaders appeared in Asahi six times but only once in Yomiuri.98 However, the two newspapers’ attention to Japan’s largest opposition party, the Democratic Party of Japan or DPJ (Nihon Minshutō 日本民主党), does not show such a difference. Those who belonged to the DPJ were covered 10 times in Asahi and 6 times in Yomiuri. In consideration of the total number of articles, 10 and 6 can be counted as almost even. However, Yomiuri focused on the division of the DPJ members over the textbook controversy while Asahi preferred to cover the top leaders of the DPJ who were critical of the Society’s textbook. The DPJ was actually divided over the controversy, and formed a working group to look into it: DPJ top leaders like Hatoyama Yukio and Kan Naoto denounced the Society and its textbook while its more conservative members distanced themselves from these leaders.

The examination of actors in the straight news articles uncovers that reports on the history textbook controversy in straight news articles are not necessarily objective journalism. It is necessary to examine who is covered in straight news articles, and in

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98 Yomiuri may not cover those small opposition parties as often as Asahi even for other issues, though no data is available here for their coverage of other issues.
what context issues are reported. The comparison of the straight news coverage of the
textbook controversy between Asahi and Yomiuri demonstrates this point. A newspaper
can slant the facts of an issue in seemingly object articles, depending on how often the
issue is covered, and on where the articles are placed in the newspaper. This is an
and Krauss (1996) assume that Japanese news coverage is fact-centered, but this
assumption needs further examination via content analysis.

In addition to the actors in straight news articles, a close examination of Society
supporters within official political circles shows another difference between Asahi and
Yomiuri. Asahi reported on conservative politicians who supported the Society or its
textbook five times while Yomiuri totally ignored them. For example, Asahi covered a
group of conservative Diet members led by a former minister of agriculture,
Representative Nakagawa Shoichi, three times. The group was called “Nihon no Zento to
Rekishi Kyoiku o Kangaeru Gi’in no Kai” (Association of young Diet members
for the consideration of Japan’s future and history education 日本の将来を考える若手議員の会). Asahi picked up this group for one analytical article. In this
article, the group was called a “MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) basher” (Gaimushō
tatakì 外務省たたき) that blamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for failing to handle
the Chinese and South Korean interference in a Japanese domestic affair. However, the
main theme of Asahi’s analytical article was to show how the ruling parties, the LDP and
Komei, were divided over the history textbook issue and had failed to show any unified
action. The group above represented the hardliners while members of Komei were more

99 “Tsukurukai kyōkasho mondai: Yotōnai no han’nō mozaiku moyō” (Society’s textbook
supportive of Japan’s neighbor countries’ demands. For Asahi, the Society and its textbook are the problem while for Yomiuri, the Society and its textbook are part of the robustness of the freedom of expression in Japan. Therefore, Asahi needed to examine the politicians who supported the Society and its textbook as a problematic aspect of Japanese society. These politicians in no way represented a problematic aspect for Yomiuri, so Yomiuri did not need to focus on them.

In addition to the categories of straight news articles or the actors in news articles, articles in the other three categories are also valuable notwithstanding their very small number (See Table 6). Because of their statistical insignificance, the analysis of each category is better served by a more qualitative examination. Asahi published 37 analysis articles: Among them, 25 articles were in regard to the diplomatic issues raised by the textbook controversy; ten articles concerned the textbook adoption at the local level; and one article each covered the textbook authorization by the Ministry of Education, and the Society. In the meantime, among 27 analysis articles in Yomiuri, 21 articles introduced analyses or backgrounds of the diplomatic issues surrounding the textbook controversy. Five analysis articles in Yomiuri were about the textbook adoption at the local level, and only one article in this category was about the international exchange programs that were entangled with the controversy. Among the Yomiuri’s analysis articles of diplomatic issues, the two that appeared on the international affairs page analyzed South Korea’s domestic politics and argued that its domestic politics had pressured the South Korean government to act, as noted above. This type of analysis never appeared in Asahi. Meanwhile, both newspapers similarly paid great attention to international exchange programs; both believed that the textbook controversy had damaged both local
government- and grass-roots-level international exchange programs between Japan and South Korea. More interesting analysis articles in both newspapers concerned the process of textbook adoption at the local education boards.

_Asahi’s and Yomiuri’s_ analytical articles, published after the Shimotsuga Textbook Adoption District, Tochigi Prefecture, redid its textbook adoption, represent their different views on textbook adoption at the local level in general. From the viewpoint of _Asahi_, the removal of schoolteachers from the adoption process created more chaotic situations at the local level since it allowed small number of people on the local educational board to dominate textbook selection process. On the other hand, from _Yomiuri’s_ point of view, it was ordinary people outside the official decision process but opposed to the Society’s textbook who created chaotic disorder at the local level.

In _Yomiuri_, an analytical article of July 27 was titled, “Unusual Pressure on Local Textbook Adoption” (_Genba ni irei no jūatsu_ 現場に異例の「重圧」)._100 In this article, an anonymous educational board member in the Shimotsuga District said that the District had overturned its previous decision to choose the Society’s textbook in order to avoid any confrontation. The article emphasized that people opposed to the textbook had called and faxed protest messages to the District. The article ended with a comment from the Ministry of Education: “It could be a problem if organized citizens went overboard to influence the fairness of local textbook adoption process.” _Yomiuri’s_ article did not touch on the quality or contents of the textbook, suggesting only that its critics were radicals.

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100 “_Genba ni irei no jūatsu_” (Unusual pressure on local textbook adoption), _Yomiuri Shimbun_, 27 July 2001, morning, p.3.
In contrast, two analytical articles in *Asahi* on July 26 stressed at least two points nearly opposite to *Yomiuri*'s viewpoint above.¹⁰¹ First, the nationwide attention caused the District to revise its decision wisely; second, the removal of the schoolteachers from the adoption process created the chaotic situation in the district. Unlike *Yomiuri*, *Asahi* did not stress the pressure put on the board members by those who opposed the textbook. Rather, there was "nationwide attention" (*zenkoku chūshi* 全国注視), and in the article one of the board members of Shimotsuga District expressed his appreciation of that attention. Another analytical article argued that the removal of schoolteachers from the textbook selection process, such as in Shimotsuga District, had allowed the process to be distorted by radical members of districts or educational boards.

The two newspapers' respective evaluations of the involvement of teachers and the actions of protesters against the Society and its textbook clearly highlight the newspapers' different attitudes toward the textbook controversy, and, as noted above, these different discourses by and large correspond with their different views on the state and concerned citizens, and democracy in postwar Japan in their New Year's Day editorials.

Some of the tiny number of articles categorized into interview and research deserve close attention, since they apparently reflects each newspaper's editorial views (See Table 6). In five interview articles in *Asahi*, one is with a Chinese diplomat, two with South Korean cabinet members, and two interviewees are Japanese—Okada Katsuya (the Chair of the Policy Research Council of the DPJ), and Ōe Kenzaburō (a

Nobel prize winning novelist). All of these interview subjects were critical of the Society and its textbook.

The interviews with Okada and Ōe were particularly interesting. Although the Democratic Party of Japan had failed to present a unified opinion on the Society’s textbook during the on-going controversy, Okada personally disapproved of the Society.102 Asahi evidently pinpointed Okada to hear a voice speaking against the Society and its textbook. Meanwhile, Ōe, a liberal novelist with a mentally handicapped son, condemned the Tokyo Metropolitan Educational Board for having selected the Society’s textbook for use in its public schools serving mentally handicapped students.103

The title of this article, “The Weak Targeted” (Yowainomo Nerauchi 弱い者、狙い撃ち), stressed Ōe’s strong criticism of the textbook’s selection. In addition, this interview was printed alongside short comments by three scholars, two of whom criticized the Tokyo Educational Board or the textbook while the third said that any who protested against the Tokyo Metropolitan Educational Board’s adoption of the controversial textbook were extreme ideologues. Ōe evidently echoed Asahi’s criticism of the selection of the textbook, and two critics outnumbering one supporter of the textbook also supported Asahi’s position. Overall, Asahi used the interview articles to stress its argument against the Society and its textbook.

In contrast, Yomiuri interviewed only the South Korean foreign minister and Japan’s new Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō. South Korea’s foreign minister

103 “Yowaimono neraiuchi: toritsukō de Tsukurukai kyōkasho saitaku” (The weak targeted: Tokyo Metropolitan schools given the Society’s textbook), Asahi Shim bun, 8 August 2001, morning, p.31.
demanded Japan's responsible treatment of the textbook issue.\textsuperscript{104} Prime Minister Koizumi stressed that he would work for a better relationship with China and South Korea, but he did not express his own view on the textbook.\textsuperscript{105} In a sense, these two articles represent \textit{Yomiuri}'s view that the controversy was a diplomatic issue between states. Once again, we see \textit{Yomiuri}'s lack of interest in non-state actors.

\textit{Asahi} published six research articles on the issue, while \textit{Yomiuri} had only two. In this category, \textit{Asahi}'s editorial view is observable in some of the articles. By cross-checking \textit{Asahi}'s six articles with the data set showing article context, the articles are divided into two groups, the international exchange programs (two articles) and the textbook adoption at the local level (four articles). One article on the textbook adoption process at the local level reflects \textit{Asahi}'s critical attitude toward the Society. \textit{Asahi}'s reporters researched whether educational boards stopped allowing schoolteachers to be part of the textbook adoption process and reported their findings in an article that ran on the front-page of the morning edition of May 2.\textsuperscript{106} This article stated that in 29 prefectures, local educational boards had decided or planned to stop involving schoolteachers in the textbook adoption processes. This article also stressed that this type of teacher removal from the textbook adoption was the result of the Society’s arguments and actions. The Society, according to this article, had petitioned local assemblies to reduce teachers’ roles in the adoption process. This particular article was in fact a follow

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{105} "Tairitsuten bakari ni shōten: Shushō yakō ijie doryoku kyōchō” ("Too much emphasis on conflicts: Prime Minister promised an effort for friendship"), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 10 July 2001, morning, p.2.
\textsuperscript{106} "Kyōkashō saitaku kyōshi hazushi susumu” (Removal of schoolteachers from textbook adoption continues), \textit{Asahi Shimbun}, 2 May 2001, morning, p.1.
\end{flushright}
up to an article detailing the Society’s petitions regarding the textbook adoption process. In a research article on November 26, 2000, Asahi’s reporters had reported that 15 prefectural assemblies had adopted the petitions demanding that local educational boards select textbooks without consultation with schoolteachers. An Asahi editorial on February 24 argued that local educational boards should not disregard teachers’ input in textbook adoption. Thus, the article published in May was not a direct response to the editorial in February. The two research articles and editorial indicate that Asahi’s editorial view and articles were consistent and correlated with each other.

This section pinpoints crucial news articles in each newspaper, by qualitatively examining those articles, in order to clarify the two newspapers’ different attitudes toward the textbook controversy. It illustrates that each of the two newspapers reported crucial moments of the controversy in accordance with its editorial views. At the very least, it shows that editorials and news coverage in each newspaper corresponded with each other in crucial moments in order to reinforce the newspapers’ views.

On April 3, the Ministry of Education announced the result of the most recent textbook authorization process; the Society’s history textbook had been approved, along with others, the Society having revised their textbook’s contents at the Ministry’s request. Subsequently, both Asahi and Yomiuri published a variety of articles regarding textbook authorization in general as well as specifically regarding the controversial textbook and its consequences, spread between the front-page and the feature page in their morning editions on April 4. Their reports showed a clear contrast, reflecting their different views.

on this issue. Since Asahi regarded the textbook as a problem while Yomiuri thought that the textbook was acceptable, the authorization of the textbook was more controversial and newsworthy for Asahi than for Yomiuri.

In the main headline of its front-page article, each newspaper showed its posture on the Society and textbook. Asahi's main headline reads, “The Society’s Textbook Passed; Self-Centered Historical View Still Remains” (“Tsukurukai” kyōkasho gōkaku; jikoku chūshin shikan nao 「つくる会」教科書、合格 自国中心史観なお). The sub-headline is also about the Society’s textbook: “The Textbook Revised Based on Authorization [Committee]'s Opinions” (Kentei iken o uke shūsei 検定意見を受け修正). These two headlines together reflect Asahi’s dissatisfaction with the authorization of the Society’s textbook. In fact, Asahi’s main article was primarily about the Society’s textbook while the textbook authorization in general was covered in a secondary article on the same page; on the other hand, Yomiuri’s main headline was about the reduction in quantity of teaching contents for elementary and junior high school education, the so-called “more relaxed education” (yutori kyōiku ゆとり教育). As Yomiuri’s article reported, the textbook authorization in 2001 was the first time since the Ministry of Education had introduced major educational reform, including the more relaxed education policy for the elementary and junior high school students. Because of this reform, publishers had to reduce the amount of information in their textbooks. Yomiuri’s front-page article focused mainly on this revision of the national education policy while secondarily reporting the history textbook controversy. On Asahi’s front-page, the

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revision of the elementary and junior high school education appeared in its secondary article. Accordingly, on Yomiuri’s April 4 front-page, only its smallest sub-title mentioned the authorization of the Society’s textbook.\textsuperscript{109} The two newspapers’ different treatments of these educational issues suggest two things: For Asahi, the authorization of the Society’s textbook was the top news on that day, and the reduction of the textbook contents was secondary; for Yomiuri, the case was reversed.

Inside the morning edition on April 4, Asahi’s coverage of the history textbook issue was both more extensive and more intensive than Yomiuri’s. Asahi on that day, unlike Yomiuri, almost looks like a special edition to campaign against the controversial history textbook. On the general interest page (April 4th morning edition: p.3), along with an analytical article of the impact of the more relaxed education policy on new textbooks, Asahi published four short articles to report the responses of the Chinese and South Koran governments and political parties and citizen groups in South Korea to the history textbook authorization, as well as, two short articles to report comments from the Japanese chief cabinet secretary, the Minister of Education, and others. On the societal affairs page, Asahi reproduced past dialogues between Ministry of Education officials and the editors of the controversial textbook for the authorization, and introduced background on the Society’s activities and its supporters such as conservative politicians.\textsuperscript{110} Asahi also allowed space on the opinion page for Nishio Kanji, the Society’s president, to speak up for the Society and its history textbook (April 4th


\textsuperscript{110} Asahi literally published articles regarding the textbook issue in a double-page spread of the two different societal affairs pages. This is a typical layout technique to stress the importance of a news issue while covering the issue from different perspectives.
morning edition: p.15), while on the culture page, a Korean professor of Japanese Studies discussed the international textbook controversy from a Korean viewpoint (April 4th morning edition: p.31).111

More importantly, Asahi printed two feature pages on the authorization of the Society’s textbook in a double-page spread (April 4th morning edition: pp.16-17), in addition to its regular pages. These pages perfectly reflect Asahi’s views on the Society and its textbooks. Actually the Society had introduced two different textbooks, a history textbook and a civics textbook for use in junior high school education. The right-hand page of Asahi’s feature pages included three analyses of the Society’s civics textbook by political scientists and legal scholars, and three analyses of general aspects of the Society, its textbooks and the textbook authorization, by two historians and a pedagogy scholar. The left-hand page carried four analyses by historians of particular issues in the Society’s history textbook. Among the three analyses of the Society’s textbooks and the textbook authorization on the left-hand page, only one of them approved of the textbook, and the remaining two criticized it. On the same page, all the analyses of certain issues in the civics textbook were critical of the textbook’s stances on certain issues. On the left-hand page, all four analyses of issues in the history textbook were critical of the textbook’s stances on those issues. Although the main headline of the double-page spread analyses, “How Specialists Read the Society’s Textbooks” (“Tsukurukai” kyōkasho senmonka wa kō yomu 「つくる会」教科書 専門家はこう読む), may suggest the neutrality of the reportage, Asahi did not intend to present a balanced view of the Society’s textbooks on the feature pages. Scholars critical of the Society and its textbooks outnumbered scholars

111 These articles are not included into the quantitative analysis because of their printed pages.
not critical of them. *Asahi*, thus, showed its disapproval of the Society’s textbooks through the voices of selected specialists.

On the other hand, *Yomiuri* introduced the voices of the South Korean and Chinese governments, and the press in the South Korea, on its general interest page (April 4th morning edition: p.2). *Yomiuri* also published the comments of the Society and organizations against the Society, such as Net 21 and the Japan Teachers’ Union, on the same page. Especially in contrast to *Asahi*, *Yomiuri* printed three long articles on the international affairs page to speculate about the next steps of the South Korean and Chinese governments (April 4th morning edition: p.6). Again, this reflects *Yomiuri*’s basic stance of the textbook controversy as primarily a diplomatic issue between Japan and its neighbor states. In addition, *Yomiuri* added a feature page to report the textbook controversy (April 4th morning edition: p. 19), in which *Yomiuri* analyzed how and why the Society’s textbook had developed into “a diplomatic issue” (*gaikō mondai* 外交問題). *Yomiuri* thereby reinforced one of its essential editorial views on this feature page, writing that some media outlets had manipulated this diplomatic issue. In fact, the main headline of the feature page, “The ‘Leak’ Before the Authorization Introduced the Chaos” (*Konran maneita kenteimae ‘rōei’ 混乱招いた検定前‘漏えい’*), implied that articles of some other media outlets made the two foreign governments contact the Japanese government to express their concerns about the textbook. Accordingly, the articles on this feature page reported how the diplomatic issues evolved between the three countries’ political leaders and government officials, and the textbook and its media coverage. As noted above, two of Japan’s five major newspapers, *Mainichi* and *Asahi*, reported the Society’s civic and history textbooks earlier than the others. Although
Yomiuri did not name these newspapers on its feature page, it is probably right to speculate that the editors and reporters of Yomiuri had those rival newspapers in mind when they wrote those articles and headlines.

