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國際學碩士學位論文

**From the Intra-party Conflicts to Party-  
switching:  
A Research on Ozawa's Defection from the DPJ**

당내 갈등으로부터 탈당까지:  
오자와의 민주당 탈당에 관한 연구

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**From the Intra-party Conflicts to Party-Switching:  
A Research on Ozawa's Defection from the DPJ**

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## Abstract

### From the intra-party conflicts to Party-Switching: Research on Ozawa's defection from the DPJ

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Since its foundation in 1996, the Democratic Party of Japan enlarged its size by absorbing opposition politicians from various backgrounds and developed as a catch-all party. For this reason, intra-party cleavages were not new to the DPJ politicians. The leaders of the DPJ managed these intra-party cleavages relatively well until 2009 when the party came into power. However, after becoming a ruling party, intra-party conflicts started to intensify over the revision of the manifesto advocated in the 2009 general election. Therefore, this thesis tried to explain intra-party conflicts within the DPJ and find factors which made Ozawa defect from the DPJ.

Of all four alternatives which explain intra-party conflicts, the combination of policy-seeking and power struggle options were the factors which made Ozawa defect from the DPJ. For example, since the DPJ's original contents of the 2009 manifesto were mainly based on Ozawa's political ideas, Ozawa had full control over the party's policy direction. In addition, Ozawa, as a secretary-general, was able to have considerable influence on party management. Therefore, Ozawa was able to achieve both policy-seeking and power-seeking goals under the Hatoyama administration. However, with the

advent of the Kan administration, Ozawa started losing his influence since Kan took anti-Ozawa lines. Regarding policy direction, the DPJ's policy under the Kan cabinet was slightly changed, but it still maintained the original DPJ's manifesto. Therefore, Ozawa could compromise with policy direction under the Kan cabinet, while he lost his influence on party management. On the other hand, under the Noda administration, the situation was opposite. Because of Noda's concern for intra-party harmony, Ozawa regained his power up to a certain point. However, policy direction of the DPJ became similar to that of the LDP. In this situation, Ozawa still remained in the DPJ as a veto power although he realized he could achieve only one preference – power. However, when he realized that he could not achieve any of his preferences in the party, Ozawa decided to leave the DPJ.

This thesis not only examines Ozawa's behavior, but it also analyzes behaviors of the Ozawa group members trying to explain why some members followed Ozawa while some decided to remain in the DPJ. Therefore, decisions of the Ozawa group were made based on politicians' loyalty to Ozawa and electoral bases' condition. Those who were loyal supporters of Ozawa and those politicians who had relatively weak electoral bases joined Ozawa's new party. On the other hand, those who had relatively stable electoral bases did not join Ozawa's new party, rather they remained in the ruling party. In short, both Ozawa's defection and the decisions of the Ozawa group members were the result of their rational choice based on their own calculation.

**Keywords: Democratic Party of Japan, intra-party conflicts, Ozawa group, People's Life First Party**

***Student Number: 2011-22399***

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## **List of Abbreviations**

CGP	the Clean Government Party
DPJ	the Democratic Party of Japan
JRP	the Japan Renewal Party
LDP	the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan
LF	the People's Life First Party
LP	the Liberal Party
SMDs	Single-member District System
PRs	Proportional Representation System

## **I. Introduction**

Since its foundation in 1996, the Democratic Party of Japan(DPJ), consisted of the politicians with various backgrounds, contained possibilities of a potential conflict. Intra-party groups reflect these cleavages within the party. However, even though intra-party conflicts had existed among groups, from 2006 the DPJ was united under the slogan of ‘regime change’ by advocating policies which focused more on social welfare and Asia-centered diplomacy. Eventually, the party finally won both the 2007 Upper House and the 2009 Lower House elections, becoming the ruling party of Japan.

However, even though intra-party division over political lines was not new to the DPJ, it has been intensified after the DPJ became a ruling party. The DPJ politicians were divided over the issue of revising manifesto. Some politicians like Naoto Kan and Yoshihiko Noda called for the revision of the manifesto in order to deal with imminent challenges in which the Japanese government faced. On the other hand, Ichiro Ozawa and those who are affiliated with him argued that the manifesto should be kept as promised at least until the next election. This intra-party conflict ultimately resulted in the defection of the party members – Ozawa and his followers.

Therefore, in this thesis, I will analyze factors which could cause intra-party conflict, and apply these factors to the DPJ's case. Then, I will address the major question of why Ozawa and his followers, who went through intensified intra-party conflicts after assuming power, defected from the DPJ. Despite the fact that Ozawa could have manipulated party's affairs within the DPJ as a leader of the biggest group in the DPJ, he decided to exit rather than raising his voice within the party. In this regard, in chapter II, four potential alternatives – ideological cleavages, office/policy seeking, institutional incentives, and power struggle – would be suggested and analyzed in order to explain intra-party cleavages and Ozawa's decision to defect. Therefore, of all four preferences, policy seeking and power struggle options can be the major explanation of Ozawa's defection from the DPJ. Therefore, chapter III examines the relationship between these two preferences and three DPJ administrations, and explains how these changed the relationship throughout three DPJ cabinets that finally resulted to Ozawa's defection. Chapter IV shows how inter-party dynamics worked, especially in the year of 2012, regarding the tax-increase bill. This inter-party dynamics also showed the reduction of Ozawa's influence regarding both intra-party and inter-party management. Lastly, besides examining Ozawa's behavior, Chapter V examines the way how the members of the Ozawa group dealt with the

division within and the differences between those who followed Ozawa and those who did not.

Throughout the research on intra-party cleavages within the DPJ and Ozawa group's defection, I expect that this research would help to understand the conditions which made politicians decide to leave their own party, and why they had to make that decision even though they realized that their decision would not help their party as well as themselves. Furthermore, this research would help to understand changes in the Japanese politics since 2009 by examining policy shifts within the DPJ which resulted in another political realignment and the fall of the DPJ in the 2012 general election.

## **II. Literature Review and Analytical Frameworks**

In this chapter, I will critically review four alternatives for explaining intensified intra-party conflicts within the DPJ. In addition, these alternatives also provide explanations for the reason why Ozawa had to make a choice of defecting from the DPJ rather than remaining as the leader of the biggest group in the ruling party.

## A. Ideological Cleavages

The first potential explanation of intra-party cleavage is ideology.

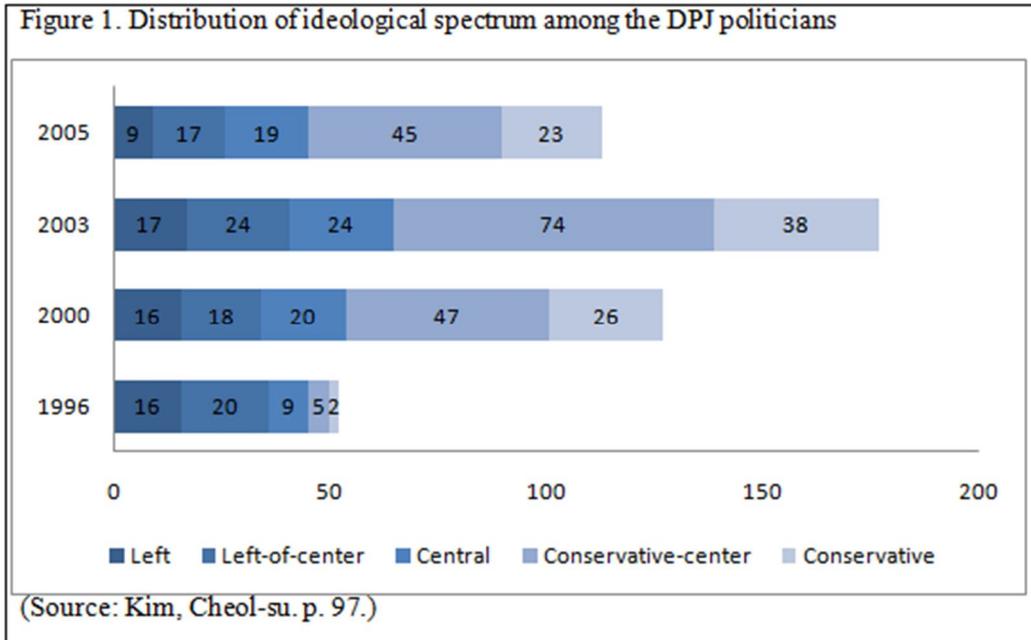
Although the early DPJ started as left-of-center party in the 1990s, its characteristics had changed since the 2000s by absorbing other opposition parties and new politicians. This process of enlarging the party size led the DPJ to a more conservative swing. As shown in Figure 1, the number of the Conservatives<sup>1</sup> in the DPJ started with only 7 in 1996. However, in 2003 their number dramatically increased reaching 122 out of 187, about 65 percent of the entire DPJ politicians. Even in the year of 2005 when the seats of the DPJ decreased to 113, the conservative force maintained the majority of the party<sup>2</sup>. As a result, the DPJ became a catch-all party which covered wide range of ideological spectrums<sup>3</sup>. Consequently, in response to intra-party cleavages over ideology, politicians formed intra-party groups according to their ideological tendency and political origins.

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<sup>1</sup> Here, the conservatives refer both conservative and conservative-centered politicians.

<sup>2</sup> Cheol-su Kim. 2007. "Ilbon Minjudang eui Deungjang gwa Baljeon: Euiwonguseong, Jeongchaek, Jijigiban eul Jungsimeuro (The Emergence and Progress of the DPJ: Focusing on Membership, Policies, and Supporting Groups)," Sogang University Graduate School, Doctoral dissertation. Unpublished

<sup>3</sup> Park, Cheol Hee. 2006. "Ilbon Yadangseryeok eui Jaepyeon gwa JeongdanggyeongjaengCheje (Integration of the Opposition Camp and Changing Dynamics of Party Competition in Japan)," *Hanguk Jeongchihak Hwoebo (Korean Political Science Review)* 40:5. p. 287.



However, ideological cleavages could not explain Ozawa’s defection from the DPJ. First, with growing number of the conservatives in the party, Ozawa as a conservative politician did not face serious intra-party conflicts over ideologies. The DPJ in 2012 was still a major conservative party like the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP). Second, intra-party conflicts were not new to the DPJ. Though ideological cleavages did not fade away, Ozawa led the party under the banner of “regime change” from 2006 to 2009. At that time, ideological cleavage was not a major concern for both Ozawa and other DPJ politicians. Lastly, Ozawa had enough power to influence the party management as a leader of the biggest group in the DPJ. Since his groups maintained majority of the party, which was over 100 members at maximum, he could exercise his influence over the party.

Even if he could not fully satisfy with the outcome, he could at least demonstrate his position as a veto power throughout the process of resolving the conflicts. Ideological cleavages existed in the DPJ and sometime caused conflicts between groups. However, it is not the major reason why Ozawa defected from the DPJ.

### **B. Office/Policy Seeking**

In his book, Kentaro Yamamoto uses rational choice theory in order to explain party-switching and political realignment which happened in Japan in 1993. He assumes that each politician is rational. Thus, based upon his/her rationality, a politician makes a choice in order to pursue his or her own interests: office or policy. Hence, a politician's pursuing office or policy results in party-switching.<sup>4</sup> Yamamoto confines his research to legislators in the cabinet, so the definition of office seeking becomes a politician's behavior of seeking cabinet posts. He adds that party-switching for office-seeking occurs from opposition party to the ruling party or from a ruling party to another ruling party while party-switching for policy-seeking occurs from an opposition party to another opposition party or from the ruling party to an opposition party.<sup>5</sup>

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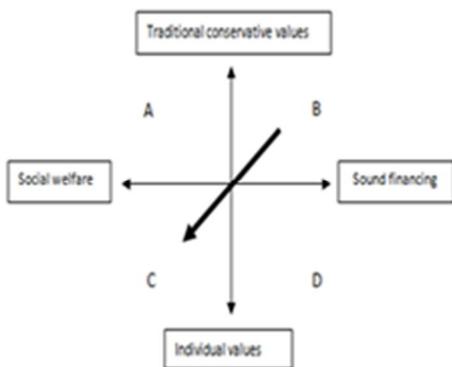
<sup>4</sup>Yamamoto, Kentaro. 2010. *Seitou kan Idou to Seitousisutemu (Legislative Party Switching and Changes in the Party System of Japan)*. Tokyo: Bokutakusha.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.44

However, Yamamoto’s explanation of office-seeking cannot be an explanation for the defection of Ozawa. If Ozawa pursued cabinet offices, he should have stayed in the ruling party and tried to make the DPJ maintain its position as a ruling party. Nevertheless, Ozawa left the ruling party and became an opposition member. Even though he could make a coalition with other opposition parties, still it would have been hard for Ozawa to obtain cabinet posts. In this sense, Ozawa is not certainly an office-seeker.

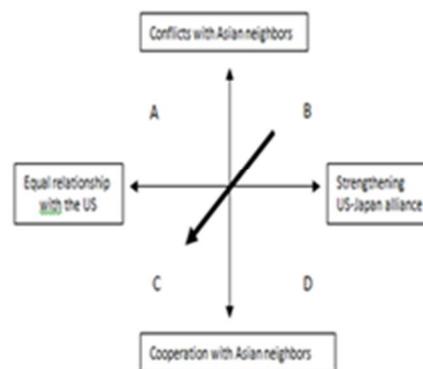
On the other hand, policy-seeking is the behavior of a politician who pursues his/her own policy preferences. Assuming Ozawa is a policy seeker, Ozawa’s defection can be explained as a behavior of policy-seeking in response to the shifts in the DPJ’s policy after 2009. Ozawa, since he became a president of the DPJ in 2006, had full control over the policy direction of the party in the

Figure 2 Social policy under the Hatoyam administration



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 42)

Figure 3 Foreign policy under the Hatoyam administration



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 43)

elections in 2007 and 2009. As a result, the DPJ's manifesto for the 2009 election mainly came from Ozawa's political ideas. Throughout the manifesto, Ozawa tried to make the DPJ's policy direction different from that of the LDP by focusing on "people's lives" and pro-Asian policies. For instance, the first characteristic of the DPJ's policies was shown in its domestic policy. With the phrase of "people's life first", the DPJ focused more on social welfare and individual values. Secondly, regarding foreign policy, DPJ also took different direction from that of the LDP. Unlike the LDP, who was a strong supporter of the US-Japan alliance, the Ozawa's DPJ called for equal relationship with the US. Therefore, by emphasizing social welfare and equal relation with the US, Ozawa tried to make the DPJ different from the LDP. And, this party's policy direction had remained unchanged under the Hatoyama administration. Figure 2 and 3 explain how Ozawa's policy direction was different from that of the LDP<sup>6</sup>.

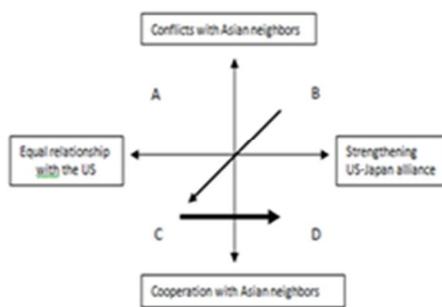
However, the leaders of the DPJ after Yukio Hatoyama tried to revise the manifesto to a different direction, which made the DPJ position more and more similar to that of the LDP. Because of the disputes with China over Senkaku Islands and 3.11 earthquake, the Kan administration shifted its direction to

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<sup>6</sup>These diagrams of both domestic and foreign policies borrowed from Cheol Hee Parks' article, Park, Cheol Hee. 2011. "Ilbon Minjudangeui Jeongchaekdaeribchuk ihaenggwa Jeongdang gan Gyeongjaengeui Bulanjeongseong [Democratic Party of Japan's Shifting Policy Ideas and Unstable Party Competition]" *Gukje Jiyeokhak Yeongu (International Area Review)* 20:1. pp. 31-59.

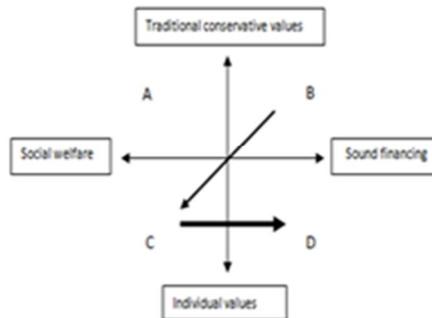
strengthen its relation with the US. However, while moving back to traditional US-Japan relation, the Kan administration tried to maintain good relationship with its Asian neighbors. Therefore, if foreign policy of Ozawa was placed in axis C in figure 3, the policy under the Kan administration moved to axis D as shown in figure 4. In addition, the direction of domestic policy was also changed. Original DPJ's policy put emphasis on social welfare and individual values. However, as shown in the figure 5, the Kan administration shifted its direction to axis D, which means that the DPJ under Kan still maintained the importance of individual values. But it focused more on financial stability by calling for increasing consumer's tax. Consequently, even though policy direction of the DPJ had changed under the Kan administration, it still contained some differences from that of the LDP.

**Figure 4 Foreign policy under the Kan administration**



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 50)

**Figure 5 Social policy under the Kan administration**



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 51)

However, under the Noda administration, policies of the DPJ were not very different from that of the LDP. Its foreign policy concentrated more on the

US-Japan alliance, and took a firm stand toward its Asian neighbors which resulted in historical and territorial conflicts. Furthermore, most of social welfare policies were postponed or abolished in order to make a coalition with other opposition parties for the purpose of passing the tax-increase bill. Therefore, both axes of both social welfare and foreign policies moved back to the same axes where the LDP policies were placed shown in figure 6 and 7<sup>7</sup>.

Figure 6 Foreign policy under the Noda administration

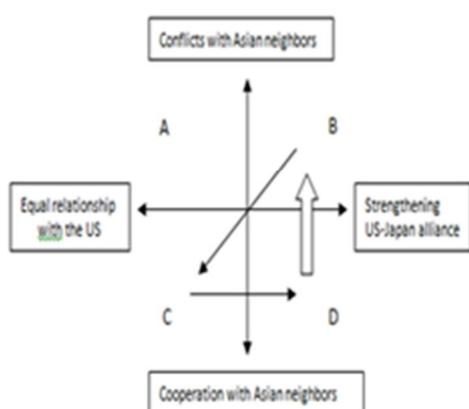
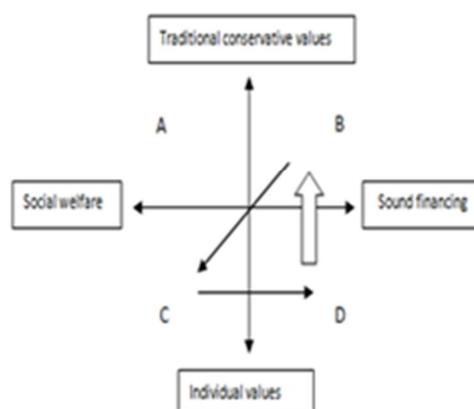


Figure 7 Social policy under the Noda administration



In this sense, Ozawa's defection could be explained as a behavior of pursuing his own policy preferences. But still, it is hard to say that Ozawa is a solely policy-seeking political animal. Even though serious intra-party conflicts within the DPJ existed over policy-preferences, the fact that the size of the Ozawa group in the DPJ overwhelmed that of other groups would give him power to have

<sup>7</sup> I added the current change of Japanese foreign policy under the Noda administration by using Cheol Hee Park's work in 2011.

influence over the party policies. In the long run, if Ozawa wanted to pursue policy, he could have remained in the DPJ as the strongest challenger to the incumbent leadership. Nevertheless, the fact that Ozawa gave up the dominant position in the party implies that there might be another factor besides policy-seeking which made him leave the party.

### **C. Institutional Incentives**

Institutional changes in the form of electoral reform took effect in 1994 by Hosokawa's coalition government: electoral reform and the revised political funding system. Seon-gyu Ko's article<sup>8</sup> focuses on the revised political funding law, and he also analyzes how this revision of political funding law has affected Japanese party politics. According to this law, the Japanese parties have to submit an application for funding within fifteen days from January 1<sup>st</sup> of each year. Funding, estimated based on the applications, will be distributed quarterly – in April, July, October, and December. Based upon the law, Ozawa has to run his new party without any official funding until next April. Meanwhile, regarding electoral system, the current Japanese electoral system is the mixture of single-member district system (SMDs) and proportional representation system (PRs).

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<sup>8</sup> Ko, Seon-gyu. 2010. "Ilbon Jeongchijoseonggeumjedo wa Jeongdangjeongchi eui Byeonhwa (Japanese Party Funding Law and Changes in Party Politics)," *Ilbonhakbo (The Korean Journal of Japanology)* 82. pp. 189-202.

Gab-yoon Lee uses Duverger's idea of two-party system in order to argue that the Japanese party system had moved toward two-party system under the single-member districts system<sup>9</sup>. This SMD system is in favor of major parties because voters prefer to vote for candidates from major parties who are likely to be elected. For this reason, smaller opposition parties gradually merge with major parties. On the other hand, proportional representation (PR) system is beneficial to smaller opposition parties. Under PR system, it is possible for smaller parties to have seats.