In addition, unlike Asahi, Yomiuri included no news articles regarding the controversial textbook on the societal affairs page. The societal affairs page focused only on the impact of the more relaxed education curriculum and the newly-introduced law regarding the national anthem and flag on textbook authorization (April 4th morning edition: pp. 38-39). Clearly Asahi thought that the textbook controversy was the news of the day for the societal affairs page, while Yomiuri treated the textbook controversy and the impact of the so-called relaxed education policy on new textbooks as important news stories on that day, leaving out the Society’s history textbook.

In the May 8 evening edition, the two newspapers covered the South Korean government’s request to the Japanese government to correct the contents of Japanese history textbooks already approved by the Ministry of Education in its authorization procedure. Yomiuri published these articles on its front- and general interest pages, while Asahi printed its articles on the front-page, general interest, and societal affairs pages. Asahi magnified the Korean government’s request more than Yomiuri did, and both newspapers’ articles reflected their different views on the textbook controversy.

On the front-page, both Asahi’s and Yomiuri’s headlines stressed that Korea had demanded thirty-five corrections. This similarity might suggest that their articles similarly covered this issue, but in fact Yomiuri’s analytical article on the front-page
emphasized what Yomiuri had argued in its editorials.\textsuperscript{112} The article carried a small headline, “Forced corrections would be unconstitutional” (Shūsei no kyōyō wa iken ni ataru 修正の強要は違憲にあたる), arguing that it would be censorship prohibited by the constitution, unless the corrections were only for obvious factual mistakes. Yomiuri had already stressed in its editorial on March 2 that the South Korean and Chinese governments did not understand Japan’s textbook authorization procedure and that they ignored the primacy of the freedom of speech upheld by Japan’s constitution. In addition, Yomiuri’s article on the general interest page, titled “Demand Strongly Reflects ‘Korea’s Historical Views’” (“Kankoku no rekishikan” irokoku hanei 「韓国の歴史観」色濃く反映), emphasized another set of preexisting arguments, that the two different states, Japan and South Korea, upheld incompatible historical views.\textsuperscript{113} Its editorial on March 2 clearly stated this view. At the same time, this article focused on South Korea’s domestic politics, arguing that its identity politics had put pressure on its government to request the corrections of Japan’s history textbooks. As discussed in the examination of the international affairs article on April 3 above, this article pointed out that the strong national identity of South Koreans, developed through official education policies, and South Koreans’ historical view were intertwined. That is, Yomiuri again attempted to show that the cause of this international conflict between Japan and South Korea was at the hand of South Koreans, not the Japanese.

In contrast, Asahi did not mention any possibility of unconstitutionality in accepting the foreign government’s demands although its article noted that the Japanese

\textsuperscript{112} “Shūsei no kyōyō wa iken ni ataru” (Forced corrections would be unconstitutional), Yomiuri Shimbun, May 8, 2001, evening, p.1.

\textsuperscript{113} “Kankoku no rekishikan” irokoku hanei 「韓国の歴史観」色濃く反映), Yomiuri Shimbun, 8 May 2001, evening, p.2.
government would not make publishers correct their textbooks unless there were factual mistakes in them. Unlike Yomiuri, Asahi did not find South Korea's national identity politics as a cause of its international request; rather, it believed that the Japanese had forced the action. According to its May 8 analytical article on the general interest page, the Koreans regarded the textbooks as a symptom of the conservative swing of Japanese society, as well as in violation of the Japan-Republic of Korea Joint Declaration. This is another point that Asahi attempted to make throughout this textbook controversy: The conservative swing of Japanese society per se was the problem. Furthermore, Asahi virtually supported the demand of the South Korean government on its societal affairs page by again giving preferential treatment to critics of the Society's textbook. Asahi introduced three scholars' analyses of the corrections demanded by the South Koreans: Two of the three Japanese historians noted that the South Koreans had rightly pointed out factual errors in the Society's textbook. Only the third scholar decisively argued that South Korea's corrections did not meet the standard of current history scholarship, but his statement was placed below the two critical articles, near the bottom of the societal affairs page. This obviously means that Asahi's layout editor were de-emphasizing this scholar's argument (a layout editor will usually locate more important articles on the upper half of a page, and less important articles on the lower). Needless to say, two scholars outnumbered one scholar: This is another unbalanced treatment of critics of the Society's textbook by Asahi.

114 "Jijitsu gonin igai wa shūsei dekizu" (Corrections can not be made except for factual mistakes), Asahi Shimbun, 8 May 8 2001, evening, p 1.
115 "Kankoku, hyōgen meguri kunō" (Korea in anguish over expressions), Asahi Shimbun, 8 May 2001, evening, p. 2.
116 "Rekishi ninshiki no shuchō kō yomu" (How to interpret their asserted historical view), Asahi Shimbun, 8 May 2001, evening, p. 18.
Although *Asahi*'s editors and reporters did not explicitly acknowledge their campaign against the Society’s textbook in the articles or editorials, members of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform criticized *Asahi* for campaigning against their history textbook (Fujioka 2001; Miura and Nishio 2001; Tateno 2001). So far this chapter illustrates how those Society’s members’ claims may have been true. In addition, *Asahi*’s two series of feature articles or the so-called “*kikaku*” articles, provide additional evidence of *Asahi*’s campaign journalism. As noted in Chapter Two, feature series are often written from a particular perspective. *Asahi* published two series of feature articles regarding the textbook controversy in early July and mid-August of 2001. These two series ran on the societal affairs page in the morning editions under the same logo title of “What We Should Do About the Textbooks” (*Dōsuru kyōkashō* どうする教科書). This series title suggests that the Society’s textbook *per se* was problematic.

The first series ran from July 2 to 4, before local educational boards had begun the textbook adoption process; the second series ran from August 17 to 19, just after the board completed it.¹¹⁷ In fact, the series had sub-logo titles of “Before Adoption” (*Saitaku o mae ni* 掲択を前に) for the former, and “After Adoption” (*Saitaku o oete* 掲択を終えて) for the latter. Neither logo title mentions the Society or its textbook, *New History Textbook*, but all the articles revolved around the Society, its textbook, and its supporters as well as critics.

¹¹⁷ Each series was a snapshot project since each was published for only three consecutive days. Each of the three featured articles were numbered with Chinese characters, “top” (*jo*, 上), “middle” (*chu*, 中), and “bottom” (*ge*, 下), instead of numbers, 1, 2, and 3. This is a typical way to count three consecutive featured articles. In contrast, *kikaku* articles usually continue for more than three issues.
In addition to the series' logo titles, Asahi's first article in the first series was sub-titled, "The Society’s Textbook Coming: History Education and Schools in Turmoil" (‘Tsukurukai’ kyōkasho ga yattekuru: Rekishi kyōiku namidatsu gakkō 「つくる会」教科書がやって来る 歴史教育 波立つ学校). This title also implies that the textbook was problematic for junior high school history education. The article introduced critics concerned about the possible adoption of the Society’s textbook, while reporting that the Society and its supporters glorified wartime Imperial Japan. The second article focused on changes in the textbook adoption process in different districts. The article described how the Society and conservatives had attempted to mute the voices of schoolteachers in the textbook adoption process. The last article highlighted conservative politicians and the Society’s regional branches that attempted to change the textbook adoption process in their districts. Asahi’s editorial on February 24 had already argued that the voices of schoolteachers should not be removed from the textbook adoption process and had blamed the Society’s regional branches for trying to change the textbook adoption procedures in their regions.

Similarly, the second series attempted to illustrate the interference in the textbook adoption processes by the Society and its supporters. The main headline of the first article in the second series was “The Voice of Schoolteachers Sealed” (Kyōshi no koe fūin 教師の声 封印). The articles reported on the textbook adoptions of the Tokyo Metropolitan Educational Board and the Ehime Prefecture Educational Board, both of which chose the Society’s textbook for use in schools serving mentally disabled students. The article noted that two conservative governors, Ishihara Shintarō in Tokyo and Katō Moriyuki in Ehime, both of whom publicly showed their support for the Society’s
textbook, had an influence on the textbook adoption process of the respective educational boards. The second article reported that the Society's protest activity and textbook had an impact on changes in the junior high school history textbook market. According to the article, the Society particularly campaigned against three of the other history textbooks for their "masochistic view on history." As a result, history textbooks other than those three gained a greater share of the market. The third feature article argued against the Society's view that only hundreds of activists were against its textbook and prevented it from being adopted by educational boards. The article introduced individuals who opposed the Society's textbook, including a local small business owner who hoped to maintain friendship with Korean residents; a small town mayor who as a former Army soldier remembered the darker aspects of Imperial Japan's Army; and a mother who collected thousands of signatures to stop the adoption of the Society's textbook in her district. This article was obviously linked to the editorial on August 17 that praised activism against the Society and its textbook as a symbol of the realization of postwar democracy and human rights awareness.

A leader of the Society claimed that Asahi intended to prevent any local educational board from adopting the Society's textbook (Fujioka 2001). Although he did not show any evidence for his claim, Asahi's articles, like the first series of feature articles published just before the local adoption processes started, support his claim. It is dubious for a major commercial newspaper to publish criticisms against a particular authorized textbook just before the textbook adoption processes start at the local level if

118 Educational boards are attached to local governments (including municipalities and prefectures); however, they are supposed to be independent from elected officials as well as bureaucrats.
one believes that commercial newspapers' news coverage should be neutral and objective. At a very critical moment, *Asahi* had no intention of providing balanced, different views on the controversial textbook and the possibility of its adoption at the local educational board level. Considering that *Yomiuri* did not publish such articles before the adoption processes, the contrast between *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* is very clear. The former was evidently against the Society and its textbook, and the latter did not actively support the Society and its textbook. This is another difference between the two newspapers' editorial views.

**Chapter Conclusion**

The case study in this chapter only partially supports the assumption that Japan's news coverage is fact-centered. About 80% of the total articles published by each newspaper was fact-centered, focusing on basic facts—who did what, when, and where. However, cross-checking shows that those fact-centered articles reflect each newspaper's particular viewpoints. Fact-centered news coverage does not necessarily mean the major newspapers are politically homogenous. In fact, having examined their editorials and articles, this chapter shows that *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* were active political actors in their coverage of the textbook controversy in 2001. They expressed their political views in their editorials, and their news articles corresponded to their political views. It cannot be clearly concluded that their editorial views on the textbook controversy caused their particular news coverage of the textbook controversy. Certain news articles preceded certain editorials regarding the textbook controversy. But, we have seen that their editorial views and news articles harmonized with each other. The newspapers published certain news articles to reinforce their editorial views, and vice versa. More importantly,
some of their competing views on the Japanese state, nation, and national identity that appeared in their New Year’s Day editorials, clearly had an impact on their editorials and news articles on the history textbook controversy in 2001. That is to say, the two newspapers differently framed the history textbook controversy in 2001 based on their different views on the Japanese state, nation, and national identity.

*Asahi* evidently magnified the history textbook controversy more than *Yomiuri*, by publishing twice as many articles on the subject as *Yomiuri*. *Asahi* primarily defined the textbook controversy as a domestic problem. The Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform’s textbook *per se* was the problem as an inappropriate textbook for junior high school education that might have caused negative effects on Japanese youths, Japan’s relationships with its neighbors, and others. In other words, the textbook was a reflection of Japan’s conservative swing and a conservative state-centered view of history and politics. An anti-state, pacifist-nationalist media outlet, *Asahi* attacked the textbook and its producer, the Society, as well as supporters of the Society, including conservative politicians. For *Asahi*, those who attempted to change the textbook adoption processes at the local level were intruding in a process already appropriately sustained by schoolteachers, and those who were against the textbook and attempted to prevent local educational boards from adopting the textbook were guardians of postwar democracy. *Asahi* believed that governments and people in South Korea and China did not interfere in Japan’s domestic issue; rather, they gave the Japanese valuable advice as neighbors.

*Yomiuri* primarily regarded the textbook controversy as a diplomatic issue between Japan and its neighboring nation-states. *Yomiuri* believed that Japan’s neighbors had failed to understand Japan’s textbook authorization system and its policy of freedom
of speech and, in case of South Korea, their domestic politics affected their government’s policies regarding Japan’s textbooks. For Yomiuri, the problematic effect was the two foreign states’ interference in a Japanese domestic issue. From the perspective of Yomiuri as a state-centered nationalist, interference in another state’s domestic affairs was inappropriate behavior. In the meantime, Yomiuri did not think that the Society and its textbook were problematic, though the textbook was “unique.” What the Society did was within the bounds of freedom of expression as practiced in Japan. However, Yomiuri, in fact, to some extent shared the Society’s historical view. Yomiuri regarded as inconsequential the Society’s and its supporters’ attempt to publish a textbook for junior high school education and then petition local government to change the textbook adoption processes in its favor. In the meantime, Yomiuri argued that those who protested against the adoption of the Society’s textbook were radicals who created chaos and did not understand democratic values such as the freedom of expression.

In conclusion, the chapter has demonstrated that Asahi presented the textbook controversy as a Japanese domestic issue first and as a diplomatic issue second, while attacking the Society and its history and civics textbooks. The chapter illustrates that Yomiuri primarily portrayed the textbook controversy as an inter-state issue caused by Japan’s neighbor countries’ inappropriate behavior or incomplete understanding, while accepting the Society’s actions as part of Japan’s policy of freedom of expression. The two newspapers very differently defined the textbook controversy in their editorials and differently framed it through elements of their news coverage. Their different editorial views correspond with the competing views that appeared in their New Year’s Day editorials. This means that the Japanese style of news framing displayed in the two
newspapers contains at least three layers, including their nationalist views as well as their editorial views and the news coverage of each issue.

The next chapter will reexamine this three-layer-news framing with an analysis focusing on the newspapers' editorials and news articles covering the 2003 murders of two Japanese diplomats serving in postwar Iraq.
CHAPTER 5. THE MURDERS OF TWO JAPANESE DIPLOMATS IN IRAQ, 2003

Chapter Introduction

Whether Japan should send the Self-Defense Forces to foreign soil as its contribution in an international effort has been a recurrent public question in Japan since the Gulf War in 1991. This question also created a turning point in the editorial rivalry between the major Japanese newspapers (Sankei Shimbun Ronsetsu Iinshitsu 2002). As Chapter Three discusses, Asahi and Yomiuri competed with each other over the Gulf Shock and Gulf War-related issues in their New Year’s Day editorials. After the Diet decided not to deploy the SDF to the Middle East, Yomiuri argued that Japan should have sent the SDF in support of the US-led allied forces against Saddam Hussein’s Iraq; Asahi praised the Diet’s decision. After the allied forces successfully stopped Iraq from occupying Kuwait, the Japanese government suffered under the “Gulf Shock” caused by international criticism of its so-called “checkbook diplomacy.” The effect of this Gulf Shock buoyed up Yomiuri’s internationalism and undermined Asahi’s pacifism. Yomiuri could trumpet that the pacifism upheld by leftists was actually “passive” “one-country pacifism” and that to be “an honorable international state,” Japan must contribute to the world peace not only with financial but also with human power.119 In 1994, Yomiuri even proposed its own constitutional reform plan that would make Japan capable of playing a more active role in international contribution.120 One of the most important

119 “Meiyo aru kokusai kokka no jōken” (Condition to be an honorable international state), Yomiuri Shimbun, 1 January 1992, morning, p. 3.
120 Yomiuri revised its constitutional reform plan twice in 2000 and 2004. The original proposal and two revised proposals were published in its newspapers. The original
points that this proposal made was to allow the SDF to join international military operations under the auspices of United Nations (Osamu Watanabe 2002). *Asahi* had to face this neo-conservative internationalism in the post-Cold War era even as the public came to understand Japan's awkward position in matters requiring international cooperation. Nonetheless, for the sake of the constitution, *Asahi* resisted the idea of sending the SDF to participate in international military operations, and proposed that the nation establish a new government organization for non-military international cooperation, including humanitarian and post-natural disaster aid (Asahi Shimbun Chōsa Kenkyūshitsu 1994; Asahi Shimbun Ronsetsu Iinshitsu 1995). Instead of military contribution, *Asahi* stressed that Japan must stick with non-military, international assistance. Although the Diet began to send the SDF on UN-led peacekeeping operations in 1992, Japan has until the present managed to adhere to its non-military principle by avoiding any operations involving combat. However, the U.S.-led war with Iraq in 2003 brought another test regarding Japan's commitment to providing on-the-ground support in international peacekeeping missions. When the Japanese government, led by Koizumi Junichiro, decided to send the SDF to Iraq to join the reconstruction effort in Iraq in summer 2003, the dispute roared back into the public sphere with more intensity than before. Although the war had been declared over before Japan's decision to join in April, the situation in Iraq became very chaotic soon afterwards, and the SDF could be expected to face local armed insurgents. Accordingly, the deployment of the SDF to Iraq rekindled the long-term dispute between the ruling and opposition parties over military or non-military international contribution. This dispute came to a boil when two Japanese proposal and revised proposal in 2004 were also published in books (Yomiuri Shimbunsha 1994, 2004).
diplomats were killed on November 29, 2003, near Tikrit by an armed insurgents. This event fueled the debate on whether Japan should send the Ground Self-Defense Forces to Iraq. How did the two newspapers discuss the murders of the two diplomats along with the SDF deployment to Iraq in their editorials? How did they frame this incident in their news coverage? Like the previous chapter, this chapter assumes that by publishing editorials and news articles on this tragic incident and its consequences, Asahi and Yomiuri also respectively expressed their opposition to and support for the deployment of the Ground Self-Defense Force troops in Iraq. This chapter demonstrates how the key concept of resonance in Entman’s news framing analysis technique can work for a Japanese-style news framing content analysis by showing how the Japanese word *ishi* (慘志, “the wishes of the dead”), resonated in the two newspapers’ editorials.