For Ozawa, his party also has advantage in PR system, rather than SMD system. However, according to an opinion poll done by Asahi newspaper, only fifteen percent of the Japanese people answered that they would vote for Ozawa's party while seventy-eight percent replied that they would not vote for them<sup>10</sup>. This result means that even in PR system, it seems that Ozawa's new party would have difficulty in obtaining enough votes in order to exert their power as a casting vote. Since the current institutional settings are not in favor of his party, Ozawa would be better to remain in the DPJ rather than defecting from it. Therefore, the institutional settings do not fully explain Ozawa's defection.

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<sup>9</sup> Lee, Kap Yun. 2005. "Ilbon Seongeojedo eui Gaejeong gwa Jeongdangje eui Byeonhwa (Electoral Reform and Change of Party System in Japan)" *Donga Yeongu (East Asian Studies)* 48. pp. 172-201.

<sup>10</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, June 28<sup>th</sup> 2012

## **D. Power Struggle**

DPJ's presidential election is the place where intra-party strife is intensively revealed<sup>11</sup>. Depending on who would be elected as a leader of the party, a certain group could take major posts of the party. Therefore, power seeking mainly happened over influential party posts, such as a general secretary. Each group leader has to offer some electoral incentives to his followers in return for their loyalty/support to him, for example by providing political funding or official nomination for the elections. Therefore, getting powerful party posts is important for group leaders to maintain loyal supporters.

However, since the Kan administration, major posts of the DPJ were held by anti-Ozawa groups, thereby Ozawa was subject to restriction on offering nomination and political funding to his followers. Moreover, because of political funding problem which he was involved in, the critics of Ozawa within the DPJ had raised its voice. Hence, the DPJ politicians became cautious of getting Ozawa's support though Ozawa still maintained the biggest intra-party group. As a result, Ozawa had lost his control and influence over the party management. Therefore, again, by defecting from the DPJ and creating a new party, Ozawa was able to secure the right of nomination as well as the management of political

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<sup>11</sup>Itagaki, Eiken. 2008. *Minshutouhabatsukousoushi – Minshutounoyukue (A History of Resistance of the DPJ factions – Whereabout of the DPJ)*. Kyoeshodo.

funding. Nevertheless, power struggle alternative itself could not provide full explanation for Ozawa's defection because when Ozawa was excluded from party management under the Kan administration, he did not leave the party. Rather, he decided to raise voices as the leader of the biggest party rather than exiting from the DPJ. Therefore, Ozawa's stay in the party under the Kan administration needs supplementary explanation.

### **III. Intra-party conflicts**

Of four alternatives, policy-seeking and power struggle are the ones which could explain Ozawa's defection from the DPJ. However, neither the behaviors of policy seeking nor power struggle can provide full explanations for his defection. This chapter will analyze the relation between Ozawa's two preferences – policy and power – and three DPJ administrations since 2009. By doing so, the chapter will examine what was the original policy of the DPJ in 2009 initiated by Ozawa and Hatoyama and the process of how this policy direction has changed throughout the Kan and Noda administrations. In addition, how Ozawa had lost his ground within the DPJ will also be analyzed. To answer these questions, either policy or power seeking behavior did not provide a sole explanation for Ozawa's

defection. For example, even though he lost control over the party management, he decided to remain in the DPJ. This was because he was still able to pursue his policy preference within the party. On the other hand, when he regained his influence on the DPJ to some degree but realized uncompromisable shifts in policy direction of the DPJ, Ozawa, in the beginning of the Noda administration, hesitated about making a decision of his defection. Ozawa only left the party when he realized that both policy and power struggle alternatives were not able to achieve in the DPJ anymore.

#### **A. Hatoyama administration: *Insider and Full control***

After he entered the DPJ in 2003 as a result of merger between his Liberal party (LP) and the DPJ, Ozawa had taken over the reins of the party since 2006. In 2006, he became a party president and designed the party's direction for the coming election. The manifesto advocated in 2009 was mainly based upon Ozawa's political ideas. Ozawa tried to make the policies of the DPJ different from that of the LDP. Therefore, for domestic policies, the DPJ focused more on individual values and social welfare by advocating the importance of "people's lives". Regarding foreign policy, they also called for an equal relationship with the US by criticizing the LDP's dependence on the US, while maintaining close

relationship with its Asian neighbors<sup>12</sup>. The direction of foreign policy was mainly created based upon political ideas of two main figures of the DPJ: Hatoyama and Ozawa. Even though they had a slightly different viewpoint regarding UN peacekeeping operation,<sup>13</sup> Hatoyama and Ozawa basically agreed on the ideas of reexamining US-Japan alliances and maintaining close relationship with its Asia neighbors. And their common perceptions were fully reflected in the DPJ's manifesto.

Hatoyama, who used to be a secretary-general during Ozawa's presidency and later became a leader of the DPJ, sympathized with Ozawa's ideas of reconsidering US-Japan relations and Japan's role in the international community. Besides the US-Japan alliance, Hatoyama also put emphasis on Asian-centered diplomacy and regional integration throughout the vision of "East Asia Community." In addition, by providing a new concept of "Diplomacy of Fraternity," he stressed the importance of strengthening the relationship with Asian countries especially focusing on China. This Asian-centered diplomatic strategy suggested by Hatoyama also contained distinct differences from that of

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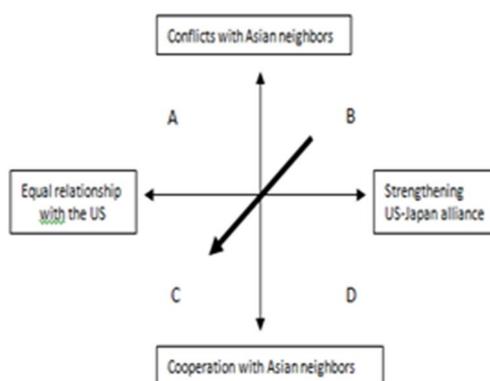
<sup>12</sup> Park, Cheol Hee. 2011. pp. 41-43

<sup>13</sup> In an open forum of the DPJ's presidential election in 2009, Hatoyama expressed his differences regarding UN peacekeeping operations and use of forces from that of Ozawa. He opposes the idea of using forces under the name of UN, so he objects dispatching Japanese Self-Defense Forces abroad. On the contrary, Ozawa agrees with the use of force as a form of UN peacekeeping operation which automatically approves overseas dispatch of Self-Defense Forces. Therefore, he defined himself as UN-centrism, while Ozawa is UN-supremacist. (*Asahi newspaper*, May 16, 2009)

the LDP which put US-Japan relations at top priority. Moreover, Hatoyama appointed Katsuya Okada as a minister of Foreign Affairs. Like Hatoyama and Ozawa, Okada considers the US-Japan alliance and establishing East Asia community as a pivot of the DPJ's foreign policy<sup>14</sup>. Therefore, under the Hatoyama administration, the president, a minister of Foreign Affairs and a secretary-general of the party, shared the same vision in regard of the relations with the US and Asia.

Therefore, these Hatoyama and Ozawa's common political perspectives

**Figure 8 Foreign policy under the Hatoyama administration**



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 43)

were thoroughly reflected in the DPJ's manifesto advocated during the 2009 general election. According to the original policy draft of the US-Japan alliance for the new era, it mainly argues that 1) a radical revision of agreement regarding the status of US forces in Japan,<sup>15</sup> 2) Reexamination of

<sup>14</sup>Park, Young-June. 2011. "Ilbon Minjudang eui Daemi Jeongchaek- 'Daedeunghan Dongmaenggwan-gye Guchuk' eui Mosaek gwa jwajeol (The US-Japan Alliance Policy under the Democratic Party in Japan)," *Ilbon Yeongu Nonchong (The Korean Journal for Japanese Studies)* 33. pp. 189-219

<sup>15</sup> The official title is "Agreement under Article VI of the Treaty Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States of America and Japan, regarding Facilities and Areas and the Status of United States of America Forces in Japan."

reorganizing the US forces in Japan, 3) Restraint of dispatching Self Defense Force to Afghanistan regarding counterterrorism, 4) Withdrawal of Self Defense Force from the Indian Ocean<sup>16</sup>. Thus, these detailed policies were mainly from the ideas of an equal relationship with the US, cooperation with its Asian neighbors, especially with China and Korea, and responsibility of international cooperation through UN peacekeeping operations. On the other hand, the LDP mainly advocated the reinforcement of the US-Japan alliance, maintaining supply support to the Indian Ocean, and the revision of basic law regarding international cooperation for overseas dispatch of Self-Defense Forces. Of all policies provided by both parties, the relationship with the US and Asian countries showed major differences between the DPJ and LDP. As seen in the figure 8, the traditional LDP-style foreign policy was placed in axis B which put the US-Japan alliance at the top while a new policy of the DPJ moved to axis C.

In the meanwhile, Ozawa also tried to make a difference between DPJ's and LDP's social policies. Traditional LDP's social policy put emphasis on conservative values – nation and ethnic group – in order to maintain their supporter. Therefore, “pork barrel politics” was the traditional style of the LDP's social welfare system by offering “compensation” to local and social minorities who were traditionally LDP's support groups. However, under Koizumi's

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<sup>16</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, June 4, 2009

administration, the LDP took neo-liberal reform so as to achieve sound finance, while maintaining conservative values for their supporters. Koizumi's neo-liberal reform, especially his welfare reform, was to promote marketization in Japanese social welfare system which resulted in increasing job instability and social anxiety<sup>17</sup>.

Therefore, Ozawa made the DPJ's social policy different not only from the traditional LDP's policy but also from that of Koizumi. Therefore, rather than compensating certain interest groups, Ozawa focused on individual values so that every Japanese citizen becomes a beneficiary of government's social policy. Even though both the DPJ and the LDP had a common goal of Japanese economic growth, the approaches they took to their goal were sharply different. The LDP tried to revitalize the Japanese economy by supporting enterprises. They believed that restoring enterprises' performance would result in a wage increase of employees which would subsequently lead to increase in private consumption. However, Ozawa criticized LDP's policy by being isolated from the people's lives. Thus, unlike the LDP's enterprise-led plan, the DPJ concentrated on individual family, so that they expected economic growth by supporting each family

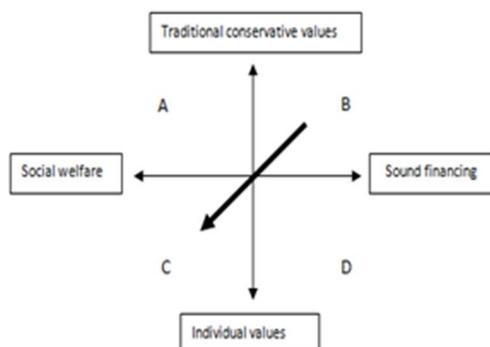
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<sup>17</sup>Lee, Ji-Young. 2011. "Ilbon Minjudang eui Saenghwaljeongchi Inyeom gwa Bokjijeongchaek (The Life Politics Idea and Welfare Policy of the Democratic Party in Japan)," *Segye Jiyeok Yeongu Nonchong (The Korean Journal of Area Studies)* 29:3. p.18.

directly.<sup>18</sup> In their manifesto, the DPJ clearly demonstrated their target, with a written statement of “by realizing our Manifesto, we will increase each household’s disposable income and eliminate anxiety over livelihoods.”<sup>19</sup> This idea of direct support of individual family was fairly different from the LDP’s policy of an indirect support, such as providing facilities. In their Manifesto in 2009, the then leader of DPJ, Hatoyama, suggested five promises for the party’s goal which demonstrated their attention on “people’s lives”. Among the contexts of “Five Pledges of the Democratic Party of Japan”, 1) reworking the national government’s 207 trillion yen budget by reducing wasteful spending, 2) Providing a “child allowance” of 312, 000 yen per annum for all children until they finish

junior high school, 3) Creating a unified pension system and a “minimum guaranteed pension” of at least 70, 000 yen a month, 4) Abolishing the Health Insurance Scheme for People Aged 75 and Over, 5) Helping job-seekers by paying them a 100, 000 yen monthly

Figure 9 Social policy under the Hatoyam administration



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 42)

<sup>18</sup> *Yomiuri newspaper*, August 26, 2009.

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.dpj.or.jp/english/manifesto/manifesto2009.pdf> (January, 15, 2013)

allowance during job training<sup>20</sup> set the DPJ's social policy apart from that of the LDP by aiming at individual household (Appendix 1). Therefore, the LDP's social policy under Koizumi moved to axis B since his cabinet concentrated on sound finance. Ozawa's efforts to make the DPJ's policy different from that of the LDP moved their location from axis B to axis C which concentrated more on social welfare and individual values.

On the other hand, regarding his influence over the party, Ozawa was able to have full control over the party management by being appointed as a secretary general of the DPJ. As a secretary general, Ozawa tried to change the system of party management making concentration of a policy making to the government by abolishing the Political Affairs Research Committee(政策調査会). In doing so, he wanted to give more power and discretion to the Prime Minister office. In this sense, Hatoyama took care of entire governmental affairs without any interference from the party, while Ozawa was able to enlarge power of a secretary-general having full authority over party management.

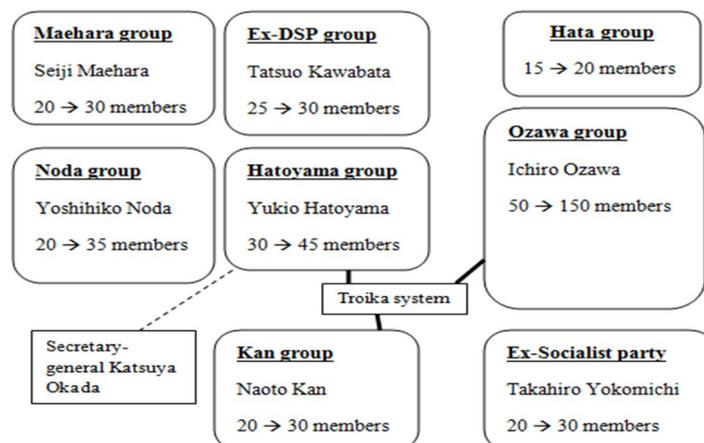
Moreover, as seen in figure 10, the Ozawa group had fifty members out of forming twenty five percent among the DPJ politicians. However, throughout the 2009 election, the number of the Ozawa group was estimated to be 150 politicians becoming the biggest intra-party group. Since his group accounted for forty

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

percent of the entire DPJ members, Ozawa became able to manipulate party management as he wished. In this sense, under the Hatoyama administration, Ozawa could manipulate most of the DPJ's policy and its direction. In addition, he had full control over party management as well as policy direction. Consequently, under the Hatoyama administration, as a secretary-general and the leader of the biggest group, Ozawa was fully in charge of party management. In addition, the policy direction of the DPJ fairly reflected Ozawa's political ideas.

Figure 10. Intra-party groups of the DPJ



(Source: *Asahi newspaper*, September 3, 2009)

## B. Kan administration: *Outsider but Compromise*

However, Hatoyama resigned from premiership taking the responsibility for the failure of relocating Futenma Air Force base. Subsequently, Naoto Kan

took office as the next prime minister in June 2010. In addition, Ozawa himself also had to step down from his position as a secretary-general because of his money scandal regarding his political fund-raising group, Rikuzankai(陸山会)<sup>21</sup>. From the beginning, the Kan claimed that he would take a more practical line compared to the Hatoyama administration<sup>22</sup> by taking anti-Ozawa lines and relatively practical policy lines trying to revise the manifesto of 2009 in order to deal with budget deficit of the Japanese government.

In addition, Kan's practical policy lines included the shift in foreign policy especially regarding the US- Japan relation. One of the major causes of this shift was related to the territorial dispute between Japan and China over Senkaku islands in September 7, 2010<sup>23</sup>. Although territorial disputes with its Asian neighbors, China and Korea, were not new to Japan, the disputes escalated Sino-Japanese relation which resulted in making the Japanese government return to its traditional foreign policy line – strengthening the US-Japan alliance. Therefore,

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<sup>21</sup> Rikuzankai scandal was an incident concerning Ozawa's political funds management organization, Rikuzankai. In November 2009, the ex-secretaries of Ozawa were accused of the violation of Political Funds Act. They were arrested for the late report regarding income and expenditure of political funds. At first, Ozawa was also accused but was soon released by non-prosecution disposition. However, because of this incident, Ozawa had to step down from a secretary-general of the DPJ in June 2010.

<sup>22</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, June 12, 2010

<sup>23</sup> *Yeonhap news*, September 24, 2010. The incident started with a collision between a Chinese fishing boat and two Japanese Coast Guard patrol boats near Senkaku islands. After the collision, the Japanese coast guards arrested the Chinese crews and captain. However, because of the pressure from China, such as an embargo on Rare earth resources, the Japanese government finally released the captain.

Kan clearly expressed that he would put priority in the US-Japan alliance as the direction of the DPJ's foreign policy. Then, while putting the US-Japan relation as a major policy line of the Japanese government, Kan still tried to strengthen the relations with Asian countries. The changes in the DPJ's foreign policy direction were clearly shown the fact that Kan appointed Seiji Maehara as a new minister of Foreign Affairs. Maehara is a well-known politician as a supporter for strengthening the US-Japan alliance and "China threat" theory. Thus, although Kan did not abolish the manifesto of the DPJ which claimed an equal relation with the US, he refreshed the political environment for changing the existing foreign policy of the Hatoyama administration by appointing people who supported enhancement of alliance in the major cabinet posts<sup>24</sup>. Articles below are the DPJ's manifesto revised under Kan's leadership regarding the US-Japan alliance and foreign relations for the 2010 Upper House election<sup>25</sup>:

- Deepen the Japan-U.S. alliance by strengthening bilateral ties in the areas of comprehensive national security, economics, and culture and the like.

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<sup>24</sup>Park, Young-June. p. 209.

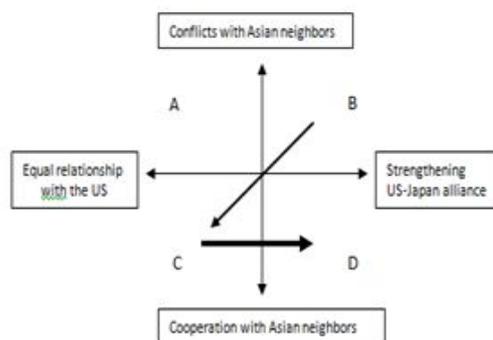
<sup>25</sup><http://www.dpj.or.jp/english/manifesto/manifesto2010.pdf> pp. 10~11 (December 5, 2012)

- Regarding the relocation of the Futenma Air Station, make all possible efforts to reduce the burden on Okinawa in line with the Japan-U.S. agreement.
- Propose the revision of the Japan-U.S. Status of Forces Agreement as a step towards building close and equal Japan-US relations.
- Make all possible efforts to establish mutual relations of trust with China, South Korea, and other Asian countries as a step towards creating an “East Asian Community.”
- To play a role in peace building in Afghanistan and elsewhere, examine the participation of Self-Defense Forces in peacekeeping operations and civilians in activities contributing to international society. Aim to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council.
- Cooperation with international organizations and non-governmental organizations to strengthen Japan’s development assistance to developing nationals in Africa and elsewhere, and review the status of Japan’s official development assistance to improve the quality and quantity of assistance provided.

As seen in the articles, policy direction under the Kan administration changed to the direction of strengthening the US-Japan alliance, while maintaining good relationship with Asian countries, especially with China and Korea. Especially, as shown in his statement on August 10, 2010 (Appendix 2), Kan showed considerable concern on Korea-Japan relation, referring “a future-oriented Japan-Republic of Korea relationship.”<sup>26</sup> As seen in the clause below, he recognized Korea as its closest neighbor who shared common ideologies – democracy and market economy. Therefore, he wanted to carry out diplomacy toward Asia based on close cooperation between Korea and Japan<sup>27</sup>.

Therefore, Kan tried to revise the original manifesto of the DPJ regarding

Figure 11 Foreign policy under the Kan administration



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 50)

its relation with the US. In this sense, regarding the relocation of Futenma base, Kan stated that he would follow the original agreement made between the US and the LDP government in 2006, rather than moving the base out of Okinawa prefecture which Hatoyama advocated.

<sup>26</sup> A statement by Prime Minister Kan on August 10, 2010 ([http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/kan/statement/201008/10danwa\\_e.html](http://www.kantei.go.jp/foreign/kan/statement/201008/10danwa_e.html)) (January 26, 2013)

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

Therefore, under the Kan administration, the direction of the DPJ's policy did not make a complete about-face of its foreign policy. Rather, its direction was in between the original DPJ's and the LDP's policy direction. Therefore, the traditional foreign policy of Japanese government placed in axis B moved to axis C during the Hatoyama administration. Then, it moved to axis D which tried to achieve both strengthening the US-Japan alliance as well as regional cooperation within Asia. In this regard, even though the policy direction of the DPJ diverged from its original, it still maintained the overall framework designed by Ozawa. Therefore, Ozawa decided to stay in the DPJ as a counterpart of Kan by raising its voice within, rather than defecting from the DPJ.