**Background of Analyses: Japan’s Support for the Iraq War**

As Chapter Three shows, Asahi and Yomiuri were divided over how Japan should provide support for the U.S.-led Iraq War, and they expressed differing attitudes toward the United States as a leader of the international community. Their competing views on the murders of the two diplomats are consequences of these attitudes. This section reviews the murders as well as the development of Iraq War related-issues in 2003, and explores the larger context of the two newspapers’ editorials and reportage of the incident (See Table 9: Timeline of Murders of Diplomats in Iraq, 2003).

An armed group ambushed Oku Katsuhiko, Inoue Masamori and their Iraqi driver as they drove in their SUV near Tikrit in northern Iraq, “the home town of Saddam Hussein and a center of the anti-American insurgency,” on November 29, 2003 (Filkins
Oku was a counselor for the Japanese Embassy in the United Kingdom, and Inoue was an Arab specialist stationed as a third secretary at the Japanese Embassy in Syria and Iraq. Inoue died almost instantly, and Oku died after arrival at a hospital. The driver, Jerjees Sulaiman Zura, was also killed. This incident occurred in the evening on Saturday, November 29, Japan Standard Time (JST), and was reported to the Japanese government through the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) of Iraq after midnight (JST). The first press reports of the incident arrived at the newspapers on the morning of Sunday, November 30. Since there is no evening edition on Sundays, Asahi and Yomiuri first reported the incident in their morning editions on Monday, December 1.

Prior to this attack, Iraq-related issues had divided the Japanese political sphere, although Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro's government had expressed its firm support of the United States in the war against Saddam Hussein, as well as in the postwar reconstruction of Iraq. Those who supported the Koizumi-led government, including Yomiuri, emphasized that giving assistance in the war with Iraq was not only important to defeat Islamic terrorism, but also to gain U.S. support in handling the potential crisis in Japan's relations with North Korea. The government consequently sent Oku and Inoue to Iraq to work with the Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), established by the U.S. Government for postwar planning, in April 2003 just after the U.S.-led military forces secured Baghdad. The two diplomats acted as liaisons between the Japanese government and the ORHA in Iraq, while organizing Japan's humanitarian aid to the Iraqis. 

(Continued on page 170)

121 "Iraku sensō ni hantai suru" (We oppose the war with Iraq), Asahi Shimbun, 18 February 2003, morning, p. 2. "Jijitsujo no beishiji o kyōmei shita Nihon" (Japan declares to support the United States), Yomiuri Shimbun, 20 February 2003, morning, p. 3.
### Table 9. Timeline of Murders of Diplomats in Iraq, 2003

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>The Invasion of Iraq begins. PM Koizumi Junichiro officially announces that the Cabinet supports the war with Iraq.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>The Invasion of Iraq is complete.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two Japanese diplomats, Oku Katsuhiko and Inoue Masamori, begin work in Iraq as liaisons between the Japanese government and the US Office for Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA). Exact date is unknown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>The Diet passes the Humanitarian Relief and Iraqi Reconstruction Special Measures Law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>August</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>The UN headquarters in the Canal Hotel is bombed, with over 20 people killed, including the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General to Iraq, Sérgio Vieira de Mello.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>November</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Suicide bomb attack on Italian police personnel in Iraq. 23 people die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Oku, Inoue, and their Iraqi driver are killed by an armed group near Tikrit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kawaguchi Yoriko, holds a press conference on the murders of the two diplomats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>December</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>The diplomats' families leave from Narita for the Middle East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The families reach Kuwait.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Oku's and Inoue's remains are accompanied to Narita by their family members.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>The official funeral service for the two diplomats is held in Tokyo. PM Koizumi attends.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>A rugby football game between Waseda and Meiji is held in Tokyo. The game is dedicated to Oku, a former Waseda Rugby player.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>The Koizumi Cabinet announces its official plan for the SDF deployment to Iraq. The Air Self-Defense Force is to be deployed by the end of December, and the Ground Self-Defense Force is to be sent early in the next year.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Around the time the men were killed, the Japanese government had been expected to announce the official deployment plans of the SDF to join the U.S.-led reconstruction of Iraq. The Diet, led by the Liberal Democratic Party and Komeito, had already pre-approved the deployment of the SDF to Iraq, passing the Humanitarian Relief and Iraqi Reconstruction Special Measures Law on July 26, 2003 (hereafter the Special Measures Law). The Japanese government had planned to send the SDF to Iraq by October in the same year, but postponed the announcement of the deployment plan after the Canal Hotel Bombing of the UN headquarters killed over 20 people, including the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General to Iraq, Sérgio Vieira de Mello, on August 12. Japan postponed the announcement again after the suicide bomb attack on the Italian police base on November 12, which resulted in the deaths of 23 people. The situation in Iraq grew worse, and then came the murders of the two Japanese diplomats on November 29. Those who opposed the deployment of the SDF argued that there was no “non-combat zones” in Iraq for the SDF deployment. The Special Measures Law spelled out that SDF were to be sent only to non-combat zones to assist in activities of humanitarian aid and reconstruction of Iraq’s infrastructure.

Even prior to the diplomats’ deaths, the editorial battle between the two newspapers had already started. They took competing stands on the United States’ views on the weapon inspections in Iraq by the United Nations, its decision to go to war, and the Koizumi government’s support of the United States and its plan to join the postwar reconstruction of Iraq. From January to July in 2003, Asahi published 73 editorials on these issues. Six were large editorials, each of which occupied the space of two regular editorials. For the same period, Yomiuri published 49 editorials, of which five were large
editorials. These editorials had already showed the two newspapers’ competing views on issues related to the Iraq War, suggesting that Asahi and Yomiuri would likely present different views on the murders of the diplomats in Iraq and related issues.

In January and February, 2003, Asahi criticized the United States, which believed that Iraq had aided international Islamic terrorists, for forcefully pressuring Hussein’s Iraq; it viewed favorably those European states, France and Germany, that demanded more effective UN inspections to determine if there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. In its first long editorial on February 18, Asahi decisively opposed the U.S.-led war with Iraq, and its February 20 editorial questioned the Japanese government declaration of support for the United State at the UN Security Council. Asahi argued against the idea that Japan should support the United States on the Iraq issue in order to attain U.S. support in its dealings with North Korea and the negotiations concerning the abduction of Japanese civilians by North Korean agents. When President Bush issued an ultimatum to Hussein’s Iraq, Asahi addressed in its second large editorial on March 19 what it saw as the United States’ disdain for the United Nations. Once Prime Minister Koizumi proclaimed his support for the war, Asahi’s March 22 editorial questioned the

122 “Iraku mondai, Ōshū seron ni mimi o katamukeyo” (Listen to European opinions for the Iraq Question), Asahi Shimbun, 18 January 2003, morning, p. 2. “Bei-ō no kiretsu, ri wa Futsu-Doku ni aru” (For the confrontation between the U.S. and Europe, Germany and France are reasonable), Asahi Shimbun, 12 February 2003, morning, p. 2.
123 “Iraku senso ni hantai suru” (We oppose the war with Iraq), Asahi Shimbun, 18 February 2003, morning, p. 2. “Anpori enzetsu, Beikoku shiji shikanainoka” (Is the choice only to support the United States?), Asahi Shimbun, 20 February 2003, morning, p. 2.
124 “Beikoku shiji, Kitachōsen wa riyū ni naruka” (Can the North Korea question be the reason to support the United States?), Asahi Shimbun, 6 March 2003, morning, p. 2.
125 “Busshu-shi no saigo tsūkoku, kono sensō o ure ‘eru” (Upon the ultimatum by President Bush, we grieve over this war), Asahi Shimbun, 19 March 2003, morning, p. 2.
U.S.-Japan alliance as a good-enough reason to support the United States.\textsuperscript{126} When the
Japanese government announced its plans to send personnel to assist in the postwar
reconstruction of Iraq, \textit{Asahi} demanded that UN leadership replace U.S. leadership of the
reconstruction effort in its editorial on April 16.\textsuperscript{127} As soon as the Koizumi
administration decided to deploy the SDF to Iraq in order to join the reconstruction effort,
\textit{Asahi} firmly declared its opposition to the deployment in its June 7\textit{ editorial}.\textsuperscript{128} After that,
\textit{Asahi} kept opposing and questioning the proposed Special Measures Law that would
enable Japan to deploy SDF to Iraq, publishing eleven editorials opposed to the
deployment, until the law was passed in the Diet on July 26.

On the other hand, \textit{Yomiuri} was a strong supporter of the Koizumi government,
and a proponent of the linkage of the Iraq and North Korea issues for Japan's security and
national interests (e.g. oil importation from the Middle East). In fact, in its first large
editorial on January 3, 2003, the newspaper argued that both Iraq and North Korea would
be threats to the security of the whole world as well as Japan if they obtained nuclear
weapons, and stressed that the U.S. leadership was indispensable in facing these
threats.\textsuperscript{129} In its editorial on February 20, \textit{Yomiuri} welcomed Japan's support for the
United States at the UN Security Council.\textsuperscript{130} Consequently, on March 14, the newspaper

\textsuperscript{126} "Beikoku shiji, korega hontō no dōmei ka" (Is this really an alliance?), \textit{Asahi Shimbun},
22 March 2003, morning, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{127} "Senryo tōchi, gunsei e no haken o isoguna" (Reconsider the dispatch of personnel to
the military government for the occupation), \textit{Asahi Shimbun}, 16 April 2003, morning, p.
2.
\textsuperscript{128} "Iraku shinpō, Jieitai o naze okuru" (Why send the SDF to the Iraq Reconstruction?),
\textit{Asahi Shimbun}, 7 June 2003, morning, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{129} "Shinshetwa chitsujo kōchiku e shiren no toshi" (The year of challenge for the
construction of new world order), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 3 January 2003, morning, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{130} "Jiisujō no Bei shiji o hyōmeishita Nihon" (Japan declared its \textit{de facto} support for the
United States), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 20 February 2003, morning, p. 3.
stressed that Japan's only choice was to support the United States for the sake of its national security and alliance with the United States. Soon after the war's start, Yomiuri in its third large editorial on March 21 demanded that the government prepare for the deployment of the SDF to assist in the postwar reconstruction of Iraq. In contrast to Asahi, Yomiuri on March 28 questioned Japan's UN-centered diplomacy while upholding the Japan-U.S. alliance as vital for dealing with North Korea. On April 11, just after the U.S. forces took over Baghdad, Yomiuri praised the United States and the United Kingdom for their leadership in the war with Iraq, and again emphasized the primacy of the Japan-U.S. alliance for Japan's national security. Naturally, Yomiuri was a strong supporter of the Special Measures Law, publishing eight editorials in its support in June and July.

The different numbers of editorials between the two papers may suggest the degree of magnitude Asahi laid on the issues of the Iraq War and its desperate efforts to prevent Japan from becoming involved in the war and postwar reconstruction. The effort was indeed desperate, and futile, since the ruling parties in the parliament supported the war and planned to send SDF troops to Iraq. In addition, the two newspapers discussion topics in the editorials above correspond with the views expressed in their New Year's Day editorials. Asahi supported the United Nations while being critical of the United

\[131 \text{"Nihon no kokueki o mamoru shiten o wasureruna" (Don't forget to protect Japan's national interests), Yomiuri Shim bun, 14 March 2003, morning, p. 3.}
\[132 \text{"Iraku sensō no sōki shūketsu o nozomu" (We hope for an early end of the Iraq War), Yomiuri Shim bun, 21 March 2003, morning, p. 3.}
\[133 \text{"Saikō semarareru Nihon no Kokaren gaikō" (Japan's diplomacy at the United Nations to be reconsidered), Yomiuri Shim bun, 28 March 2003, morning, p. 3.}
\[134 \text{"Tadashikatta Bei-Ei no rekishteki ketsudan" (The historic decision made by the United States and the United Kingdom was correct), Yomiuri Shim bun, 11 April 2003, morning, p. 3.} \]
States. *Yomiuri* held opposing views regarding these two major players in world politics. More importantly, the editorial confrontation between the two newspapers from January to July in 2003 foretold the conflict between them over the murders of Oku and Inoue in November. Studying how the two papers framed the entire Iraq War would be a fantastic project, but far beyond the scope of this dissertation, so the present discussion will focus on just a single incident of the long Iraq War, the murder of the two Japanese diplomats. This event is limited, but intense enough to deserve a serious analysis. The content analysis in this chapter focuses on *Asahi*’s and *Yomiuri*’s editorials and news coverage of the incident and its related issues from December 1 to 10. As noted, the newspapers published their first articles on the diplomats’ deaths in their morning editions on Monday, December 1. The official funeral for Oku and Inoue was held on December 6. By December 10, the two newspapers had stopped touching on the story.

**Analysis of Editorials**

This section examines the two newspapers’ editorials published from December 1 to 10 (See Table 10: Editorials on Murders of Diplomats in Iraq, 2003). During this period, both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* published five editorials each to discuss the murders of the two diplomats and related issues such as the deployment of the SDF in Iraq, Japan’s participation in postwar Iraq’s reconstruction, and their stances on the War on Terrorism. Generally, the newspapers used the murders as an opportunity to discuss what was happening in Iraq and what the Japanese government should do for the reconstruction of Iraq. Their competing views on the Iraq War, the United States, the United Nations, and Japan’s SDF deployment appeared in their respective editorials. That is, the murders of the diplomats represented a problematic situation in Iraq. However, because of the
dangerous conditions in Iraq, *Yomiuri* argued that Japan should send the SDF, but *Asahi* stressed that Japan should not do so. In other words, the two newspapers found different causes of the situation of Iraq and different remedies for that situation, and argued these in their respective editorials.

Each newspaper published five editorials, so the magnitude of editorials is the same between the two newspapers. However, it should be noted that publishing five editorials in ten days is quite impressive. The previous chapter found for nearly six months only six editorials from *Yomiuri* and eight from *Asahi* regarding the history textbook controversy in 2001. Probably it is not wrong to say that the murders of the two Japanese diplomats really intensified the two newspapers' attention to the issue of the SDF deployment. That is, the two newspapers obviously felt the murders had created a very decisive moment for the public.

(Continued on the page 177)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Headline (English)</th>
<th>Headline (Japanese)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Dec 1 The Deaths of Two Diplomats: To Say &quot;We Must Not Flinch&quot; Is No Solution</td>
<td>「たじろぐな」では済まぬ 2人の外交官の死</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>Dec 1 The Murder of the Japanese: Don't Retreat from the Line of Battle in Iraq</td>
<td>日本人殺害 イラク支援の戦列から退くな</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Dec 2 Deployment in Iraq: This Grave Issue Must be Discussed in the Diet</td>
<td>イラク派遣 重大事を国会で論じよ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>Dec 3 The Deployment of SDF: The Principles We Must Uphold for the Support of Iraq</td>
<td>自衛隊派遣 貫くべきイラク支援の基本姿勢</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Dec 5 Does Komei Party still Support the Deployment?</td>
<td>公明党 派遣へ背中を押すのか</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>Dec 5 The Deployment of SDF: We Must Remember Our Obligation to Finish</td>
<td>自衛隊派遣 責任を果たす自覚を持たねば</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Dec 6 The Deployment in Iraq: Let Us Ask Diet Members Questions</td>
<td>イラク派遣 議員のあなたに問う</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asahi</td>
<td>Dec 7 The Deployment of SDF: Think about it from the Perspective of the Iraqis</td>
<td>自衛隊派遣 イラクの視点はあるのか</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>Dec 7 The Funeral of Diplomats: The Duty of the Nation to Take Over the Wishes of the Deceased</td>
<td>外交官葬儀 遺志を受け継ぐべき国の責任</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>Dec 10 The Deployment of SDF: The Spirit of Our Nation Being Tested</td>
<td>自衛隊派遣 国民の精神が試されている</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, more interestingly for our news framing analysis, both of the newspapers in their editorials figuratively used the same word *ishi* (遺志, “the wishes of the deceased”), in order to discuss the deployment of the SDF in Iraq. They assumed that the two dead diplomats had left wishes upon their deaths and argued that the Japanese government had to honor their wishes. That is to say, there was something that the two diplomats wished to accomplish but had not done yet, so the Japanese government had to take over and finish it on their behalf. Of course, the diplomats’ deaths were very sudden, and they did not in fact have time to leave any wills or messages. The term “the wishes of the deceased,” has a customary usage, with Japanese often saying that the *ishi* is left when the deceased has died leaving some meaningful or important work unfinished. This expression often implies that someone else, such as a child, spouse, or colleague, is supposed to “take over the wishes of the deceased” (*ishi o tsugu 遺志を継ぐ*) and complete the work. In the case of the deaths of Oku Katsuhiko and Inoue Masamori, at the press conference on November 30, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi Yoriko said that to honor “the wishes of the deceased” left by the two diplomats, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) would make greater efforts in the reconstruction of Iraq.\(^{135}\) The two newspapers picked up Kawaguchi’s use of the term “the wishes of the deceased.” They likely took *ishi* as a catchy and strong word that provided them with a frame to discuss this news story. This frame can be regarded as a *schema*, which Chapter Two discusses, because this particular use of “the wishes of the deceased” is based on the tacit understanding of the word and the concept shared by the Japanese people.

\(^{135}\) "Jieitai haken kenji: Keikaku kettei shûnai nimo" (The SDF deployment unchanged: The plan to be concluded this week), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 2. “Yushûna buka, tsûkon no kiwami” (Loosing my excellent men is my greatest regret), *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 4.
However, *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* had different interpretations of “the wishes of the deceased” and different ideas about how to complete the unfinished tasks. Whatever the two newspapers’ interpretations and ideas were, “the wishes of the deceased” became a resonated word that both newspapers shared in their editorials. In addition, two additional resonated words competed in their editorials. To characterize conditions in Iraq, *Asahi* used “war” (*sensō* 戦争); *Yomiuri* repeatedly used “terrorism” (*tero* テロ). This different characterization reflects their competing views on Japan’s support for the Iraq War, the SDF, and the international community. An examination of *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*’s editorials follows.

*Asahi* magnified the incident by making its first editorial on it twice as long as a regular editorial. *Asahi* perhaps thought that the murders had become the last opportunity to change the government’s decision regarding the deployment of the SDF in Iraq. The main thesis in this first editorial was to transform the U.S.-led reconstruction of Iraq into a UN-led reconstruction. For *Asahi*, this was how the Japanese government could honor the wishes left by the two deceased diplomats. *Asahi* argued that (1) the U.S. occupation of Iraq had seen tremendous difficulties as guerrilla and suicidal attacks increased; (2) those attacks against the U.S.-led forces were more nearly “war,” than “terrorism”; (3) because of this on-going war, “a reality very different from that expected in the Special Measures Law” had appeared in Iraq; and, therefore, (4) the Japanese government should not send the SDF to Iraq.136 *Asahi* attempted to stress that the “reality” of Iraq was “war”

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136 “Tajiroguna dewa sumanu: Futari no gaikōkan no shi” (The deaths of the two diplomats: To say "we must not flinch" is no solution), *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 2.
throughout its editorials. In *Asahi*’s editorials, the two words, “war” and “reality,” were synonymous and resonant.

In its first editorial, *Asahi* assumed that the U.S.-led occupation and reconstruction of Iraq had caused this harsh reality in Iraq. According to *Asahi*, from the viewpoint of those who attacked the U.S. military and others in Iraq, the United States was installing a puppet government in Iraq as part of its “long-range Middle East strategy” (*chōkitekina Chūō senryaku* 長期的な中東戦略). Therefore, to solve the current harsh situation in Iraq, it was necessary to replace the U.S. leadership with leadership by the U.N. *Asahi* believed this was the remedy for the harsh reality in Iraq. According to *Asahi*, leadership by the UN would provide “the sturdy foundations for the reconstruction of Iraq” and was a way for the Japanese to honor “the wishes” left by the two diplomats who had given up their lives the reconstruction of Iraq. In its New Year’s Day editorials, *Asahi* has always been an ardent supporter for the UN but a serious critic of the United States and the Japan-U.S. alliance.

However, *Asahi* stopped using “the wishes of deceased” after the first editorial. Instead, *Asahi* used the words “anxiety” (*kenen* 懸念), “uncertainty” (*fuan* 不安), and “questions” (*ginen* 疑念), emotions which *Asahi* believed the murders of the two diplomats had brought to the Japanese. In its second editorial on December 2, *Asahi* argued that the murders had generated “questions” about the situation in Iraq as well as the SDF deployment and the reconstruction’s prospects. The reality in Iraq that *Asahi* stressed in this editorial again was war, not terrorism. *Asahi* asked Japanese decision-makers to reconsider Japan’s SDF deployment and reconstruction support. *Asahi* concluded its editorial by saying the SDF were not normal military such as other states
owned, another point *Asahi* emphasized in its New Year’s Day editorials. In its third editorial on December 5, *Asahi* emphasized that “anxiety” and “uncertainty” had spread among the Japanese, and especially asked the Komeito to revise the “reality” of Iraq and reconsider the deployment of the SDF. The Komeito is a self-claimed party for world peace, which puts it at some distance from its coalition partner, the LDP. *Asahi*’s fourth editorial on December 6 further asked all the Diet members to reconsider the SDF deployment and stressed that even LDP members had expressed their anxiety about the deployment.

Nonetheless, *Asahi* came back to “the wishes of the deceased” in its last editorial on December 7, since at the official funeral held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the deceased diplomats’ families, Prime Minister Koizumi had declared that Japan would continue to support the reconstruction of Iraq to honor the diplomats wishes. But the point that *Asahi* stressed was completely opposite to Koizumi’s: the wishes of the two diplomats were to truly help the people of Iraq, not to help the United States in Iraq. The editorial again emphasized that the war would continue unless the U.S. occupation of Iraq was ended. In its conclusion, *Asahi* argued that the Iraqis really hoped to see the end of the occupation of Iraq by the United States and the start of the reconstruction support by the “international community” (*kokusai shakai* 国際社会). In addition, *Asahi* argued that the Iraqis would regard Japan’s deployment of the SDF as part of the U.S. occupation of Iraq. Although *Asahi* did not mention the United Nations at all in this editorial, the international community here was presumably the one led by the United Nations. In other words, for *Asahi*, the U.S. occupation of Iraq was causing the harsh contemporary conditions in Iraq, including those that resulted in the murders of Oku and Inoue; the
remedy for Iraq’s situation was to replace the United States with the United Nations as the leader for the reconstruction of Iraq. Accordingly, the deployment of the SDF in Iraq as part of the U.S.-led occupation was not what Japan was supposed to do.

In contrast to Asahi, Yomiuri allotted its first editorial the usual amount of space, running it along with another editorial on December 1. Yomiuri did not use the word “war” at all to characterize the situation in Iraq. Rather, Yomiuri repeated “terrorism” to discuss the murders of the diplomats and characterize the situation in Iraq. The editorial mentioned that Oku had once written in his essays on MOFA’s website that Japan must not give in to terrorism. Yomiuri’s editorial basically argued that (1) it was Japan’s “international obligation” (kokusaitekina sekimu 国際的な責務) to support the reconstruction of Iraq; (2) the states that had already joined the reconstruction of Iraq, such as Italy and Spain, still remained in Iraq despite the loss of their personnel, so Japan should follow them; and (3) to realize the independence of Iraq and maintain the order of the international community, Japan should support the reconstruction of Iraq along with the “international community” (kokusai shakai 国際社会). Yomiuri accordingly stressed that Japan’s more active support for Iraq would realize “the wishes of the deceased.” Unlike Asahi, Yomiuri did not differentiate U.S. leadership from UN leadership.

Yomiuri’s use of “the wishes of the deceased” makes much more sense than that in Asahi’s editorials, because the Koizumi-led government had sent the two diplomats to work for the reconstruction of Iraq under U.S. leadership, having determined on the deployment of the SDF. The murders of the two diplomats occurred in the context of the Koizumi government’s policy. Foreign Minister Kawaguchi was one of the earliest users of this resonant word. LDP politicians similarly used “the wishes of the deceased” and
promised to complete Japan’s participation in the reconstruction of Iraq.\(^{137}\) *Yomiuri* obviously followed the lead of the government. On the other hand, it seems that *Asahi* attempted to twist “the wishes of the deceased” in the public discourse toward its own ends since its argument apparently ignored the context of this tragic event. Probably because of this unreasonable twist, *Asahi* had to stop stressing “the wishes of the deceased” after its first editorial, except for a final revival of the term in its last editorial. In contrast, *Yomiuri* continuously connected “the wishes of the deceased” to Japan’s participation in the reconstruction of Iraq as well as the SDF deployment in its remaining editorials of December 3, 5 and 7.\(^{138}\) The editorial on December 7, published just after the official funeral, especially quoted “the wishes of the deceased” in Prime Minister Koizumi’s speech of condolences at the funeral, and *Yomiuri* urged the government to deploy the SDF to Iraq.\(^{139}\) *Yomiuri* believed that the deaths of the diplomats had already proved that instead of civilian officials, SDF personnel could more effectively conduct the missions necessary for reconstruction under such dangerous circumstances.

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137 “Futari no ishi o seifu yotô ga shikkarito uketsugu” (The government and the ruling party will definitely take over the wishes of the two diplomats), *Jiminto News*, 1 December 2003; available from http://www.jimin.jp/jimin/daily/03_12/01/151201b.shtml; Internet.

138 “Tsuranukubeki Iraku shien no kihon shisei” (The principles we must uphold for the support of Iraq), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 3 December 2003, morning, p.3. “Sekinin a hatasu jikaku a motaneba” (We must remember our obligation to finish), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 5 December 2003, morning, p.3. “Ishi a uketsugubeki kuni no sekinin” (The duty of the nation to take over their dying wishes), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 7 December 2003, morning, p.3.

139 See Koizumi’s condolence in “Iraku de nakunatta gaimushô shokuin no sôgi ni sanretsu” (attended the funeral of the administrators of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who died in Iraq), *Shusho Kantei Koizumi Shusho no Ugoki*, 6 December 2003; available at: http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/koizumiphoto/2003/12/06sougi.html; Internet.
Also Yomiuri’s editorial on December 10 repeated this argument and contended, “The deployment of SDF is Japan’s obligation as a member of the international community.”\(^{140}\) This line echoes with Yomiuri’s resonated phrase in its New Year’s Day editorials. Since the 1980s, Japan’s standing as “a member of the international community” has been one of Yomiuri’s favorite phrases in its New Year’s Day editorials. Yomiuri hopes to see Japan, as an “international state” playing more active roles not only in international economy but also in international politics, including peacekeeping operations, while it accepts the United States as the world leader. That is Yomiuri’s internationalism for Japan and the Japanese. This internationalism is supposed to replace Japan’s pacifism that liberals and leftists, including Asahi, have upheld since the early postwar period. Yomiuri’s five editorials on the murders of the diplomats evidently follow this path. In other words, for Yomiuri, terrorism caused the harsh conditions in Iraq, and the murders of the two diplomats. Japan, therefore, had to fight against terrorism in Iraq along with the international community led by the United States. It was Japan’s obligation to the international community, too. More effective participation in anti-terrorism activities or a remedy for the harsh situation in Iraq, for Japan, could be accomplished by sending its SDF to Iraq.

In sum, the word *ishi*, “the wishes of the deceased,” as a *schema* worked more effectively for Yomiuri’s editorial discussion than for Asahi’s. The word resonated naturally throughout Yomiuri’s editorials as well as the government’s public discourses. The following analysis of Yomiuri’s news coverage of the murders will especially focus on how Yomiuri handled the deaths of the two diplomats. These lives lost in service

\(^{140}\) “*Kokumin no seishin ga tamesareteiru*” (The spirit of our nation being tested), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 10 December 2003, morning, p.3 (editorial).
provide news editors and reporters with a possible human-interest script to frame this issue. *Yomiuri* could opt to make the two diplomats into heroes of Japan’s international contribution to the reconstruction of Iraq. Meanwhile, the analysis also should pay attention to how *Asahi* handled the deaths of the two diplomats in its news articles. Even if the story is a potential source for a newsworthy drama, editors and reporters of *Asahi* might not choose to use this opportunity as much as those of *Yomiuri* did. The awkwardness of *Asahi*’s use of “the wishes of the deceased” may have had an impact on its news coverage.

**Analysis of News Coverage**

Articles that refer to the murders of the two diplomats, including articles that focus on the murders *per se* and articles that mention other topics as consequences of the murders, are examined in this section.141 *Asahi* published 105 articles, and *Yomiuri* 113 articles over ten days. Compared with the analysis of the previous chapter (*Asahi* published 310 articles and *Yomiuri* 166 articles over 6 months), the coverage of the murders by each of the two newspapers was intense. However, it is not easy to conclude which newspaper more greatly magnified the murders in their coverage, unlike in their coverage of the history textbook controversy. The number of articles classified by dates and pages also does not lead to any clear conclusion (See Figure 4: Articles on Murders of Diplomats Classified by Date; Table 11: Articles on Murders of Diplomats Classified

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141 Like the analysis in the previous chapter, the coding focuses on the four elements of articles: (1) the published section, (2) the functions (or styles) of article, (3) the focused actor(s), and (4) the contexts of a news story. The analysis does not include all pages in each copy of the two newspapers. The included pages are the front-page, and general interest, political affairs, the international affairs, and societal affairs pages. The op-ed pages are excluded. Since the business and economy pages did not publish substantial articles on the murders of the diplomats, they are excluded, too.
by Page). In addition, like the previous chapter, a large portion of articles, over 70% in each newspaper, is classified as consisting of fact-centered, straight news reports (See Table 12: Articles on Murders of Diplomats Classified by Function).

Nonetheless, in the examination of the articles classified by contexts and pages, a most interesting finding emerged: Yomiuri more often covered the two victims’ families, friends, and colleagues and their funerals and ceremonies than Asahi did (See Table 13: Articles on Murders of Diplomats Classified by Context and Page). Articles mourning the deaths of the two diplomats make up the largest portion of Yomiuri’s news coverage (48 articles, 42.5% of 113 total). They also comprise Asahi’s largest portion (27.6%, 29 out of 105 articles). But Asahi had another equally large portion (27.6%, 29 out of 105 articles) consisting of the articles that focused on the deployment of the SDF to Iraq. On the other hand, Yomiuri’s second largest portion is less than half of its largest portion: It consists of the 25 articles (22.1%) about the murders (the basic facts about the murders, the investigation, the possible suspects, etc.). The articles on the SDF deployment come only in third place in Yomiuri at 12.3% (14 articles). (Continued on the page 190)

142 The news coverage of the murders of the two diplomats is not only about what happened to the two diplomats in Iraq but also about the investigation for suspects, the funeral of the victims, their bereaved families, and the reactions of the government and others to the murders, so the murders caused derivative stories while the two newspapers link the murders with others such as the SDF deployment in Iraq (one of the two newspapers links it with others while the other does not). Not only news reporters and editors but also politicians and others produced derivative stories, by connecting the murders to other stories like the deployment of the SDF. Prime Minister Koizumi and others in the government discussed related issues along with the murders of the diplomats, and, in a sense, they used the murder to justify their arguments and actions. Likewise, as noted above, others such as protesters against the deployment of the SDF assumed the murders of the diplomats had an impact issues concerning themselves and reacted to it. Some reporters and editors simply reported on those inside and outside the government who attempted to use the murders or react to them, but others also intentionally connected the murders with issues of concern and reported those issues with some mention of the murders.
Figure 4. Number of Articles on Murders of Diplomats in Iraq Classified by Date

Articles in Asahi (total 105)
Articles in Yomiuri (total 113)
Table 11. Articles on Murders of Diplomats in Iraq Classified by Page

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front-Page</th>
<th>General Interest Page</th>
<th>Political Affairs Page</th>
<th>Int'l Affairs Page</th>
<th>Societal Affairs Page</th>
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<tr>
<td>Asahi (%)</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri (%)</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. Articles on Murders of Diplomats in Iraq Classified by Function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Straight News Report</th>
<th>Analysis or Background</th>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Research</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asahi (%)</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>105</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yomiuri (%)</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.8</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mournings of Victims</td>
<td>Protest against SDF Lower Diet’s Murders SDF Deployment Security for Situation in Japan’s Others</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Funeral, Ceremonies, Memoirs, Post-humous Commendations, etc.)</td>
<td>(Report, House Follow-up, Special Committee, etc.) (Report, Anti-Terrorism, Actors in Iraq, Iraq, etc.) Reconstruction, etc.</td>
<td>(Report, Follow-up, Memory, Investigation, etc.) (Report, Anti-Terrorism, Actors in Iraq, Iraq, etc.) Reconstruction, etc.</td>
<td>(Report, Follow-up, Memory, Investigation, etc.) (Report, Anti-Terrorism, Actors in Iraq, Iraq, etc.) Reconstruction, etc.</td>
<td>(Report, Follow-up, Memory, Investigation, etc.) (Report, Anti-Terrorism, Actors in Iraq, Iraq, etc.) Reconstruction, etc.</td>
<td>(Report, Follow-up, Memory, Investigation, etc.) (Report, Anti-Terrorism, Actors in Iraq, Iraq, etc.) Reconstruction, etc.</td>
<td>(Report, Follow-up, Memory, Investigation, etc.) (Report, Anti-Terrorism, Actors in Iraq, Iraq, etc.) Reconstruction, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front-page Asahi</td>
<td>31.8% (7)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>22.7% (5)</td>
<td>31.8% (7)</td>
<td>4.5% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>13.5% (9)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>44.0% (11)</td>
<td>12.0% (3)</td>
<td>8.0% (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Asahi</td>
<td>12.8% (5)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>5.1% (2)</td>
<td>28.2% (10)</td>
<td>30.8% (12)</td>
<td>2.6% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>32.0% (6)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>20.0% (5)</td>
<td>20.0% (5)</td>
<td>12.0% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Asahi</td>
<td>9.1% (1)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>18.2% (2)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>72.7% (8)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs Yomiuri</td>
<td>20.0% (3)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>13.3% (2)</td>
<td>13.3% (2)</td>
<td>26.7% (4)</td>
<td>6.7% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int’l Asahi</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>100.0% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs Yomiuri</td>
<td>12.5% (1)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>37.5% (3)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal Asahi</td>
<td>50.0% (16)</td>
<td>15.6% (5)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>12.5% (4)</td>
<td>6.3% (2)</td>
<td>3.1% (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affairs Yomiuri</td>
<td>67.5% (27)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>10.0% (4)</td>
<td>5.0% (2)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Asahi</td>
<td>27.6% (29)</td>
<td>4.8% (5)</td>
<td>3.8% (4)</td>
<td>19.0% (19)</td>
<td>27.6% (29)</td>
<td>2.9% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yomiuri</td>
<td>42.5% (48)</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>1.8% (2)</td>
<td>22.1% (25)</td>
<td>12.3% (14)</td>
<td>5.3% (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14. Actors in Straight News Articles on Murders of Diplomats in Iraq