Like foreign policy, Kan argued that manifesto could be revised their manifesto regarding social policy. "People's lives" had been a key concern for the DPJ during the 2009 election. However, including Hatoyama's cabinet, the DPJ had hard time to secure financial resources for carrying out their social welfare policy promises. As a result, the DPJ under the Kan administration started putting distance from their original concern for "people's lives," and decided to take the "third way" which was different from either the traditional LDP's line (the first way) or Koizumi's neo-liberal line (the second way). This third line advocated by Kan was strategy for growth by creating demand from environment, medical, and tourist fields. With this economic strategy, Kan also considered securing welfare

funds through tax-increase<sup>28</sup>. As a result, in order to deal with fiscal crisis they had been faced, the Kan administration called for revising manifesto of 2009, tax reform and focusing more on economic revival.

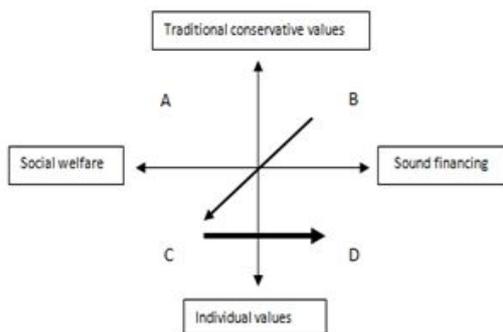
Therefore, emphasis of the DPJ's manifesto in 2010 moved from people's lives to the idea of strong economy, strong finance, and strong social security. Hence, the DPJ' social policy advocated in 2009 manifesto had been either revised or postponed under the Kan cabinet. For example, regarding child allowance, originally, Hatoyama's DPJ planned to pay 312,000 yen per annum as child allowance. However, under the Kan administration, they only provided some portion of child allowance rather than full payment. Furthermore, Kan

started to assert the need of tax increase in the 2010 Upper House election.

Therefore, although the DPJ's social policy under the Kan cabinet still cared about individual values, they put their emphasis more on economic growth and sound finance rather than social welfare.

Thus, as shown in figure 12, the DPJ's

Figure 12 Social policy under the Kan administration



(Source: Park, Cheol Hee, 2011, p. 51)

<sup>28</sup> Lee, Ji Young. p. 25.

social policy shifted from axis C to axis D located between Koizumi's LDP and Hatoyama's DPJ.

On the other hand, when Hatoyama stepped down, Ozawa also had to resign because of his involvement in money scandal. This money scandal was critical to the DPJ which advocated their difference from the LDP's money politics. According to an opinion poll done by Asahi newspaper, eighty-seven percent of the Japanese people satisfied with Ozawa's resignation, while only nine percent did not like it. In addition, support ratings for the DPJ slightly increased from twenty-one percent in the end of May to twenty-seven percent in June<sup>29</sup>. This situation was similar to the case in June 2009 when ex-secretaries of Ozawa were prosecuted for political funding problems. At that time, the DPJ's support ratings dramatically dropped from forty-two to thirty-one percent while the LDP got twenty-seven percent. More impressive result was that this rapidly declined support ratings was restored to the former status of forty-three percent right after Ozawa resigned from the president of the DPJ<sup>30</sup>. Accordingly, it was important for the DPJ in 2010 to restore the image of party and get support from the Japanese people in order to win the coming Upper house election. Therefore, Kan, who became a Prime Minister in June 2010, completely excluded Ozawa and his group both from the cabinet and party posts.

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<sup>29</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, June 4, 2010.

<sup>30</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, June 16, 2009

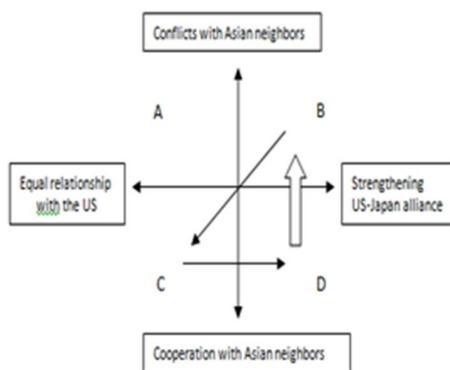
In short, under the Kan administration, Ozawa was ousted from major positions in the party as well as the Kan cabinet. Regarding shifts in policies, even though policy direction of the DPJ had been revised to relatively practical way, the policy preferences he pursued still remained to some degree, which he could compromise on their changes. Moreover, even though Ozawa lost his power of influencing party management and policy direction, still his group, with over 100 members at maximum, was able to have influence on party management and election by exercising veto power against the Kan administration. Consequently, regarding policy seeking and power struggle alternatives, Ozawa was still able to achieve policy preference under the Kan administration, but he failed to attain posts. Therefore, his policy seeking option maintained in the DPJ. Regarding power struggle alternative, he lost his control over party management. However, he still had possibility of regaining his power since his power as the leader of the biggest group was undiminished. Hence, Ozawa decided to stay in the party raising his voice, rather than defection from the DPJ.

### **C. Noda administration: *Outsider and Uncompromisable***

With the advent of the Noda administration, the direction of the DPJ's foreign policy lost its original scheme and became very similar to that of the LDP. From the beginning of his tenure, Noda stressed the importance of the US-Japan

alliance as the center of the Japanese diplomatic strategy<sup>31</sup>. In addition, Noda appointed Koichirou Genba as a new minister of Foreign Affairs. Genba officially announced a statement that Dokdo/Takeshima is illegally taken by South Korea<sup>32</sup>.

Figure 13 Foreign policy under the Noda administration



This announcement used to be the official point of view from the previous LDP governments. In this sense, he is also considered as a supporter of the traditional US-Japan alliance. Moreover, more aggressive responses, which the Noda cabinet took in response to territorial disputes

with China and Korea, deteriorated its relations with neighboring countries. Hence, the policy direction transferred in axis D by the Kan administration is now moved back to axis B which was the traditional LDP's policy direction regarding foreign affairs.

Not only did the Noda cabinet change its direction of foreign policy similar to traditional LDP's policy, but they also abandoned their original social welfare plan. Because of the Great Earthquake in March 11, 2011, the major goal of Noda's DPJ was to secure budget for recovering from the damages by the

<sup>31</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, August 31, 2012

<sup>32</sup> *Yeonhap news*, September 6, 2012

earthquake<sup>33</sup>. Hence, from the beginning of the Noda administration, tax-increase line represented by the Kan administration kicked into high gear starting from the process of passing the consumption tax-increase bill in the Diet and fundamental social security reforms. Noda announced that he set a goal of increasing taxes up to eight percent by April 2014 and finally would raise them to ten percent by October 2015. In order to achieve this goal, he even considered cooperation with the LDP for the purpose of passing the tax-increase bill. Therefore, the LDP asked the Noda administration to give up most of social policies advocated in the 2009 general election on condition of their cooperation in the Diet.

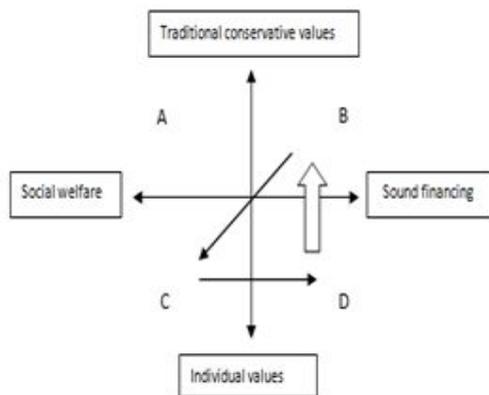
As a result, in spite of strong opposition and intra-party division in the party, Noda pushed forward tax-increase plan, and abandoned the original social policies of the DPJ. In the case of child allowance, at first, the DPJ revised the amount of its payment according the age of child, and then they abolished the policy after March 2012. Eventually, the DPJ's policy of child allowance moved back to the LDP's traditional child allowance plan, so that the government paid

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<sup>33</sup> The death toll of the 3.11 Great Earthquake had exceeded seven thousands of people (*Asahi newspaper*, March 19, 2011). In addition, according to the estimation by the Japanese government, the amount of damage by the 3.11 Great Earthquake reached to about seventeen trillion yen (*Asahi newspaper*, June 24, 2011). Therefore, in order to secure the source of revenue for revival, the Kan administration managed to make five thousand yen by revising the DPJ manifesto regarding social welfare. Furthermore, the discussion regarding issuing government bond for revival and the term and size of temporary tax-increase had also preceded about twenty-three trillion yen for rehabilitation expense for ten years. (*Asahi newspaper*, July 21, 2012)

half of the original price. Moreover, the policies of raising minimum wage level and abolishing the Health Insurance Scheme for People Aged 75 and over were postponed and would be reviewed. In addition, the promise of not raising tax by the next election was broken. Therefore, under the Noda administration, most of the DPJ's social policies disappeared. Therefore, the DPJ did not put much

Figure 14 Social policy under the Noda administration



emphasis on social welfare as well as individual values, which made the party shift its axis from C to D. As a result, Noda made the DPJ nothing more than another LDP. Therefore, the policies which Ozawa tried to implement into the DPJ were completely disappeared under the Noda government. From the eyes of

the Japanese people, the policies of the DPJ and the LDP do not show major differences.

Unlike Kan, Noda, in the beginning of his administration, tried to embrace Ozawa's group members by providing them with posts in the cabinet. In addition, Noda made his efforts to keep balance of forces between anti-Ozawa and pro-Ozawa group in regard of appointing party posts. For example, Azuma Koshiishi, appointed as a new secretary-general, and Hirohumi Hirano, a new chairman of

the Diet Affairs Committee, were close to Ozawa. On the other hand, representative anti-Ozawa figure, Maehara, was appointed as a chairman of the Political Affairs Research Committee. Therefore, compared to the Kan administration, a part of the Ozawa group, was able to be involved in party management under the Noda cabinet. However, despite Noda's concern for intra-party harmony, Ozawa himself could not freely involve in party management because he was bound by political funding problem.

Although Ozawa was still able to influence party management under the Noda administration, he was losing his ground within the DPJ. In the beginning of his tenure, Noda put much focuses on intra-party harmony, although he was in need of cooperation with the opposition parties. However, as time went by, Noda put more emphasis on passing the tax-increase bill at the expense of intra-party harmony. However, since most of the Ozawa group members were first- or second-term politicians, they were sensitive to public opinion. Most of them followed Ozawa's anti-tax-increase line because they worried about their next election. Therefore, in response to Noda's hard line on passing tax-increase bill, Ozawa clearly demonstrated his disagreement with the incumbent government. Despite Ozawa's opposition, Noda put more and more emphasis on passing the tax-increasing bill. As a result, he moved ahead with cooperation with the opposition parties in spite of severe opposition within the DPJ. For Ozawa, his

power as the leader of the biggest group would be useless if Noda gain cooperation from the LDP. By attaining the LDP's support, the Noda administration would be able to get two thirds of the votes in the House of Representatives without supports from the Ozawa group. Hence, the more Noda took cross-partisan cooperation, the more Ozawa lost his ground in the DPJ. In addition, not only did intra-party division exist in the DPJ, but also division occurred within the Ozawa group regarding the issue of defection. Within the Ozawa group, there were hard-liners and soft-liners regarding the defection. This split within the group was getting worse with Noda's hard-line effort to pass the tax-increase bill. Eventually, when the tax-increase bill was passed in the House of Representatives, Ozawa had to make a decision whether he should leave or stay in the party.

Therefore, under the Noda administration, Ozawa was losing his influence because of Noda's will to pass the tax-increase bill. Moreover, the opinion of the Ozawa group started to divide whether they will defect from the party or not when the bill is passed. As a result, Ozawa's position within the DPJ was not strong as he was in the past two administrations in terms of his influence on party management and members of the DPJ. His loyal followers were estimated approximately sixty members at maximum when the Noda administration

expected who would defect from the DPJ following Ozawa<sup>34</sup>. Not only did he lose his influence on party management, but also Ozawa could not pursue his policy preference within the DPJ. In order to get support from the LDP for passing the tax-increase bill, Noda abolished or postponed most of DPJ's social policies advocated in the 2009 manifesto. Also, Noda tried to strengthen the US-Japan alliance and took hard-line stances regarding relationship with Asian neighbors. Therefore, the policies of the DPJ were now completely shifted from that in 2009, and became similar to that of the LDP. Under the Noda administration, Ozawa was not able to achieve policy preference as well as power. Hence, Ozawa decided to defect from the DPJ and created a new party – People's Life First party (LF).

#### **IV. Inter-party Dynamics**

Not only did intra-party condition make Ozawa leave the DPJ, but also inter-party circumstance contributed to Ozawa's defection. Since the LDP is a majority party in the House of Councilors, Prime Minister Noda, who put tax-increase as the top priority, had to seek an agreement from the LDP whenever he

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<sup>34</sup> *Asahi newspaper*, June 19, 2012

wants to pass a bill in the Diet. Moreover, the LDP under Sadakazu Tanigaki also called for a tax-increase by ten percent in the 2010 Upper House election. Therefore, since their aim for tax-increase was matched, it was necessary for Noda to make coalition with the LDP not only in the House of Councilors but also in the House of Representatives for passing the tax-increase bill. Furthermore, the president of the LDP and Clean Government Party (CGP) suggested that the LDP and its coalition partner, CGP, would cooperate with the DPJ in the House of Representatives in order to pass the tax-increase bill if the DPJ exclude Ozawa from the party and promise to dissolve the Diet.

In this situation, Noda had to make a choice whether he embrace or exclude Ozawa from the party. In the beginning of his tenure, Noda showed modest concern on intra-party harmony trying to embrace the Ozawa group by appointing Koshiishi as a secretary-general and providing some cabinet posts to members of the Ozawa group, although he was in need of cooperation with the opposition parties. However, as time went by, Noda put more emphasis on passing the tax-increase bill rather than intra-party harmony. Therefore, he reshuffled his cabinet focusing on tax reform and tried to make alliances with the LDP and CGP in spite of opposition within the party. Eventually, a chairman of the Diet Affairs Committee, Maehara, halted the intra-party procedures for debating pros and cons regarding the tax-increase bill, and submitted a revised bill

of three parties – the DPJ, the LDP, and the CGP – to the House of Representatives. As a result, the intra-party cleavages over the tax-increase bill intensified further.

Furthermore, the LDP also asked the Noda administration to give up its manifesto regarding social welfare if Noda wanted to secure the LDP's support in the process of voting for tax-increase bill. As mentioned in chapter II, Noda accepted the LDP's request and gave up most of social policies in the 2009 manifesto of the DPJ. Therefore, the revised scheme of the DPJ social policy right before the vote for tax-increase was as below:

Figure 15. Revision of the DPJ manifesto under the Noda cabinet	
Manifesto	Revised scheme in June 2012
Child allowance	Abolition. Return to the LDP's child allowance
Free charge of high school education	Implemented
Free highway toll	Implemented only in the damaged regions by the 3.11 earthquake
Preservation of farm household income	Reexamination
Minimum guaranteed pension	Examining an alternative
Abolishing the Health Insurance Scheme for People Aged 75 and Over	Examining an alternative
Increasing consumption tax	Agreement on tax-increase
(Source: <i>Donga newspaper</i> , June 18, 2012)	

As a result, the Noda administration finally passed the tax-increase bill at the expense of intra-party harmony and their original manifesto by attaining cooperation from the opposition parties.

Under this circumstance, Ozawa was not only excluded from the intra-party affairs, but he was also purged by opposition parties for the reason of the accusation regarding political funding as well as objection to tax-increase. Therefore, the formation of the People's Life First party could be considered as a behavior of resisting persecution on him by two major parties – his own party (DPJ) and the LDP.

## **V. Who followed and who remained: The decisions of Ozawa group politicians**

In order to define the members of the Ozawa group, former LP members(一新会)<sup>35</sup> should be analyzed. They were politicians who were loyal to Ozawa. In addition, two meetings were held by Ozawa right before the tax-increase bill was passed when the intra-party cleavages over the bill reached its

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<sup>35</sup> Formal Liberal party politicians were based on the list provided by the book, Itagaki, Eiken's work

peak; one held on June 21<sup>st</sup> and the other held on June 25<sup>th</sup> in 2012<sup>36</sup>. In this regard, the first definition of the Ozawa group in this thesis would be the members of formal LP. Of all formal members of Liberal party, those who participated in meeting held in August 26<sup>th</sup> 2010<sup>37</sup> would be considered loyal to Ozawa (Appendix3)<sup>38</sup>. The second parameter of the Ozawa group was participants of at least one meeting held in 2012 (Appendix 4)<sup>39</sup>.

The factors whether politicians followed Ozawa or not resulted either from their loyalty to Ozawa or condition of electoral districts. In the case of loyalty, among the politicians who participated in all three meetings, most of them kept their loyalty to Ozawa by joining Ozawa's defection. Besides this group, most of the participants in two meetings of 2012 also entered the LF regardless of status of their electoral districts. Regarding status of electoral bases, most of the LF members were in their first- or second-terms in the Diet. As shown in figure 13, including Ozawa himself, there were twenty five first-term and six second-term politicians out of thirty-eight politicians in the House of Representatives. Therefore, as first- or second-term politicians, those who had relatively weak electoral bases followed Ozawa. In addition, most of their electoral districts had

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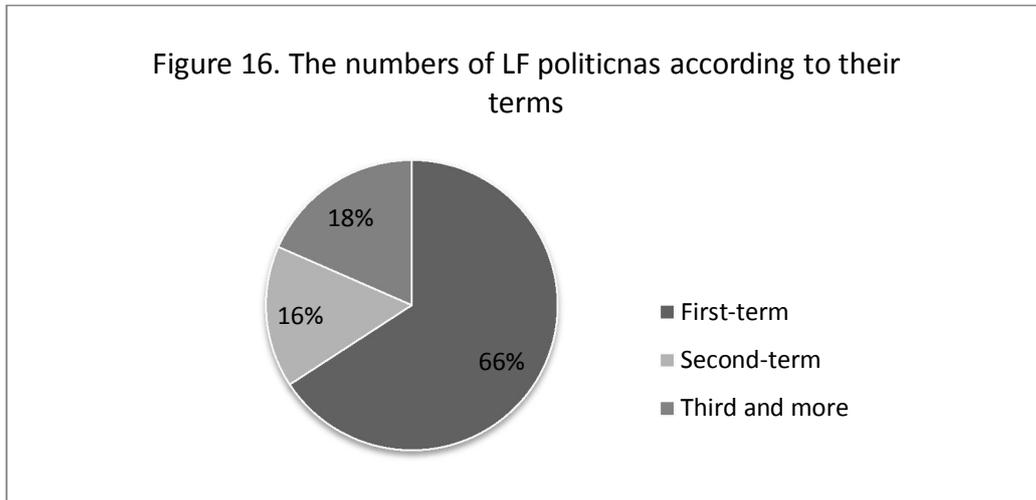
<sup>36</sup> *Asahi newspaper*; June 22, 2012 and *Yomiuri newspaper*; June 26, 2012

<sup>37</sup> *Yomiuri newspaper*, August 26, 2010

<sup>38</sup> The politicians' electoral districts and terms were based on the 2009 general election.

<sup>39</sup> This research would be confined to legislatives of the House of Representatives.

been stable electoral bases for the LDP, which changed in the 2009 election to the DPJ's electoral base. Therefore, in order to compete with strong opponents from the opposition parties, they would need Ozawa's support for the next election.



On the other hand, politicians who did not follow Ozawa and remained in the DPJ mostly have stable electoral bases compared to those who defected. There are three different types of stable electoral districts. First, if a politician has been repeatedly elected in a certain district, this politician is considered of having a stable electoral base. Second, if politicians from the same party have been elected in a certain district, the district is stable for a certain party. Last, if there is no strong opponent from opposition parties, the district can be also regarded as a secure district. Therefore, except politicians who hold strong loyalty to Ozawa, those who have relatively stable districts had tendency not to defect from the DPJ with Ozawa. Rather, they preferred to remain as members of the ruling party.

For example, considering loyalty and condition of electoral districts were two factors that led the Ozawa group members to make their own decision, which the case of Chiba prefecture came under both factors. Of all thirteen electoral districts, two electoral districts – Chiba 2 and Chiba 3 – were taken by the Ozawa group members, Kazumasa Okajima and Yuu Kuroda. Kuroda (Chiba 2) was a first-term politician who overwhelmingly won the 2009 general election against a candidate from the LDP. Since the year of 2000, except the 2005 general election under Koizumi's leadership, this district had been taken by the DPJ politician, Hisayasu Nagada. However, after the death of Nagada, Kuroda was nominated as a candidate for the DPJ and won the election in 2009. According to the fact that there was no strong opponent from the opposition party and that the district had been an electoral base for the DPJ, Chiba 2 district was relatively stable district for Kuroda. On the other hand, Kuroda held strong loyalty to Ozawa. Since his debut in 1996 as a member of Chiba prefectural assembly, Kuroda followed Ozawa passing through every party Ozawa created from the Japan Renewal Party (JRP) to the LP. In addition, he showed his loyalty to Ozawa by participating in all three group meetings held by Ozawa in 2010 and 2012 as well as voting for Ozawa in the 2010 presidential election of the DPJ. Accordingly, Kuroda left the DPJ not because of electoral base condition, but because of his loyalty to Ozawa. On the other hand, in the case of Okajima (Chiba 3), he had a strong rival from

the LDP, who was Hirokazu Matsuno. Okajima and Matsuno won elections in turns. Therefore, the fact that Chiba 3 district was not a stable electoral base influenced Okajima's decision to join Ozawa's new party. However, he went into the world of politics through the nomination from the LP in 2001. Even though he lost an election, he followed Ozawa at the time of merger with the DPJ. Moreover, the fact that he showed the flag to Ozawa in the 2010 presidential election and was considered as one of the closest men to Ozawa showed that loyalty made him joined the LF. Consequently, both Kurado and Okajima have strong loyalty to Ozawa, while conditions of their electoral districts were different. Therefore, those who had strong loyalty followed Ozawa's moves regardless of their electoral bases.