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Actors Category</th>
<th>Asahi Frequency</th>
<th>Rate</th>
<th>Yomiuri Frequency</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Diplomats (Victims)</td>
<td>7.5% (12)</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>6.0% (9)</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Iraqi Driver (Victim)</td>
<td>2.5% (4)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.7% (1)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (1-2)</strong></td>
<td><strong>10.0% (16)</strong></td>
<td><strong>20.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.7% (10)</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bereaved Families</td>
<td>6.3% (10)</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>9.3% (14)</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Friends of Victims</td>
<td>3.1% (5)</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>7.3% (11)</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Victims’ Colleagues at MOFA</td>
<td>1.9% (3)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.6% (10)</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Waseda Rugby Club (former members included)</td>
<td>2.5% (4)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3.3% (5)</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (3-6)</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.8% (22)</strong></td>
<td><strong>27.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>26.4% (40)</strong></td>
<td><strong>49.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Japan’s Cabinet members</td>
<td>15.0% (24)</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>14.6% (22)</td>
<td>27.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including Minister</td>
<td>16.9% (27)</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>22.5% (34)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Defense Agency, including Minister</td>
<td>0.6% (1)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>SDF (officers, soldiers, families)</td>
<td>3.1% (5)</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2.0% (3)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tokyo Metropolitan Police</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.6% (4)</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (7-11)</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.9% (59)</strong></td>
<td><strong>73.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>43.0% (65)</strong></td>
<td><strong>80.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>House of Representatives Iraq Committee</td>
<td>1.9% (3)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (12)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.9% (3)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.0% (0)</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>LDP Leaders</td>
<td>6.3% (10)</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Komei Party Leaders</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (13-14)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.6% (12)</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.3% (2)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.5</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>DPJ Leaders</td>
<td>0.6% (1)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.7% (1)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Opposition Parties</td>
<td>0.6% (1)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (15-16)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.3% (2)</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.7% (1)</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>US Military in Iraq</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Iraq’s Tentative Gov’t and Police</td>
<td>2.5% (4)</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (17-18)</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.8% (6)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.6% (4)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.9</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Anti-US Armed Groups in Iraq</td>
<td>0.6% (1)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Civilians in Iraq</td>
<td>6.3% (10)</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>3.3% (5)</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (19-20)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.9% (11)</strong></td>
<td><strong>13.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>3.3% (5)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>US Gov’t, including President</td>
<td>4.4% (7)</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.0% (3)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>US Defense Department</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Other Foreign Gov’ts</td>
<td>0.6% (1)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.0% (3)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>United Nations, including General Secretariat</td>
<td>1.3% (2)</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.7% (1)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (21-24)</strong></td>
<td><strong>6.3% (10)</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.5</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.7% (7)</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Japanese NGO members</td>
<td>3.1% (5)</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2.6% (4)</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Scholars and Others</td>
<td>0.6% (1)</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.7% (1)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Protesters against the SDF Deployment in Iraq</td>
<td>3.8% (6)</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>General Public in Japan</td>
<td>0.0% (0)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.6% (4)</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (25-28)</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.5% (12)</strong></td>
<td><strong>15.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.9% (9)</strong></td>
<td><strong>11.1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4.4% (7)</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>5.3% (8)</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Subtotal (29)</strong></td>
<td><strong>4.4% (7)</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.3% (8)</strong></td>
<td><strong>9.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | 100% (160) | 100% (151)

**NOTE:** The rate is based on how often each actor (or group of actors) appeared in the straight news articles. As noted above, some ministers are not included in the Cabinet. If the Prime Minister and his chief cabinet secretary, both appeared in the same article, I counted them as two in the Cabinet. That is, although they are categorized as one group, each of them was counted. But if the same person appeared twice in the same article, he was counted as one.
This difference between the two newspapers suggests that by magnifying the bereaved individuals and the memorial ceremonies, *Yomiuri* probably attempted to argue that the Japanese government should not waste what the two diplomats had done, and should take over their uncompleted task or “wishes.” For *Yomiuri*, what the two deceased diplomats began was equivalent to Japan’s support for the reconstruction of Iraq conducted by the SDF under the leadership of the United States. The resonated word, “wishes of the deceased,” in *Yomiuri*’s editorials symbolized Japan’s participation in the U.S.-led reconstruction of Iraq. Mourning the deaths of the two diplomats symbolized Japan’s will to participate in the reconstruction effort. Uchiyamada (2005) suggests that the two diplomats were acknowledged as “martyrs” of the nation in Koizumi’s speech of condolence at the official funeral on December 6. Conversely, *Asahi* seemingly avoided magnifying the loss of those who died in course of duty, while covering the tragic incident as part of the debate on the SDF deployment in Iraq. What *Asahi* wanted to stress through those articles was that Iraq was not the place where Japan should send the SDF. That is probably why *Asahi* published more articles on the deployment of the SDF. Eight articles in this category of Asahi’s 29 articles were two series of articles on the possible impact of the murders on the deployment plans. Through these series of articles, *Asahi* argued that Japan should reconsider deployment. These articles will be examined below.

In addition, although less interesting and more ambiguous, no article that meets the criteria above was published in either the morning and evening editions of December 10, after the two newspapers had been publishing articles on the murders for over a week. Having considered the fact that Prime Minister Koizumi has announced the official
deployment plan on December 9, which their evening editions of December 9 covered, the two newspapers apparently lost interest in including any further coverage of the murders of the two diplomats. The news coverage of the murders of the diplomats had to stop someday, especially since no suspects were ever found. It is probably meaningful that there was no coverage on December 10, although some articles were published after December 10. It can be assumed that as the two newspapers connected the murders to the deployment of the SDF in Iraq, they had no interest in covering the murders once they knew that the government had declared that the SDF would be sent to Iraq. The rest of this section clarifies how the two newspapers’ particular messages are embedded in their news coverage with details by quantitatively and qualitatively analyzing their news articles.

As noted above, the articles mourning the deaths of the two Japanese diplomats make up the largest portion of Yomiuri’s entire news coverage. In addition to that, it is also evident that Yomiuri more often covered those left by the two victims, based on cross-checking the fact-centered, straight news articles and the featured actors. The category of those who personally knew the two diplomats shows a considerable difference between Asahi and Yomiuri (See Group 2 in Table 14: Actors in Straight News Articles on Murders of Diplomats). They comprise only 13.8 percent of the actors appearing in Asahi’s straight news articles (22 actors) while the numbers reaches a bit over one fourth for Yomiuri’s (40 actors). This suggests that Yomiuri was more interested in those left by the two Japanese diplomats than Asahi, even when they covered similar factual news stories on the murders of the two diplomats. That is, Yomiuri attempted to magnify the two diplomats as tragic heroes who died while on duty by telling the stories
of the friends and families of the two diplomats. Both newspapers featured the victims’ families (wives, children, parents, and relatives) more often than others (10 in Asahi; 14 in Yomiuri). This is no surprise in a common sense of news business: News editors and reporters tend to introduce bereaved families of any victimization reporting to write human-interest stories.

However, Yomiuri introduced Oku’s and Inoue’s friends, former classmates, and teachers more often than Asahi (Yomiuri 11 times; Asahi 5 times). More interestingly, Yomiuri featured the two diplomats’ colleagues at MOFA 10 times while Asahi presented them only 3 times. In other words, Yomiuri more enthusiastically narrated the deaths of the two diplomats as a loss by their MOFA colleagues by introducing their colleagues’ voices. These voices naturally stressed the murders of the two diplomats as deaths while performing work that the colleagues should take over. This is likely why Yomiuri preferred to introduce them and why Asahi did not want to show them. In Yomiuri, one MOFA diplomat who used to work with Oku stated, “We shall take over their wishes and work for the people in Iraq.”143 A person who used to share the office with Oku felt “his strong sense of mission” for the reconstruction of Iraq.144 Another of Oku’s former colleagues said, “What he had done should not be wasted.”145 Another MOFA officer who had just read Oku’s last message in MOFA’s webpage lamented, “I am honored as his colleague, having found in his message that he risked his life for the reconstruction of

143 “Iraku fukkō kokorozashi nakaba: Tero ni kusshina” (Aspiration for the reconstruction of Iraq has not been finished: We shall not give in to terrorism), Yomiuri Shim bun, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 39.
144 “Namidagumu gaimushō shokuin” (MOFA officers in tears), Yomiuri Shim bun, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 38.
145 “Ishi muda ni shinai” (Wishes not to be ignored), Yomiuri Shim bun, 2 December 2003, morning, p. 39.
Iraq” (Oku regularly posted essays on his mission in Iraq on the website, in serialized essays entitled “Report from Iraq” (Iraku dayori)). \(^{146}\) Those voices, which directly or indirectly emphasized “the wishes of the deceased,” supported what Yomiuri argued in its editorials. Yomiuri’s reporters evidently intended to talk to MOFA colleagues to hear their memories of the victims and their thoughts on the murders. In the meantime, Asahi reporters obviously did not ask for any comment similar to those from the diplomats’ colleagues in MOFA covered by Yomiuri. Rather, Asahi showed only part of the formal speeches presented by MOFA colleagues for the official funeral on December 6 in three appearances of MOFA colleagues in its straight news reports. In Asahi, MOFA colleagues, virtually voiceless people in Asahi’s articles, did not appear in any articles outside the category of straight news report. It is unusual to find no voices of MOFA colleagues in any articles except for those at the official funeral. Newspaper reporters are trained to talk to people who can provide them with vivid or first-hand memories of the victims of any newsworthy tragedies. \(^{147}\) Since Oku and Inoue died in the course of their work, it would have been natural to interview their former colleagues. Therefore, Asahi’s lack of those voices is not normal. As a result, in Asahi, only Cabinet members, such as Prime Minister Koizumi, Foreign Minister Kawaguchi, and Chief Cabinet Secretary Abe

\(^{146}\) “Saigo no Iraku dayori HP ni” (The last report from Iraq updated in the homepage), Yomiuri Shimbun, 2 December 2003, evening, p. 19.

\(^{147}\) This is based on my experience as a staff editor and reporter. Almost always newspaper editors and reporters prefer to see actual voices or statements in quotation marks in news articles. It is not pleasant for reporters to talk to people who have just lost their family members or friends, but reporters learn that they have to do that throughout their career.
Shinzo, stressed “the wishes of the deceased” in their statements, which Asahi could not neglect.\textsuperscript{148}

In addition, the subtle difference in their coverage of Oku’s rugby football relationships makes an interesting focal point for examination. Oku played rugby at Waseda University, one of the most prestigious college rugby football teams in Japan. He also played at Oxford University in the United Kingdom, the birthplace of rugby football, when he studied there as part of his training as a diplomat. To illustrate Oku’s personality, both Yomiuri and Asahi introduced his rugby football experiences at Waseda University as well as Oxford University. Of course the news editors and reporters in Japan introduced Oku’s rugby football experience since the fact that a diplomat used to play for two prestigious rugby football teams would intrigue the general public which tends to believe diplomats are non-athletic book-beaters who attended prestigious universities. Additionally, the major newspapers traditionally pay special attention to the college rugby football leagues in the Kansai region and Kanto region, where Waseda University is located. The two newspapers, hence, should have magnified Oku’s rugby experience and his rugby colleagues. In fact, both newspapers touched upon his rugby football experiences on their societal affairs page for their first report on December 1. The subtitle of Yomiuri’s main article on the societal affairs page on December 1

\textsuperscript{148}“Yūshīna buka, tsūkon no kíwami” (Loosing my excellent men is my greatest regret), Asahi Shimbun, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 4. “Futari no ishi, watashitachi ga hikitsugu” (We shall take over their wishes), Asahi Shimbun, 1 December 2003, evening, p. 19. “Shinchō shisei hirogaru Jimin” (Caution spreads among LDP leaders), Asahi Shimbun, 2 December 2003, morning, p. 2. “Nakama ni miokurare” (Being seen off by colleagues), Asahi Shimbun, 6 December 2003, evening, p.1.

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especially stressed that Oku was a former rugby player for Waseda University.\textsuperscript{149} In their straight news articles, Oku’s Waseda Rugby colleagues appeared 4 times in \textit{Asahi} and 5 times in \textit{Yomiuri}.

However, based on a qualitative examination of those articles, it seems that \textit{Asahi} was not as interested in this newsworthy aspect as \textit{Yomiuri}.\textsuperscript{150} First, two of the most contrasting news articles in the two newspapers including mentions of Waseda’s Rugby team were published as part of the coverage of a rugby game between Waseda and Meiji University, another prestigious college rugby football team, on Sunday, December 7, in a game dedicated to Oku. Both newspapers reported the pre-game commemoration ceremony to mourn the two diplomats in their morning editions on December 8. They respectively published relatively short articles and very similar large photos of the stadium’s scoreboard screen that showed a photo of Oku and a message from the game sponsor, Waseda University. However, whereas \textit{Yomiuri} put the story and the photo on the front-page, \textit{Asahi} allocated them to one of the societal affairs pages. This different page allocation evidently suggests that \textit{Yomiuri} emphasized this event more than \textit{Asahi}.

Furthermore, their headlines make an interesting contrast. \textit{Yomiuri}’s headline says, “We shall not forget his accomplishment” (senpai no kōseki o wasuremasen 先輩の功績を忘れません), which is basically paraphrased from the message in the scoreboard screen. In the photo, the screen shows the photo of Oku and says, “For the memory of Mr. Oku Katsuhiko: He loved rugby and his rugby friends and contributed to rugby while

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{149} “Iraku fukkō kokorozasi nakaba” (Ambition for the reconstruction of Iraq terminated), \textit{Yomiuri Shim bun}, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 39.
  \item \textsuperscript{150} “Senpaino kōseki wasuremasenn” (We shall not forget his accomplishment), \textit{Yomiuri Shim bun}, 8 December 2003, morning, p. 1. “Higeki ni nōsaido no fue o” (No side whistle for the tragedy), \textit{Asahi Shim bun}, 8 December 2003, morning, p. 39.
\end{itemize}
working hard for his country; we shall not forget what he has done.” In fact, when Oku worked at the Japanese embassy in UK, he helped rugby exchanges between Japan and the UK (Okamoto and Yamada 2004). Therefore, Yomiuri’s headline is very straightforward. On the other hand, Asahi’s headline was very manipulative and clearly reflected what Asahi wanted to claim at that time. The headline says, “No-Side Whistle for the Tragedy” (higeki ni nōsaito no fue お悲劇にノーサイドの笛を). The phrase, “No-side whistle,” is a rugby term meaning the end of a game, so that “No-Side Whistle for the Tragedy” can mean that there should be no more tragedy in Iraq after the murders of the two Japanese diplomats. But, no such message can be found in the photo of the scoreboard screen or the article. Seemingly, Asahi’s layout editors who worked on this societal affairs page inserted the newspaper’s view by making up this headline while ignoring the content of the article or the photo.\(^\text{151}\) That is, Asahi’s headline must be regarded as furthering Asahi agenda: No more tragedy like the murders of the diplomats should occur in Iraq, so the SDF should not be sent there and Japan’s contribution to Iraq should be non-military.

In addition, Yomiuri’s two articles on the sport differentiate from Asahi’s. First, when the newspapers reported on the official funeral of the two diplomats, only Yomiuri introduced the voices of current Waseda Rugby team players interviewed at their practice

\(^{151}\) Generally one or two layout editors are in charge of each page under the supervision of senior layout editors. While negotiating with each department of reporters (politics, international affairs, etc.), they allocate articles to each page (front-page, political affairs page, etc.) They decide the headline or subtitle for each article and the size of each photo. That is, each headline is a result of collective decision-making and negotiation, so the headline discussed here is not simply the message that a particular layout editor who happened to be in charge of the societal affairs page wanted to say at that time. At least, senior layout editors and staff editor in the department that submit the article accepted this headline for this article. Based on my experience as at Mainichi Shimbun, I find this politically manipulative headline very bizarre.
field. It was just a day before the game between Waseda and Meiji discussed above. Only *Yomiuri* published an article on the memorial ceremony held by the Waseda Rugby team alumni on December 7 where the head coach of the team and a well-known former rugby player, Kiyomiyakatsuyuki, announced that the alumni planned to establish a foundation named after Oku to support education of Iraqi children. The university’s alumni afterwards established the “Oku-Inoue Fund for Empowering Children” to support children in Iraq as well as other countries. *Asahi* pretty much dismissed this interesting story, mentioning it only very briefly in its article on the rugby football game to commemorate Oku.

Overall, *Yomiuri’s* strong interest in the second group of actors corresponds with the main argument in *Yomiuri’s* editorials: Japan should honor the wishes of the two deceased diplomats by being more active in Iraq. On the other hand, *Asahi* tried not to follow the same steps that *Yomiuri* took. *Asahi* seemed reluctant to emphasize the two diplomats as tragic heroes who had died in the course of performing their duty. The two different handling of both the MOFA colleagues and the similar (if not identical) photo of the rugby football game clearly show *Asahi’s* and *Yomiuri’s* different attitudes toward the incident and the SDF deployment. These demonstrate how the resonating word, “the wishes of the deceased,” provides a focal point to analyze their competing news coverage of the murders of the two diplomats.

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152 “Sebangō ‘15’ jāfī sasagu” (Rugby jersey of no. 15 presented), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 6 December 2003, evening, p. 19.
153 “Oku kikin tsukuritai” (We will establish Oku foundation), *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 8 December 2003, morning, p. 39.
154 See the fund’s website: http://www.oku-inoue-fund.com/eng/
Another kind of actor that only *Asahi* covered deserves attention although it is not numerically significant (See Group 10 in Table 14). *Asahi* in its straight news reports focused on protesters against the SDF deployment in Iraq six times, but *Yomiuri* totally dismissed them. Such *Asahi* articles appeared on the societal affairs page (See Table 13). In an article on the societal affairs page of the December 1st morning edition, *Asahi* connected the murders of the two diplomats to the SDF deployment and provided a comment by a famous antiwar activist, Oda Makoto, at an antiwar rally against Japan’s SDF deployment. In addition, *Asahi* covered other protest rallies against the SDF deployment in its articles of the December 1st evening edition and 6th morning edition.

In the former, *Asahi* stressed that the murders of the diplomats united people for a protest rally in Tokyo. In the latter article, one of the speakers at the rally in Tokyo said, “The murdered Japanese diplomats were victims of the U.S.-led anti-terrorism war,” while a participant at the rally in Osaka argued, “To honor the wishes of the diplomats is not to send the SDF for the support for the U.S. Military, but to think about the true peace for the Iraqis.” This is exactly the point *Asahi* stressed in its editorials. Meanwhile, *Yomiuri* covered no protest rallies against the war in Iraq or the SDF deployment in Iraq at all, either in its straight news reports or in any other articles published for the examined period. The voices of those who protested the SDF deployment were mute in *Yomiuri*’s news coverage. This contrast is comparable with their coverage of protesters against the

156 “Tan’naru tero to ienai jōkyō: hantai shūkai de Oda Makoto-shi” (It cannot be simply called a terrorism: Mr. Makoto Oda at a protest rally), *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 December 2003, morning, p. 38. Oda Makoto was a legendary citizen activist for his role in the anti-Vietnam War movement in the 1960s.

157 “Kantei no chikaku de 100-nin kōgishukai” (100 people held a protest rally nearby the Prime Minister Office), *Asahi Shimbun*, 1 December 2003, evening, p. 19.

“Iraku haken hantai, tonai nadode shūkai” (Rallies against the deployment in Tokyo, etc.), *Asahi Shimbun*, 7 December 2003, morning, P.38.
history textbook that the previous chapter examined. As their New Year’s Day editorials show, Asahi favors politically active citizens while Yomiuri is disinterested in them.

Regarding the special committee on terrorism and Iraq-related issues in the Lower House of the Diet, both newspapers’ news coverage and editorials also seemingly reinforced each other while twisting the image of this committee (See Table 13 and Table 14). Asahi in its second editorial on December 2 demanded an extraordinary session of the Diet, arguing that the dangerous conditions of Iraq made it an inappropriate destination for SDF deployment and one session of the special committee was not enough to examine the reality on the ground in Iraq. In fact, an extraordinary session was not called; instead, the special committee got together informally and heard the report of the murders along with other issues from bureaucrats. Accordingly, Asahi paid a little bit more attention to the Diet’s special committee than Yomiuri, covering the committee issue four times from its December 2nd morning to December 4th morning editions. Yomiuri’s coverage of the Diet committee appeared only in its December 1st morning and 2nd morning editions.

Nevertheless, and more interesting, the two newspapers’ different ways of naming the special committee show their different attitudes toward the issue. The very long name of the special committee, “the special committee for the prevention of international terrorism, for Japan’s support activities for prevention, and for its humanitarian aid activities in Iraq” (kokusai terorizumu no bōshi, oyobi wagakuni no kyōryoku shien katsudō, narabini Iraku jindō fukkō shien katsudō nado ni kansuru tokubetsu i’inai 国際テロリズムの防止及び我が国の協力支援活動並びにイラク人道復興支援活動), gave them room to construct different short terms. Asahi called this special committee

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“the special committee for the support of the reconstruction of Iraq” (Iraku fukkō shien tokubetsu i'inkai イラク復興支援特別委員会) while Yomiuri named it “the special committee for the prevention of terrorism” (kokusai tero bōshi tokubetsu i'inkai 国際テロ防止特別委員会). The former emphasized the committee’s task of discussing how to support the reconstruction of Iraq while the latter points out that the committee was expected to consider how to prevent international terrorism. As noted above, Asahi’s editorials believed that the reality in Iraq could not be explained by terrorism, but only by war between the Iraqis and the United States, so fighting against terrorism was not the point of deploying the SDF. Accordingly, Asahi’s shorthand title for the committee emphasized the reconstruction of Iraq and deemphasized the prevention of terrorism; and conversely Yomiuri’s editorials assumed that there were terrorist activities in Iraq and that Japan along with other states should fight against terrorism not only in Iraq but also in the world. Consequently, Yomiuri magnified the prevention of terrorism and did not pay attention to the reconstruction of Iraq in its shorthand version of the committee’s title. Even the shortened names for the same committee reflect the two newspapers’ different views on the issue.

Further studies can be made more qualitatively. As with the scoreboard screen of the rugby football game, the use of images on another occasion demonstrates the two newspapers’ competing views. When the deceased diplomats remains were returned to Japan on December 4, the two newspapers covered this on both the front-pages and societal affairs pages of their morning editions on December 5. Both printed photos of the bereaved families and one of the caskets at Narita International Airport (in Chiba
Prefecture) on their front-pages.\textsuperscript{158} Probably because of restricted access to the area, their photographers were standing in the same area and shot very similar photos, so their front-page photos nearly look alike. They also happened to use respective photos of almost the same size. However, on its societal affairs pages, \textit{Asahi} included a photo of the hearses carrying the caskets, showing Chiba Prefecture Police officers saluting hearses. \textit{Yomiuri}, on the other hand, printed a close-up photo of Inoue’s wife who was pregnant at the time.\textsuperscript{159} The image of the pregnant wife perhaps was more impressive than that of the hearses and the police officers. In fact, \textit{Yomiuri} made greater effort for its coverage of this issue on its social page than its counterpart since those articles and photo of the return of the deceased diplomats were the top story in that edition of \textit{Yomiuri}. The most visible headline of Yomiuri’s societal affairs page says, “I feel honored by my husband’s work,” seen just above the photos of Inoue’s wife, although this headline comes from the statement made by Oku’s wife. On \textit{Asahi}’s societal affairs page, only the photo of the hearses and officers was presented, and its article was treated as the third or fourth important issue, though the headline was nearly the same as \textit{Yomiuri}’s, the statement by Oku’s wife.\textsuperscript{160} \textit{Asahi} did not give the return of the two diplomats as much importance as \textit{Yomiuri} did. However, it is not easy to guess the reasons for \textit{Asahi}’s selection of the


\textsuperscript{159} “Anata no shigoto, hokori ni omou” (I feel honored with your work), \textit{Asahi Shimbun}, 5 December 2003, morning, p.39. “Shujin no shigoto hokori ni omou” (I feel honored with my husband’s work), \textit{Yomiuri Shimbun}, 5 December 2003, morning, p. 39.

\textsuperscript{160} The layout of articles and the size of headlines make clues to decide which article is more important than others. Basically the larger the headline is, the more important the article is. As a former layout editor, I can say that layout editors usually decide at least the three most important articles and where and how those top three would be treated very carefully. If there are more than one photo in a page, a layout editor of that page also give the order to them.
A photo of the hearses and the police officers. Usually layout editors prefer to show a photo of people directly connected to the featured story. Presumably a photo of police officers is less impressive than a close-up photo of a bereaved pregnant wife. A possible explanation could be the different degrees of magnitude two newspapers' laid on the scenes of mourning for the deceased diplomats (unless Asahi's photographer at the scene simply failed to get any good shots of bereaved family members). Yomiuri wanted to stress the honor of those who died while on duty and their beloved families in order to symbolize “the wishes of the deceased” as the state goal, the international contribution with the deployment of the SDF. On the other hand, Asahi almost failed to use “the wishes of the deceased” for its political goal, no deployment of the SDF in Iraq, so Asahi was not so interested in the return of the deceased diplomats. Another possibility is that Asahi wanted the Japanese to imagine that they would see more scenes like its photo of hearses and saluting officers if SDF troops were sent to Iraq and died there.161 A number of police officers saluting the hearse for the two diplomats can look like a number of SDF soldiers saluting their dead colleagues.

As noted above, Asahi published two different series of feature articles referring to the murders of the diplomats. This type of serial articles is often used as a venue to

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161 Asahi's photo reminds me of the controversy about the picture that Asahi used for its regular “letters for editor” page, titled “Voice” (koe), in early February in the next year, 2004, just before the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF) moved to Samawa, Iraq. The picture was drawn by an artist that the daily had hired, and was of a grave marker made of a military rifle and a helmet. It had a short message, “Under the sky of a foreign country” (Ikoku no sora no shita). This apparently made those who looked at this picture think of the possible deaths of GSDF personnel, and got some negative comments from regular readers and social critics. Consequently Asahi apologized for the picture, admitting that it was offensive for GSDF personnel and families (Asahi "Koe" ran no bokyō irasuto keisai toriyame 2004).
express a certain view on an important issue or event. They are often published with bylines, which give author reporters more freedom to demonstrate their own subjective journalism. One of these series was published in three articles in consecutive morning editions from December 1 to 3. The first two were on the front-page and the last article was on the general interest page. The series title, “Iraq in Confusion: the Murders of the Japanese Diplomats” (Konmeisuru Iraku: Nihon gaikōkan satsgai 混迷するイラク 日本 外交官殺害), apparently seeks to give a negative connotation for the deployment of the SDF in Iraq. But the three articles were actually to criticize the Koizumi-led government and its Iraq-related policies. The first one, sub-titled, “Pro-U.S. policy without explanation,” criticized the Koizumi-government for blindly supporting the U.S. government and argued that the SDF deployment on behalf of supporting the United States would cause another tragedy like the murders of the two diplomats. The second article argued that the SDF deployment could become a political stalemate for the Koizumi Cabinet, while quoting the voices of ordinary Iraqis welcoming Japan’s economic aid but not its military presence. The third article, emphasizing possible fatal risks for the Ground Self-Defense Force personnel in Iraq, claimed that the Koizumi Cabinet failed to present any just cause for their risks. All three articles had bylines and focused on the SDF deployment rather than the murders themselves.

162 This type of serial articles is generally called “kikaku” (project) in Japanese. Japanese newspapers usually have their own annual projects, in which they try to be agenda-setters. This type of reportage is often subjective or opinionated, overlapping with so-called campaign journalism. For more discussion on campaign journalism, see Ina Shimbun o Kangaeru (Shimbun Hōdō Kenkyūkai 1995), especially its third chapter discussing campaign journalism.

163 In most major newspapers, many articles are published without bylines (since the late 1990s Mainichi Shimbun has published most articles with bylines. Mainichi introduced this practice as a policy). They are mostly fact-centered reports. On the other hand, news analyses usually have bylines since they fairly reflect reporters’ perspectives.
Another series of articles in Asahi, titled “What about the SDF Deployment?” (Dōsuru jieitai haken どうする自衛隊派遣), interviewed five political party leaders. All of them were published on the political affairs page in the morning editions from December 2 to 6. All the leaders were asked to talk about their views on the murders and/or the current situation in Iraq. The first leader interviewed in the series of articles is Kan Naoto, the top leader of the largest opposition party, DPJ, who was critical of the deployment. Afterwards, leaders from the ruling parties, the LDP and Komeito, and other opposition parties, Communist Party and Social Democratic Party, showed up in the series. It is interesting to see the DPJ leader in the first article. Usually if a newspaper lines up party leaders in its articles, the leader of the largest party, based on the seat number in the House of Representatives, comes first. If the order is based on the seats in the HR, it should have been the LDP, DPJ, Komeito, Communist Party and Socialist Party. Asahi obviously favored the one who criticized the deployment regardless of the party size. The articles are interviews with a set of similar questions and no bylines.

In contrast, there was no series of articles in Yomiuri. But one of the articles that Yomiuri published with bylines deserves attention (there were no other articles with bylines except for articles from correspondents outside Japan). The article was published on the political affairs page in the morning edition on December 3. The author’s job title does not appear, but only his affiliation is given, the Department of Political Affairs. The author evidently supported Yomiuri’s editorial views in general as

\[\text{164 As noted in the second chapter, most news articles have no bylines in major newspapers in Japan except for Mainichi. But articles written by correspondents traditionally have bylines even if articles are very fact-centered without any particular perspective of author reporters.}
\[\text{165 “Sekinin o hatasu kuni e dappi no toki” (It is the time to be a nation that takes responsibility), Yomiuri Shimbun, 3 December 2003, morning, p. 2.} \]
well as on this particular issue, and emphasized that the SDF deployment as “contribution with human power” (jinteki kōken 人的貢献) was “Japan’s responsibility as a member of the international community” (kokusai shakai no ichi’in toshiteno Nihon no sekimu 国際社会の一員としての日本の責務), and would be a meaningful gesture for the maintenance of the Japan-U.S. alliance. These have been Yomiuri’s favorite lines for stating its opposition to so-called “checkbook diplomacy” since the early 1990s, and also what its first editorial on December 1 and others evidently stressed. More interestingly, the author argued against the idea of the United Nations-led reconstruction of Iraq to replace the U.S. leadership. In a sense, this column was written in order to counter Asahi’s first series of articles above as well as its first editorial on December 1.

Lastly, an unbalanced listing of learned people, including scholars, again appeared in Asahi. In its op-ed pages, which the statistical data in this chapter do not include, four individuals expressed their views on the murders of the two Japanese diplomats and the deployment of the SDF in Iraq. They were two professors, a retired politician, and a former diplomat. Two of them, a professor and a former politician, said that a UN-led reconstruction should be implemented instead of a U.S.-led reconstruction. The other professor recommended that the Japanese government retract the deployment of the SDF in Iraq because of the situation of Iraq. Only the former diplomat argued that Japan should send the SDF to take its responsibility as “a member of the international community.” Asahi used an uneven listing of learned people for the history textbook controversy more than one time, as the previous chapter finds.

166 “Nihonjin gaikōkan satsugai, 4-shi no mikata” (Views of four men on the murders of the Japanese diplomats), Asahi Shimbun, 1 December 2003, morning, p.12-13.
Chapter Conclusion

Two diplomats died while on important duty in a foreign country. Due to Japanese custom, it was not unexpected that the Foreign Affairs Minister announced that her ministry would make more effort to complete the work started by those two diplomats to honor their last wishes. One can argue that the government attempted to use the deaths for its own political goals, but Foreign Minister Kawaguchi’s discourse fitted well with a nationally understood schema. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had worked closely with the Cabinet, and the mission that had taken the diplomats to Iraq was work the Cabinet and the Ministry had ordered them to do. The diplomats were part of a hierarchical process of making decisions and giving and obeying orders. Therefore, it was easy for Yomiuri to tell the story of Oku Katsuhiko’s and Inoue Masamori’s murders in Iraq, and the government’s reaction to the murders. In addition, Yomiuri could exploit the occasional discourses of ministry personnel. It was not as easy for Asahi to interpret the wishes of the deceased to meets its political purposes. It did not matter whether Asahi’s idea to replace the U.S. leadership with the UN leadership for the reconstruction of Iraq was reasonable. The two diplomats worked for the Koizumi-led government and went to Iraq by the order of their Ministry. Asahi must have known this, so it refrained from stressing the term “the wishes of the deceased” in most of its editorials.

However, neither of the two newspapers jumped at this opportunity simply in order to take the sides for or against the Koizumi government or the opposition parties. Their competing arguments in their respective editorials and different ways of framing the news stories were a result of their long-time competition of different views on Japan’s expected role in the international community, its relationship with the United States, and
the United Nations, clarified in Chapter Two. Since the 1980s, *Yomiuri*, as an internationalist-nationalist, has argued that Japan must commit to making an international contribution, up to and including even military operations, to be an honorable member of the international community. *Asahi*, as a pacifist-nationalist, stressed that Japan should stick with non-military international contribution and detested the idea of sending the SDF outside Japan, especially if there was the possibility of armed combat. In other words, this chapter has illustrated that *Yomiuri* attempted to make the deaths of the two Japanese diplomats into a symbol of the need for Japan's military forces to play a more active role in international cooperation; and that *Asahi* attempted to resist such symbolization due to its belief that Japan should not use its military force to be more active in world politics.