Meanwhile, the case of Aichi prefecture shows different decisions of Katsuyoshi Morimoto (Aichi 15) and Katsumasa Suzuki (Aichi 14) who had relatively stable electoral bases. Morimoto did not participate in the LF, although he appeared in August 2010 meeting. According to the fact that he was a first-term politician and has a strong opponent from the LDP in his district, shows Morimoto receiving support from Ozawa was reasonable. However, he decided to remain in the DPJ. In the 2009 election, he was able to win by an overwhelming majority over former winner, Akihiko Yamamoto. In addition, his major challenger, Yamamoto, retired from the politics. For this reason, Morimoto had a

relatively stable electoral base, so he was not desperate to receive support from Ozawa as a first-term politician. On the other hand, the case of Katsumasa Suzuki (Aichi 14) was different. Regarding an electoral base, Suzuki had relatively stable district since he was a third-term politician in this district. In addition, he was able to hold majority whenever he won the election. Moreover, when the severe discussions over defection held in the Ozawa group before the actual defection happened, Suzuki was part of the soft-liners who tried to find out a point of compromise with the Noda administration. Suzuki also showed his concern for his next election by worrying about the DPJ's assassin to his own district<sup>40</sup>. Based on these facts, Suzuki had more possibilities of remaining in the DPJ rather than following Ozawa. However, even though he hesitated to leave the party and had relatively stable electoral district, as shown from his participations in all group meetings, his loyalty to Ozawa made him leave the party. According to the cases of these Morimoto and Suzuki, how much loyalty politicians had toward Ozawa made them take different lines.

Lastly, Iwate prefecture had three Ozawa group members, Takeshi Shina (Iwate 1), Kouji Hata (Iwate 2), and Toru Kikawada (Iwate 3). Since Iwate prefecture is Ozawa's electoral base, it has been strong electoral bases for the Ozawa group as well as the DPJ. However, the prefecture also was the place

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<sup>40</sup> *Asahi Newspaper*, June 1, 2012

damaged by the 3.11 earthquake. Therefore, on the one hand, politicians from Iwate recognized that the remaining in the ruling party would be better to get help for regional revival. On the other hand, the regional support and loyalty to Ozawa should be considered when they make a decision. Consequently, two remained in the ruling DPJ and only one politician followed Ozawa. Compared to electoral districts of two remained politicians and one defector, the difference was found in their electoral stability. Iwate 1 district has been a confident electoral base for the Ozawa group since 1996, and Shina has been elected three times. This is the place where the DPJ, especially Ozawa group won overwhelmingly over the candidate from the LDP. Iwate 3 district is also a similar case. Kikawada has been elected in this district since 2000. Therefore, these two politicians, who have strongly secured electoral bases, decided to stay in the DPJ and try to focus more on the restoration of their regions. On the other hand, although Hata was elected in this district in the 2009 election, Iwate 2 was dominated by Shunichi Suzuki for a decade providing a strong base for the LDP. Therefore, Hata needs Ozawa's support, rather than the DPJ's support, in order to compete with Suzuki for the next election. In conclusion, for politicians in Iwate prefecture, the decision-making of politicians, whether they defect from the DPJ or not, depended on how stable their electoral bases are stable.

Consequently, there were many reasons for politicians' defection from the party. Of all reasons, unstable electoral bases and their loyalty to Ozawa made the Ozawa group member leave the DPJ with Ozawa. Therefore, those who had strong loyalty to Ozawa entered the LF regardless of their electoral status. In addition, in some cases, both loyalty and condition of electoral districts worked simultaneously. They were politicians who did not have strong electoral bases and were in needs of Ozawa's support for the next election, while they also held their loyalty to Ozawa by following every Ozawa's party-switching. In addition, most of the first-term politicians also joined the LF since they also needed Ozawa's support because of their weak electoral bases and lack of political experience. However, those who had strong electoral support decided not to follow Ozawa, rather they remained as members of the ruling party. For these reasons, even in the same prefecture, politicians' decisions varied depending on the electoral stability.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Of four alternatives – ideological cleavages, office/power seeking, institutional incentives, and power struggle – for explaining intra-party cleavages

and party-switching, the combination of policy-seeking and power-seeking alternatives are an appropriate explanation for Ozawa's defection from the DPJ. Ozawa did not leave the DPJ when he was able to pursue one of the two preferences, rather he remained in the party as a veto power against the then incumbent administration. Therefore, under the Kan administration, Ozawa's influence on party affairs was damaged by Kan's action of taking anti-Ozawa line. However, he still sought policy-seeking preference within the DPJ as a leader of the biggest group. Even though policy direction of the Kan cabinet shifted towards relatively practical lines, which made the party move close to the LDP policy, social and foreign policies under Kan still contained elements of the 2009 manifesto. Therefore, for this reason Ozawa decided not to leave the DPJ. Meanwhile, in the beginning of the Noda cabinet, because of Noda's concern for intra-party harmony, Ozawa could have influence on party affairs to some degree, while he was not able to pursue his policy preference. At that time, Ozawa was also hesitant to leave the party. However, Noda tried to pass the tax-increase bill despite there were strong opposition from the Ozawa group. In addition, Noda gave up most of the policies that the DPJ represented in 2009 in order to get supra-partisan cooperation in the House of Representative. Therefore, under the Noda administration, Ozawa made a decision to leave the DPJ when he realized both policy and power seeking goals were not pursuable in the DPJ anymore.

With Ozawa's defection, members of the Ozawa group also had to make their own decision regarding whether they would follow Ozawa or not. The decisions made by members of the Ozawa group were based on the situation in their own electoral districts and their loyalty to Ozawa. Thus, there were three cases. The first case was that those who had strong loyalty to Ozawa joined the LF regardless of stability in their electoral districts. In addition, the second case was that many first- and second- term politicians who needed electoral support from Ozawa had no choice but to take action with Ozawa. On the contrary, the third case was that politicians who have stable electoral bases had tendency not to leave the DPJ with Ozawa. Consequently, Ozawa and his followers defected from the DPJ based on their own calculation regarding political realignment and the next election.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1

### **The Five Pledges of the Democratic Party of Japan**

1. The End of Wasteful Spending
  - a. Rework the national government's 207 trillion yen budget.
  - b. Eradicate wasteful spending of tax money and *amakudari*(golden parachuting).
  - c. Ban "hereditary" Diet seats and political donations by corporations and other organizations, and eliminate 80 seats in the House of Representatives.
2. Childrearing and Education
  - a. Pay a "child allowance" of 312,000 yen per annum for all children until they finish junior high school.
  - b. Make high school education effectively free, and make the university scholarship system much more inclusive.
3. Pensions and Medical Care
  - a. Issue "pension passbooks" to ensure that no more pensions vanish.
  - b. Create a unified pension system and a "minimum guaranteed pension" of at least 70,000 yen a month.
  - c. Abolish the Health Insurance Scheme for People Aged 75 and Over, and increased the number of doctors by 50 percent.
4. Regional Sovereignty

- a. Establish “regional sovereignty.” As the first step, greatly increase the funds under local governments’ independent control.
  - b. Create an individual (household) income support system for agriculture.
  - c. Revitalise local economies by eliminating highway tolls and fundamentally reviewing all postal businesses.
5. Employment and the Economy
- a. Reduce the corporate tax rate for small- and medium-sized enterprises to 11 percent.
  - b. Help job-seekers by paying them a 100,000 yen monthly allowance during job training.
  - c. Strongly promote measures to prevent global warming while fostering new industries.

## Appendix 2

### **Statement by Prime Minister Naoto Kan**

10 August 2010

[Provisional Translation]

This year marks a significant juncture for the Japan-Republic of Korea relationship.

In August precisely one hundred years ago, the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty was concluded, making the beginning of the colonial rule of thirty six years. As demonstrated by strong resistance such as the Samil independence movement, the Korean people of that time was deprived of their country and culture, and their ethnic pride was deeply scarred by the colonial rule which was imposed against their will under the political and military circumstances.

I would like to face history with sincerity. I would like to have courage to squarely confront the facts of history and humility to accept them, as well as to be honest to reflect upon the errors of our own. Those who render pain tend to forget it while those who suffered cannot forget it easily. To the tremendous damage and sufferings that this colonial rule caused, I express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and my heartfelt apology.

Guided by such understanding, I will build a future-oriented Japan-Republic of Korea relationship by placing the next one hundred years to come in my prospect. I will continue in all sincerity conducting such humanitarian cooperation as the assistance to ethnic Koreans left in Sakhalin and the assistance in returning remains of the people from the Korean Peninsula. Moreover, in response to the expectations of the Korean people, I will transfer precious archives originated from the Korean Peninsula that were brought to Japan during the period of Japan's rule through the Governor-General of Korea and the Government of Japan possesses, such as the Royal Protocols of the Joseon Dynasty.

Japan and the Republic of Korea, through active exchanges of cultures and peoples for over two thousand years, deeply share wonderful culture and tradition that are renowned to the world. In addition, the exchange between our two nations today is remarkably multi-layered and wide-ranging, as well as the affinity and friendship which the peoples of our two nations mutually embrace are stronger than ever. Furthermore, the scale of economic relations and people-to-people exchanges between our two nations has dramatically expanded since our

relationship was normalized, and our ties have become extremely solid while both sides have been improving together by friendly rivalry.

Japan and the Republic of Korea have become the most important and closest neighboring nations now in this twenty-first century, sharing such values as democracy, freedom, and market economy. Our relationship is not confined to our bilateral relations, but rather it is a partnership where we cooperate and exercise leadership for the peace and prosperity of the region and the world by encompassing a broad spectrum of agenda: the peace and stability of this region envisioning, among others, the future establishment of an East Asia community, the growth and development of the world's economy, as well as issues of global scale such as nuclear disarmament, climate change, poverty and peace-building.

At this significant juncture of history, I strongly hope that our bond will become even more profound and solid between Japan and the Republic of Korea, and I declare my determination to make every ceaseless effort to open the future between our two nations.

### Appendix 3

<b>Name</b>	<b>Electoral district</b>	<b>Term</b>
Akira Ishii	PR Kita-Kanto	1
Fukushima Kenichiro	Kumamoto 2	1
Hirosato Nakatsugawa	PR Tokyo	3
Hiroshi Kawaguchi	PR Kita-Kanto	1
Hitoshi Hagihara	Osaka 2	1
Humiyoshi Murakami	Osaka 6	1
Katsumasa Suzuki	Aichi 14	3
Kazumasa Okazima	Chiba 3	2
Kazuyoshi Morimoto	Aichi 15	1
Kei Otani	Osaka 15	1
Kiyohito Hashimoto	Miyagi 3	2
Koichiro Watanabe	PR Tokyo	2
Kyoichi Tsushima	PR Tohoku	3
Masae Kobayashi	PR Tokai	1
Megumi Tsuji	Osaka 17	2
Noriko Nakanowatashi	PR Tohoku	1
Seiki Soramoto	Hiroshima 4	1
Takashi Ishizeki	Gunma 2	2
Takeshi Hidaka	Kanagawa 18	3
Takeshi Shina	Iwate 1	2
Tomotaro Kawashima	PR Tokyo	1
Toru Kikawada	Iwate 3	4
Tsuyoshi Yamaguchi	Hyogo 12	2
Wakio Mitsui	Hokkaido 2	4
Yoshihiko Watanabe	PR Kinki	1
Yoshio Maki	Aichi 4	4
Yozaburo Ishihara	Hukushima 1	1
Yuu Kuroda	Chiba 2	1

## Appendix 4

<b>Name</b>	<b>Electoral district</b>	<b>Term</b>
Ai Aoki	Tokyo 12	2
Akira Ishii	PR Kita-Kanto	1
Ben Hashimoto	PR Tokai	1
Chobin Zukeran	Okinawa 4	1
Chouemon Kikuchi	PR Tohoku	1
Deni Tamaki	Okinawa 3	1
Eiko Okamoto	Kanagawa 3	1
Fukushima Kenichiro	Kumamoto 2	1
Hidenori Tachibana	Kanagawa 13	1
Hiroshi Sugekawa	PR Chugoku	1
Hisatsugu Ishimori	Tochigi 1	1
Hitoshi Hagihara	Osaka 2	1
Hokuto Yokoyama	Aomori 1	2
Humiyoshi Murakami	Osaka 6	1
Katsumasa Suzuki	Aichi 14	3
Kazumasa Okazima	Chiba 3	2
kazumi Ota	Hukushima 2	2
Kazumi Yanagita	PR Kita-Kanto	1
Kazuo Takamatsu	PR Tohoku	1
Kei Otani	Osaka 15	1
Kenichi Kaneko	PR Minami-Kanto	1
Kenji Yamaoka	Tochigi 4	5
Kimiko Kyono	Akita 3	1
Kouji Hata	Iwate 2	1
Manabu Kato	Nagano 5	1
Masahiro Oyama	PR Tokai	1
Mashiko Yamada	Nagasaki 3	5
Megumi Tsuji	Osaka 17	2
Noriko Nakanowatashi	PR Tohoku	1
Osamu Nakagawa	Osaka 18	2
Sadatoshi Kumagai	PR Kinki	1

Shino Aihara	PR Minami-Kanto	1
Shozo Azuma	Tokyo 15	5
Takaaki Koga	Hukuoka 4	2
Takeshi Hidaka	Kanagawa 18	3
Takeshi Shina	Iwate 1	2
Taketsuka Kimur	Tokyo 14	1
Tamiko Kasahara	PR Tokai	1
Tetsuhisa Matsuzaki	Saitama 10	2
Tomohiko Mizuno	PR Minami-Kanto	1
Tomotaro Kawashima	PR Tokyo	1
Yasuko Komiyama	Saitama 7	3
Yoshio Maki	Aichi 4	4
Yozaburo Ishihara	Hukushima 1	1
Yukiko Miyake	PR Kita-Kanto	1
Yuu Kuroda	Chiba 2	1

## Appendix 5

<b>Name</b>	<b>Electoral district</b>	<b>Term</b>	<b>Changes in Constituency</b>
Ai Aoki	Tokyo 12	2	LDP→DPJ
Akira Ishii	PR Kita-Kanto	1	
Chouemon Kikuchi	PR Tohoku	1	
Deni Tamaki	Okinawa 3	1	LDP→DPJ
Eiko Okamoto	Kanagawa 3	1	LDP→DPJ
Fukushima Kenichiro	Kumamoto 2	1	LDP→DPJ
Hiroshi Sugekawa	PR Chugoku	1	
Hitoshi Hagihara	Osaka 2	1	LDP→DPJ
Hokuto Yokoyama	Aomori 1	2	LDP→DPJ
Humiyoshi Murakami	Osaka 6	1	CGP→DPJ
Katsumasa Suzuki	Aichi 14	3	DPJ
Kazumasa Okazima	Chiba 3	2	LDP→DPJ
kazumi Ota	Hukushima 2	2	LDP→DPJ
Kazuo Takamatsu	PR Kita-Tohoku	1	
Kei Otani	Osaka 15	1	LDP→DPJ
Kenichi Kaneko	PR Minami-Kanto	1	
Kenji Yamaoka	Tochigi 4	5	LDP→DPJ
Kimiko Kyono	Akita 3	1	LDP→DPJ
Kouji Hata	Iwate 2	1	LDP→DPJ
Manabu Kato	Nagano 5	1	LDP→DPJ
Masahiro Oyama	PR Tokai	1	
Noriko Nakanowatashi	PR Tohoku	1	
Sadatoshi Kumagai	PR Kinki	1	
Shino Aihara	PR Minami-Kanto	1	
Shozo Azuma	Tokyo 15	5	LDP→DPJ
Takaaki Koga	Hukuoka 4	2	LDP→DPJ
Takeshi Hidaka	Kanagawa 18	3	LDP→DPJ
Taketsuka Kimur	Tokyo 14	1	LDP→DPJ
Tamiko Kasahara	PR Tokai	1	
Tetsuhisa Matsuzaki	Saitama 10	2	LDP→DPJ

Tomohiko Mizuno	PR Minami-Kanto	1	
Tomotaro Kawashima	PR Tokyo	1	
Yasuko Komiyama	Saitama 7	3	LDP→DPJ
Yoshio Maki	Aichi 4	4	DPJ
Yozaburo Ishihara	Hukushima 1	1	LDP→DPJ
Yukiko Miyake	PR Kita-Kanto	1	
Yuu Kuroda	Chiba 2	1	LDP→DPJ

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## 국문초록

# 당내 갈등으로부터 탈당까지: 오자와의 민주당 탈당에 관한 연구

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1996년 창당 이래 민주당은 다양한 정치적 배경을 지닌 의원들을 흡수하며 포괄정당으로 성장하였다. 따라서 이렇듯 다양한 의원구성으로 인해 당내 갈등은 민주당에게 있어서 새로운 것이 아니었다. 2009년 총선거까지는 민주당의 지도자들이 당내 그룹들 간의 갈등을 상대적으로 잘 조정해왔지만, 2009년 정권을 잡은 이후 매니페스토 수정 문제를 두고 당내 갈등이 점점 더 심화되었다.

이러한 정당 내의 갈등을 설명하는 네 가지 요인 중, 정책추구와 권력의 추구, 이 두 가지가 오자와 탈당의 주요 원인이 되었다. 민주당의 2009년 매니페스토는 오자와의 정치적 아이디어를 바탕으로 작성되었고, 간사장으로서 오자와는 민주당의 당 운영에 상당한 영향력을 가질 수 있었다. 따라서 하토야마 정권하에서 오자와는 정책과 권력 두 가지 모두를 추구하는 것이 가능했다. 그러나 간 내각이 들어서는 것과 함께 탈오자와 노선을 취함으로써 오자와의 당내 영향력은 약화되기 시작하였다. 민주당의 정책 또한 현실적인 노선으로 전환되었지만, 여전히 기존의 민주당 선거공약을 담고 있었다. 따라서 간 내각하에서 오자와는 비록 민주당 내에서 권력을 잡을 수는 없었지만, 그의 정치적 이념이 담긴 민주당의 정책은 여전히 남아있었기에 그는 당을 떠나기보다는 견제 세력으로서 민주당에 남아 있었다.

한편, 노다 정권이 들어서면서 상황이 변하기 시작했다. 노다 정권의 초기, 소비증세 법안 통과와 추진 등으로 인해 민주당의 정책 방향이 완전히 전환되어 자민당과 비슷한 노선을 걷기 시작했다. 하지만 노다의 당내 융합정책으로 오자와의 정치적인 영향력은 어느 정도 회복되었다. 따라서 초기의 노다 정권하에서는 오자와 본인이 원하는 정책의 추구는 불가능하게 되었지만, 여전히 당내에서 높은 영향력을 가지고 있기에, 오자와는 탈당보다는 당에 잔류하는 쪽을 선택하였다. 그러나 소비세 증세 법안의 통과 과정에서 초당파적인 협력을 얻기 위해서 노다 내각은 오자와 그룹의 강한 반대에도 불구하고 2009년 선거공약 대부분을 포기하게 되고, 마침내 소비증세 법안이 통과되었다. 또한, 민주당 내에서 오자와의 정치적 영향력이 점차 줄어들자 오자와는 민주당 내에서 정책추구와 권력 중 어느 한 가지도 추구할 수 없다는 것을 깨닫고, 탈당을 감행해 신당을 창당하게 되었다.

한편, 오자와 그룹의 의원들은 오자와의 신당에 참여하느냐 마느냐를 두고 분열되었다. 이런 오자와 그룹을 오자와에 대한 그들의 충성심과 선거구 사정에 따라 서로 다른 결정을 내렸다. 우선, 오자와에 대한 충성심이 강한 의원들은 선거구 기반과 관계없이 오자와의 탈당에 합류했다. 선거구 기반이 약한 초선, 재선 의원들 또한 오자와의 신당에 참여하였다. 반면에 선거구의 기반이 상대적으로 안정적인 의원들의 경우에는 탈당에 참여하지 않고 집권당인 민주당에 잔류하였다. 따라서 오자와의 탈당은 물론, 오자와 그룹 의원들의 결정은 여러 가지 조건들을 고려한 끝에 합리적으로 선택한 결과이다.

**키워드:** 민주당, 당내 갈등, 정당간 이동, 오자와 그룹, 국민생활이 제일당

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