The analysis of this chapter has also demonstrated the adoptability of resonance, another key-concept of news framing analysis, to the analysis of Japanese newspapers' news framing. Again, unlike the analysis of American media outlets, which does not focus on editorials, proper analysis of editorial views on the target issue is important since editorials may present a resonated word like "the wishes of the deceased" in this case. Resonated words provide proper focal points for the analysis of news articles: The aspect of an issue each newspaper may emphasize or deemphasize. In addition, the analysis of editorials, such as the previous chapter as well, lets us know how the newspapers define an issue, what causal factors and problematic effects of the issue they find, and what remedy they recommend. Thus, in their news coverage, *Yomiuri* attempted to magnify those who mourned the two diplomats while *Asahi* tried to show the murders of the two diplomats as a negative factor for the deployment of Iraq.
*Yomiuri* presented those people in their own words more often in its news coverage; and *Asahi* published articles that connected the murders to the deployment, interviewing opposition party leaders and writing subjective articles with bylines.

The findings of this chapter again support the commonly-held assumption that Japanese news coverage is fact-centered. About 70% of the all articles in each newspaper can be categorized as fact-centered straight news reports. However, as in the previous chapter, close examination of those articles shows that there are different tendencies in the two newspapers’ coverage within fact-centered articles: Some actors were favored over others by each of the two newspapers. As in the textbook controversy of 2001, *Asahi* liked to present citizen groups gathering for protests while *Yomiuri* ignored them. Indeed, both newspapers selectively used the voices of particular people. *Yomiuri* favored the two deceased diplomats’ colleagues at MOFA, as noted above, while *Asahi* preferred protesters. An uneven selection of learned people to analyze the incident again played a role in stressing a certain view preferred by each newspaper, although articles presenting such people were outside the group of fact-centered, straight news articles.
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

Chapter Introduction

Both rightists and leftists in postwar Japan have presented wartime histories as they believe events happened (Tachibana 2005), and not only Asahi and Yomiuri. A well-known book, *Kike Wadatsumi no Koe: Nihon Senbotsu Gakusei no Shuki* (Listen to the voices from the sea: Personal notes by fallen student soldiers in Japan), originally published in 1949, exemplifies such a case. The book is a collection of notes and diaries left by Japanese student-soldiers who died in the Asia-Pacific War. Many people still believe that the book represents the grievances and sadness of those well-educated young men who were conscripted to fight before they completed their college educations. But the book’s editors, in order to present their writings as anti-war, pacifist messages, intentionally deleted some parts of the students’ notes and diaries in which they expressed their honorable and faithful feelings for Imperial Japan and its war (Hosaka 1999). The exposure of this selective fact presentation led to criticism from, among others, people critical of Imperial Japan’s militarism. They argue that the book failed to present important facts through which today’s people could and should understand the psychology of student-soldiers in wartime Japan (Tachibana 2005). Normally, both historians and journalists are expected to find facts and narrate an event based on those facts, not on their beliefs. In this respect, historians and journalists are similar to each other. In fact, newspaper editors and reporters in Japan often say that their job is to draw a rough sketch of history: They are expected to do their best to find as many facts as they can and to get a bigger picture of an event or issue, even though they cannot always write everything they find in their articles given the limited space of a newspaper. That is
actually what I was told by my superiors when I started to work for Mainichi newspaper. Similarly, accuracy and objectivity in reportage are two important rules for the profession, in addition to promptness. In other words, editors and reporters of a commercial newspaper are not expected to present facts based on some belief or ideology. However, as the previous two chapters have demonstrated, the rough sketches of the two issues that the two major newspapers drew respectively correspond to their ideological views, to some degree. Their different views on and ideals for the Japanese state and nation compete with each other not only in editorials but also in news coverage. As Chapter Three suggests, all this has been deeply embedded in postwar Japanese politics. At the very least, since the 1980s, Yomiuri has seen the world through the prism of state: The world consists of states, and only within a state does a nation exist. In contrast, Asahi is skeptical of the world made of states since the 1950s: Some institution, like the world government, should limit the sovereignty of states. What does this mean for democracy in Japan? Reviewing Chapters Three, Four, and Five, the first section of this last chapter explores possible meanings and consequences for Japanese democracy of the editorial competition between, and news framing by, the two major newspapers. The rest of this section thinks over the content analysis of Japanese newspapers and news framing, and discusses possible further studies on politics and the press in Japan.

**The Competing Nationalist Press in Postwar Japan**

Ideally, the press plays the watchdog role in a modern representative democracy: It is supposed to report wrongdoings of those who represent to those who are represented, and to provide the general public with certain information in order to allow them to make decisions concerning elections and action. On the other hand, one can argue that the
press tends to be only a spectator of various public events and issues, merely reflecting others' views. However, many Japan watchers have argued that the press fails to effectively play the watchdog role in Japan. They consider that the Japanese press is part of the governing elites, the guard dogs that hunt wrongdoers only after authorities identify them, or the servant of the state that supports those in power, as discussed in Chapter One. Yet, as the findings of this dissertation suggest, there could be another role for the Japanese press that Japan watchers have not yet identified: The role of the press as promoters of different national identities in postwar Japan. In this respect, *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* are "political actors that actively work to shape political discourse to their own purpose" (Page 1996, 116). They attempt to publicize their own views on news events and issues not only through their editorials, but also through their articles in order to shape public discourse. The two newspapers attempt to make the public see news in a certain light by presenting it in certain contexts based on their views on and ideals for the Japanese state and nation and, thereby, promoting certain national identities. However, it can also be argued that the two newspapers highlight different elements of news from different perspectives. For democracy, the former seemingly has negative effects while the latter may have positive consequences. This section first discusses how the two newspaper as active political actors attempt to reproduce a certain national identity. Second, it addresses the positive and negative consequences of their roles as promoters of different national identities.

Chapter Three, at least, by examining their New Year's Day editorials from 1953 to 2005, illustrates that the political rivalry between *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* is no collection of impulsive or incoherent competitions over news events that have appeared from time to
time. Rather, their rivalry is the consequence of their competing views on the Japanese state and nation, and their views were modified against the backdrop of changes in Japan’s political and economic landscape over time. They have been autonomous but have also collaborated with others. In no way have they simply kept taking one side or the other between the ruling or opposition political parties in the Japanese parliament.

Ryu Shintaro and Watanabe Tsuneo, senior editors of Asahi and Yomiuri respectively, personify the autonomy of the two newspapers. These two editors played important roles in the development of certain editorial views and gained considerable attention from others, including politicians, journalists, and the general public, so they cannot be regarded as merely pawns for others. One of Asahi’s top editors and a renowned intellectual, Ryu was a leading activist for world federalism along with the respected politician Ozaki Gakudo, and one of the most important architects of Asahi’s pacifism. Other senior editors of Asahi like Mori Kyozo followed his steps. Subsequently world federalism did not disappear from Asahi’s ideology even after the 1960s, but it was transformed into peace nationalism as backed by the peace constitution.

Asahi learned from renowned progressive intellectuals, such as Sakamoto Yoshikazu, about progressive nationalism and likely used his thoughts to discuss

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167 Watanabe Tsuneo is still a significant player in Japanese politics. In fall 2007, Watanabe reportedly worked as a mediator behind the scenes of the so-called grand coalition plan attempted by Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo and DPJ President Ozawa Ichiro. Major newspapers, except for Yomiuri, reported his possible role in the coalition mediation. Asahi in its editorial questioned Watanabe as a top leader of a major newspaper for playing a substantial role in politics. See “Dairenritsu chūkai: Yomiuri de shirōtsu o yomitori” (Mediation of grand coalition: Want to read the truth in Yomiuri), Asahi Shimbun, 11 November 2007, morning, p. 2. This editorial also reflects the recent significance of the major newspapers’ political competition.

168 Ryu Shintaro could be as political as Watanabe Tsuneo, talking to a politician behind the scene. See Sawaki’s Kiki no Saishō (2006).
pacifism in its editorials. Although *Asahi* stopped using the word “nationalism” in its editorials after the 1960s, its strong support for the peace constitution has continued, and its favorite logic for Japanese national identity and pacifism using the war experience and the traditional culture has appeared in its editorials on occasion up until the present. In short, *Asahi* has been an ethnic and cultural nationalist, attempting to shape the Japanese national identity with an ideology based on the peace constitution, and criticizing the state-centered view of world politics.

In the case of *Yomiuri*, before it started to promote internationalist nationalism in the 1980s, the newspaper was a passive supporter of economic nationalism. Rather ironically, the *de facto* top leader of *Yomiuri* during this more passive period was Shoriki Matsutaro who had a seat in the House of Representative as a member of the Liberal Democratic Party. Shoriki is one of the most politically controversial and notable owners of a newspaper business in the history of Japanese media (Sano 1994; Inose 2002; Arima 2006). One could have expected Shoriki to more actively use his newspaper to propagate his views on politics.\(^{169}\) However, in the 1980s, when *Yomiuri* began to talk about the new internationalism with enthusiasm, its notable editor and political reporter, Watanabe Tsuneo, took over the newspaper’s editorial board and aggressively expressed his favorite political views in its editorials. His crusade for new internationalism as well as against postwar pacifism in *Yomiuri* started even before his political partner, Nakasone Yasuhiro, began to promote the new internationalism as Prime Minister. In the middle of the 1990s, after suffering through the Gulf Shock, *Yomiuri*’s devotion to internationalist nationalism and its crusade against postwar Japan’s “one-country pacifism” culminated in its 1994

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\(^{169}\) Granted, further studies are probably necessary to examine the possible impact of Shoriki on *Yomiuri*’s contents, editorials and articles.
proposal for a new Japanese constitution. *Yomiuri*’s proposal was a precursor of the renewed constitutional change movement in the 1990s (Watanabe Osamu 2002). With these facts in mind, it is inappropriate to believe that *Yomiuri* simply follows the ruling conservative party or the conservatives. Rather, this newspaper is itself a leading figure in the conservative camp. Chapter Three, therefore, suggests that the two newspapers are active autonomous political actors in postwar Japanese politics. They have incorporated others’ views, but they have not simply relied on others to formulate their editorials. They, rather, have autonomously and actively engaged in the public discourse.

Chapter Three also demonstrates that the editorial competition described above was part of nationalism in postwar Japan. Nationalism in this context means a process of contestations and interactions between different nationalist groups. Those nationalist groups upheld different ideas and principles for the nation or the state and competed with each other to make their own ideas and principles prevail. In doing so, they may intentionally or unintentionally synthesize their ideas and principles and develop something new. As this chapter notes, this conception of nationalism relies on Duara’s understanding of nationalism: “Nationalism is rarely the nationalism of the nation, but rather marks the site where different representations of the nation contest and negotiate with each other” (1995, 8). The newspapers are two among many different nationalist groups, promoting different views on the Japanese nation and state in their editorials to shape the national identity. This nationalist competition probably has been an essential part of democracy in postwar Japan.

Since the disastrous defeat of Imperial Japan in WWII, left-leaning, liberal opinion leaders, including Ryu Shintaro of *Asahi*, have believed that pacifism based on
the postwar constitution makes one of the most important principles for postwar Japan. *Asahi*’s senior editors have been counted among such liberal opinion leaders. They believe the Japanese war experience and the traditional culture can correspond with such pacifism, thereby making a new national identity for the Japanese in the postwar period. In the meantime, since the 1980s, neo-conservative internationalism has challenged pacifist nationalism against the backdrop of the radical shifts of the world political landscape, such as the end of the Cold War and the new War on Terrorism. Watanabe Tsuneo of *Yomiuri* has also been an active player in this political arena. These two editors, and others, argue that the Japanese should be aware of being a state in the world while needing to maintain its own history and traditions. Ryu and Watanabe have, hence, promoted different national identities.

The close relationship between the print media and the nation is no brand-new discovery in studies of nationalism. Anderson (1991) has already pointed out the important role that the print media play in the development of the national identity and the nation as he argues that capitalism, the print media, and the limited diversity of languages positively have an impact on the development of the modern nation. Those three factors together make a national community imaginable for its members. In particular, the print media publishing in a given language create a national consciousness among its speakers, according to Anderson. First, they make the members of the language group aware of their distinctiveness, compared with other language speakers. Second, they make the members understand their history. Third, the print media standardize their language or make a certain dialect superior to others. The findings of this dissertation show that *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* may provide some similar functions to the
three functions above in the reproduction of the Japanese national identity. Their editorials and news articles make those who read them aware of themselves as Japanese, distinct from other nations in the world. As Chapter Three illustrates, those editorials are written from the perspective of the Japanese state and the nation in the context of the world, considering the readers to be part of the state and the nation. Inherently, those editorials help the people understand the on-going development of the national history along with various events in the world. In addition, the two newspapers' texts are written in standard Japanese, not in any dialects of Japanese. However, throughout decades, their editorial views change, issues and events change, and the world also changes. Therefore, their editorials and news articles complement each other and provide the readers with sources for the reproduction of national identity. Probably other major newspapers and perhaps other national media such as major TV shows do similar things to the two newspapers. It should not be argued that only the major newspapers or news media outlets perform such functions: A variety of media, including entertainment media, shape the national consciousness in a variety of ways. But the major newspapers' outright political orientation likely makes them important actors in the reproduction of national identity.

Not only the Japanese news media outlets perform such functions. As Chapter Two introduces, the American news media outlets frame news stories based on the predominant ideology and other factors. In doing so, they can also perform such functions as the reproduction of American national identity. That is to say, national identity is not something monolithic even after a nation has successfully emerged. Rather, it is part of the dynamics of politics in a nation. From time to time, if not everyday,
members of a nation imagine that they are part of it by knowing about their nation through a variety of media outlets. The nation is continuously being reproduced through such acts. But this role or the nationalist competition played by the two major newspapers seems to have both positive and negative sides in a democratic nation.

For the positive side, first, the newspapers’ activism in the reproduction of national identity for the Japanese has very likely supported the minimum degree of cohesiveness in the democracy of postwar Japan, as in Keane’s (1998) discussion of how national identity supports democracy. It is necessary for members of a democracy to understand that they share a common background. Indeed, democracy and nationalism are not two things that are against each other. Modern democracies in Europe emerged along with nationalism (Greenfeld 1992). The French Revolution exemplifies this collaboration. It was a very nationalistic movement but, at the same time, contributed to the emergence of democracy in France. By becoming a nation, the people seriously join the national politics. In case of postwar Japan, although the two newspapers compete with each other over different views on and ideals for the Japanese state and nation, they are supposed to share the idea that just as they are members of the Japanese state and nation, so are their readers. Thus, they seriously discuss and debate in their editorials what the Japanese have experienced and what the Japanese should do for the future. Their serious discussions resonate in Japan’s public discourse, so conservatives and liberals seriously pay attention to the two newspapers. These resonant discussions regarding the nature of the Japanese state and nation and what Japan or the Japanese should do have probably been the bottom line of postwar Japanese democracy. The political discussions have incorporated a variety of members from the left to the right into
Japanese democracy, as Chapter Three suggests. The two newspapers are important members of such politics in postwar Japan.

Probably more importantly, the two newspapers highlight different aspects of important issues for the nation; and thereby, they provide the Japanese democracy with alternative perspectives. This may consequently enrich the public discourse in Japan. For example, it is likely right to say that postwar Japan's pacifism, along with the so-called peace constitution, has been awkward in some new situations in the post-Cold War period. Yomiuri successfully highlighted this problem for Japan in its editorials. Consequently Asahi understood that it had to face this change in the political landscape and attempted to add something new to the pacifism that it had formerly promoted. This was probably an unintended result for either of the two newspapers, but this kind of interaction or synthesis is important to maintain a democracy. Democracy is a market place of different ideas, to which the competing press is supposed to contribute. People should be able to find different perspectives on the same issue and different solutions to it and be free to choose the one they deem best. In this respect, it is good to see the press competing in a democracy.

The competing national press is a positive source for democracy of a nation, to some degree. What if there are no national news media outlets but only regional and local media outlets in a democratic nation? How do the members of that nation maintain the cohesiveness of their politics? If there were no national news media outlets, their politics would be incoherent and could be disastrous. On the other hand, what if the national media outlets provide only one perspective on politics? There would be no
alternative perspective, and democratic decision-making would be problematic. At worst, this could drive the nation away from democracy.

Nonetheless, the newspapers' nationalist competition tends to bring about negative effects. First, it can be argued that what Asahi and Yomiuri attempt to do is not agenda setting but rather agenda building as Graber (2002, 162) discusses; the news media “build the public agenda when they create the political context that shapes public opinion.” In other words, although the press is expected to provide the public with food for thought, the two largest newspapers in Japan attempt to prescribe which ingredients should be used, how to cook them, and how to eat it, to some degree. Modern representative democracy assumes that autonomous citizens collect information on public matters through the media, understand them, and make political decisions, based on their beliefs and understandings of public matters, and participate in politics, usually by voting in elections. If the press tells them not only what to think about but also how to understand it, the autonomy of citizens is damaged.

The fourth and fifth chapters demonstrated such a negative effect. That is, the newspapers' views on and ideals for the Japanese state and nation influenced both editorials and news coverage of the two particular issues, the history textbook controversy in 2001 and the murders of the two Japanese diplomats in Iraq in 2003. Accordingly they provided the public with a framework for understanding the issues. Each chapter has, indeed, demonstrated that the two newspapers respectively framed each issue in their news coverage, to some degree, according to their editorial views on those issues and their competing views that had appeared in their New Year's Day editorials, even if both of them presented the issues in a fact-centered manner, to a large degree.
Perhaps the news coverage style with a large number of fact-centered articles has disguised the two newspapers' ideological difference. Among the total articles on each issue in each newspaper, 70-80% articles were fact-centered, straight news reports, according to analysis presented here. Through fact-centered, straight news reports, the two newspapers tended to focus on similar individuals and organizations such as governments and officials. This is perhaps partially why many Japan watchers believe that the major newspapers are homogenous.

However, close examination reveals different tendencies of the two newspapers. *Asahi* tended to magnify critics of the conservatives regarding the authorization of the textbook described in Chapter Three. *Asahi* delivered more often the voices of those opposed to the textbook, such as scholars, teachers' union, citizen groups, and Chinese and Korean residents in Japan, since *Asahi* shared their views on the textbook. On the other hand, *Yomiuri* de-magnified or nearly ignored those protesters when they were in action. In addition, *Asahi* expressed its own views through the headlines of regular news articles as well as feature articles. Presentation of professional opinions was another channel for presenting its own views with others' voices. *Yomiuri* also presented its own views on the controversy in news articles such as analytical articles on the international affairs page. In sum, *Asahi* emphasized the controversy as a Japanese domestic issue that the Japanese had to handle, while *Yomiuri* presented it as a diplomatic issue. How about the coverage of the murders of the two Japanese diplomats in Iraq? *Yomiuri* magnified the voices of the victims' colleagues at MOFA while *Asahi* paid little attention to those colleagues. But *Asahi* emphasized the voices of protesters against the SDF deployment in Iraq while *Yomiuri* neglected them. *Asahi* again had two different series of articles,
presenting its own judgment on the situation of Iraq and giving opposition party leaders opportunities to speak out their disapproval of the SDF deployment. *Yomiuri*, on the other hand, highlighted the tragedy of dying while in the course of duty, straightforwardly covering the bereaved families and friends.

Above are some of the examples of the two newspapers’ news framing techniques. But along with editorial views, the two newspapers prescribed how to think about news issues and events. The borderline between editorials and news articles is blurred, and those two different, important elements of newspaper are mixed in the both newspapers. They, therefore, attempted to tell the public how to understand the issues. Despite this, the major newspapers, including *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, claim to subscribe to the ideals of objective journalism and the impartiality of the press as they state it in their media corporate platforms or principles.170

Another negative consequence can be exemplified by conservative writers’ harsh criticism of *Asahi*. These writers enthusiastically call *Asahi* “anti-Japanese,” as noted in Chapter One. This means that from their viewpoint, *Asahi* has no standing to join any discussion on Japanese politics. This “anti-Japanese” discourse may terminate any dialogues between different groups that uphold competing ideas for national identity. Hence, it may deny any internal difference within the nation or state. The two newspapers’ obsession with certain national identities for the Japanese likely incorporates this tendency into their competition. Use of harsh labels such as “one-country pacifism” and “emotional, religious peace theory” in the case of *Yomiuri* and frequent suggestions

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170 *Asahi* has its “Platform” (koryō 綱領), and *Yomiuri* its “Principles” (shinjō 信条). Both of them stress that their reportage must be impartial (kōsei 公正) and seek truths (shinjitsu 真実). See *Shimbun Nenkan* (Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai 2006).
of resurging prewar militarism or ultra-nationalism in the case of Asahi when they criticize their rivals are such examples. Those harsh labels imply that the two newspapers would refuse to affirm their opponent’s arguments; thereby, any viable dialogue between them would not exit.

In this respect, it may be meaningful to see top leaders of the major newspapers discussing issues for magazine articles although such cases are occasional (Kasuya et al. 1994; Wakamiya and Watanabe 2006). A recently emerging practice, visible debates through editorials between competing major newspapers, which Chapter One introduces, might be another hope. Dialogues between different major newspapers or nationalists may be the beginning of the departure from “anti-Japanese” discourses or harsh labeling.

But a further concern about nationalist rivalry can exist as Keane (1998, 102) warns that “national identity, an important support of civil society and other democratic institutions, is best preserved by restricting its scope in favour of non-national identities that reduce the probability of its transformation into anti-democratic nationalism”. Can the newspapers’ nationalist rivalry treat minorities in Japan well? In reality Japan is not an ethnically or racially homogenous society. There are minorities such as Koreans, Chinese, and Ainu. There are new minorities such as the descendents of Japanese immigrants in foreign countries such as Brazil, and others non-Japanese who have settled down in Japan by marriage. Those people likely cannot identify themselves with the Japanese that Asahi and Yomiuri have in mind in their editorials and news coverage. In a sense, the two newspapers exclude those people who have lived and will live in Japan.

Indeed, the positive and negative consequences of the two newspapers’ rivalry are very likely the flipsides of the same coin. They come from the nature of modern
democracy in the nation-state. Regarding the nationalist competition in their editorials and news framing in their news coverage, further studies should be done on democracy and nationalism in Japan.

**News Framing by Japanese Newspapers and Content Analysis**

This section reviews the news framing analysis techniques that the two chapters have tested. The techniques are applied to data consisting of three layers—1) *Asahi*’s and *Yomiuri*’s competing views found in their News Year’s Day editorials; 2) their editorials on certain issues; and 3) their news articles on those issues. A primary assumption of this dissertation is that the newspapers’ competing views on the Japanese state and nation will shape their editorials and news articles on any given issue. As the two chapters have found and the fact-centered news article assumption argues, many articles of the two newspapers on the two different issues are fact-centered. However, the analysis used here assumes that fact-centered articles are not free from the two newspapers’ competing views and provide a focal point for content analysis if they are carefully handled as quantitative and qualitative data.

When a Japanese newspaper covers an important issue or event, it publishes numerous articles, and a large portion of those articles tends to be fact-centered, as the two chapters demonstrate. A typical article simply starts with a statement like “Regarding the textbook controversy.” It may be possible to find in what context this article covers the issue in this article itself. But the fourth and fifth chapters’ analyses present that editorials more clearly suggest what context each newspaper prefers for each issue. In this respect, the four functions of Entman’s news framing analysis operate on the basis of analyzing editorials. Perhaps, it is natural to assume that an issue or event has causes and
effects as well as possible remedies and moral judgments for it. A reader of a newspaper may naturally assume this while following news articles on the same issue. But as the two chapters illustrate, the two newspapers can see differently regarding what mayfunction as causes, effects, and remedies. Careful reading of editorials makes a good start for the content analysis of Japanese newspapers.

The two sub-concepts, magnitude and resonance, proved useful in the fourth and fifth chapters. Total numbers of editorials and articles became the first focal point to compare the magnitude of newspaper coverage on the issue studied. In the case of the history textbook controversy, Asahi published twice as many articles as Yomiuri. This magnitude should not be ignored. Magnitude can be found in other aspects of quantitative data, such as page, context, and actors. For a resonated word, editorials again are likely to play an important role. As Chapter Four shows, editorials picked up a catchy word from one of the actors whom they covered. That catchy word was repeated in editorials and/or news articles, suggesting what aspect of the issue can be magnified. Of course, in the case of Japanese newspapers, it might prove difficult to find a resonated word if one studies only articles because of the tendency toward fact-centered news coverage.

In addition, the two case study chapters used the page (equivalent to sections in a U.S. newspaper), context, and actors as factors to differentiate news articles. The page of publication is a legitimate factor in categorizing news articles. As noted in Chapter Two, if an issue can be observed from more than one perspective, such as from political or economic points of view, then we can assume that different articles on the same issue will appear on different pages in the newspapers. This assumption is based on the
coordination of editorials and news articles, and, indeed, this is exactly what we saw in the case of articles on the history textbook controversy. In their editorials, Yomiuri stressed the issue as an international issue rather than as a Japanese domestic issue, while Asahi emphasized the issue as a domestic issue first and an international issue second. Their article allocation between the international affairs pages and societal affairs pages corresponds to these different emphases on different aspects of the controversy. An advantage to considering the page factor in the analysis is ease in determining and reporting on which page each article appears. In contrast, the context and actor factors need closer examination and elaboration. The researcher needs to read articles carefully to find contexts and actors that repeatedly appear through articles. However, examining the editorials through the prism of Entman’s four functions (define a problem, identify a cause, endorse a remedy, pass a judgment) and the two key-concepts (magnitude, resonance) may highlight clues to identify contexts and actors. Other focal points should be included to strengthen the content analysis. A series of feature articles is a tool to express particular views. With or without bylines, serial articles are not for the presentation of bare facts, but are rather stories told from a certain perspective. As noted above, this type of article can be part of campaign journalism. Another focal point, the listing of specialists, also deserves examination. As Asahi demonstrates through its news coverage of the two stories, supporter specialists and detractor specialists may not appear evenly. In addition, the headlines for important moments of a studied issue also need particular attention as focal points, since such headlines may reflect a newspaper’s own perspective. Photos can be examined to detect news framing, too, although this dissertation project paid attention to them only briefly. Perhaps, as Entman (2004)
discusses, an image may be resonated through multiple photos. However, Japanese newspapers do not, in general, repeatedly present the same or similar photo images to make a point. This tendency limits examination of resonated images in Japanese newspapers. Hence, often only a single image that appears in once in a photo can be studied, and analysis based on such an image may not be very persuasive.

In general, the combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses is a must for a better content analysis of Japanese newspapers. It is also necessary to go back and forth between readings of editorials and news articles and quantitative data extraction, beginning with a qualitative reading of editorials in order to establish how a newspaper meets the four functions of news framing for a given issue, and how and what words, images, or ideas undergo the effects of magnitude and resonance. Second, the news articles on the issue must be classified into appropriate data sets, and the researcher must keep re-reading editorials and news articles until confident the data sets are correct. The large number of straight fact-centered articles in Japanese newspapers might seem to present a hurdle to content analysis of, as such articles tend to make different newspapers look alike. But careful reading can transform those articles into clues to discuss the different tendencies of different newspapers' news coverage. Even so, pinpoint examination of certain articles published on important occasions for an issue or event, and particular kinds of articles, such as a series of feature articles, must not be ignored.

Further Studies on the Press in Postwar Japan's Democracy

How did the major newspapers' news framing, based on their competing views on the Japanese state and nation, emerge in the postwar period? This question can be considered through different factors including ideological, political, economic, and
organizational factors, although they are not mutually exclusive. In the case of the American news media, the school of hegemony theory may well provide an example of ideological factors (Herman and Chomsky 2002), such as how, during the Cold War era, anti-communist views are supposed to have dominated media coverage. Political factors may be based on government-media relationships that influence how media outlets report news (Bennett 1989, 2003; Graber 2002; Entman 2004). Political elites enjoy having the upper hand in information circulation, and reporters very often depend on them for inside information on events. Reporters accordingly need to maintain good relationships with their informants, and this can lead to manipulation of reporters on the part of the elites. Economic factors mainly come from market pressure (Herman 1995; Graber 2002). Major media outlets are profit-seekers: They have to sell their news stories to general audiences and their advertisement space to advertisers while outsmarting and outmaneuvering their rivals. Consequently they tend to present news stories that appeal to general audiences and may please, or at least not displease, advertisers. Organizational factors include the internal affairs of a media firm (Gans 1980; Graber 2002), such as newsgathering and editing practices, hierarchy of media personnel, and office politics.

All the factors above can be used to review the news framing tendencies of Asahi and Yomiuri and together they suggest further directions for research on the press and politics in Japan not explored in this dissertation. First of all, this dissertation considers ideological factors in news framing by Asahi and Yomiuri. However, their ideological competition and in the Japanese press in general, differs from that of their American counterparts especially with respect to the school of hegemony theory. In Japan, the ideological competition between newspapers is based on different views on and ideals for
the Japanese state and nation. If a newsworthy issue or event has a connection with issues of state or nation, Asahi and Yomiuri in particular often show competing editorial views and tend to highlight different aspects of the issue or event. This is also a historical matter that originates in the early postwar period and Japan’s defeat in WWII. The extreme change of Japan’s political and economic landscape, as well as the world’s, must have had an impact on the newspapers’ competition from time to time. However, as Chapter Three suggests, the two newspapers’ competing views on Japan’s peace constitution and especially its Article 9 have evolved. If the conservatives successfully push through constitutional changes in the Diet, if they actually change the constitution as they wish, such changes would make a huge impact on Asahi’s public discourses, including both editorials and news articles. Further research should be done on this point.

However, political factors in news framing based on the political elite-press relationships also deserve serious re-consideration. As this dissertation’s findings confirm, a large number of Japanese news articles are fact-centered and those articles often focus on official actors. Reporters and editors cannot ignore political elites as sources for news stories. In this respect, this dissertation does not necessarily deny the importance of the press club system, where reporters and those who are in power meet, as a factor that affects major newspapers’ news coverage. However, a different aspect of politics may create the need for further research of the Japanese press club system. Since the early 1990s, a number of political parties have emerged and quickly disappeared in Japan. The longevity of the LDP has allowed conservative newspapers, including Yomiuri, to continue in their support of the LDP. But liberal papers have lost many of their political allies, although Asahi tends to highlight opposition parties to show some contrast with the
LDP and conservatives. The socialist party has almost disappeared, and the communist party has remained minor; the direction and future of the DPJ is still uncertain. Thus party politics and the press club system can be an object for future research.

Economic factors also may play a role in analyses of the Japanese press although this dissertation largely ignored them. As Chapter One briefly introduces, *Yomiuri* used books on its editorial competition with *Asahi* as free gifts for potential newspaper subscribers, and printed and distributed flyers that stressed the competition with *Asahi* (Fukatsu 2003; Odagiri 2003). At least, Yomiuri thought that their editorial views would appeal to their potential subscribers. If the population is well distributed along the ideological spectrum, it is rational for newspaper companies, as profit seekers, to adjust their editorial views to appeal to different ideological segments of the population. If a larger segment of the population begins to lean toward the conservative side, it is reasonable for newspapers to change their editorial views toward that direction. However, a radical shift toward any one side can be a gamble if a large portion of the population remains non-ideological. This type of analysis may find new aspects of interest in the major newspapers’ political economy.

In addition, emerging media outlets in the media market such as Internet websites may be adding new characteristics to the ideological competition among the major newspapers. In recent years in the United States, more and more personal websites, including blogs, have appeared. Both amateur and professional writers on such websites enjoy informing their readers of new information and expressing their own views on a variety of public issues from entertainment to politics and economy, and accordingly the major media outlets are incorporating the Internet into their products (Aoki and Yukawa
2003). Such trends are also emerging in Japan. *Sankei* already lets its senior reporters personalize their jobs through its alternative website, *Iza*, which is an addition to its regular news website.\(^{171}\) *Sankei*'s conservative reporters more freely talk about issues in their blogs, express their concern about liberals including *Asahi*, and interact with their readers, including both supporters and detractors. As noted in Chapter One, it was *Sankei* that intentionally advertised editorial differences among newspapers, even before *Yomiuri* did. If they advertise their editorial competition through books, why do they not do so through Internet websites? As Chapter One explains, *Asahi* responded to other papers' editorial opinions, and as the fourth and fifth chapters show, its byline articles seem to be its political extensions. It would not be surprising if *Asahi* began to let its reporters blog as well.

Like personal blogs, “citizen journalism” (*shimin jānarizumu* 市民ジャーナリズム) in Japan or participatory journalism in the United States provides amateurs with venues for their personal journalism. *JanJan* and *OhmyNews International* are leading websites for such journalism.\(^{172}\) These alternative news media outlets perhaps attract people who want to enjoy their own news media and are disappointed in major news media outlets. More importantly, readers can also be reporters for those alternative

\(^{171}\) *Sankei*'s *Iza* is found at: http://www.iza.ne.jp/
Komori Yoshihisa, a Sankei senior reporter and one of the most active critics of *Asahi*, has his blog within *Iza*: http://komoriy.iza.ne.jp/blog/

\(^{172}\) Former Mayor of Yokohama City and former *Asahi Shimbun* reporter, Takeuchi Ken, established *JanJan* (*Japan Alternative News for Justice and New Cultures*). *JanJan* calls itself “a media outlet of the citizens, for the citizen, by the citizens” (http://www.janjan.jp/janjan.html). *OhmyNews* in South Korea founded *OhmyNews International*. This alternative news media outlet calls itself “a new citizen-participatory media outlet” (http://www.ohmynews.co.jp/info/declaration).
For both news media outlets, anyone can work as their citizen reporters, though registration is required.
media as “citizen journalists” (shimin kisha 市民記者). Articles in alternative media websites are often more subjective or opinionated, focusing on aspects of news stories, or reporting on issues and events, that the major news media outlets may dismiss. If major newspapers compete with new or alternative media outlets, they can either follow those alternatives’ example to some degree, like Sankei, or seek to differentiate themselves in some way. Probably keeping their news reporting strictly objective is an unlikely choice for major newspapers to compete with the alternative news sites. Blogging as well as interactive reporting and editing are already part of the websites of many major news media outlets in the United States and some European countries. New or alternative news media outlets may be having an impact on both the editorials and the news articles of the major newspapers. This provides a possible topic for further studies.

This dissertation also suggests the need for studies of organizational factors in the development of the competition between the two newspapers, although this subject was not considered here. How has each of the two newspapers maintained certain editorial views throughout decades? A possible focal point for this question can target top editors in each newspaper from the past to the present. Who become the editors? What kind of office politics works in the selection of top editors? How do certain editorial views influence news articles? What kind of dynamics work on editorial writing and news editing? Some studies, such as Feldman (1993) and Freeman (2000), have focused on relationships between politicians and political reporters of newspapers in Japan, but they do not focus on the top echelon of major newspapers. Only journalists and media critics in Japan pay attention to the newsroom and the editorial board meetings of a major newspaper, as noted in Chapter One. If top editors of major newspapers collaborate with
politicians and exercise power over both editorials and news coverage of their newspapers, social scientists should pay attention to them, too. Hence, this can be another area for further research.
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