MODERN JAPANESE POLITICAL THOUGHT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Edited by FELIX RÖSCH
and ATSUKO WATANABE

GLOBAL DIALOGUES

Modern Japanese Political Thought and International Relations

Global Dialogues: Developing Non-Eurocentric IR and IPE

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ROWMAN &
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London • New York

Published by Rowman & Littlefield International Ltd
Unit A, Whitacre Mews, 26-34 Stannary Street, London SE11 4AB
www.rowmaninternational.com

Rowman & Littlefield International Ltd. is an affiliate of Rowman & Littlefield
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706, USA
With additional offices in Boulder, New York, Toronto (Canada), and Plymouth (UK)
www.rowman.com

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: HB 978-1-7866-0367-8
PB 978-1-7866-0368-5

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Is Available

ISBN 978-1-78660-367-8 (cloth: alk. paper)
ISBN 978-1-78660-368-5 (pbk: alk. paper)
ISBN 978-1-78660-369-2 (electronic)

∞™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

Contents

Acknowledgments

In many respects, thinking about this volume began several years ago at a workshop organized by Hartmut Behr for a different project in Newcastle. Through our common interest in Japanese political thought and intellectual exchanges since the nineteenth century between Japan and Central Europe (*Mitteleuropa*), we quickly realized that to date no attempt has been undertaken to chart a comprehensive map of connections between Japanese political thought and International Relations. Certainly, similar endeavors exist for East Asian studies, history, philosophy, and political theory, but not in our discipline. To encourage a more thorough investigation of these connections and to provide a first attempt of it, we began working on this project in 2014.

Since then, we were fortunate enough to collaborate with a group of colleagues working in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom, from various disciplines in the social sciences and humanities who embarked with us on this ambitious project. We are deeply grateful for their commitment to this project, bringing in their expertise and collegiality. First drafts of individual chapters have been shared with colleagues at the 2015 ISA Annual Convention in New Orleans, the 2016 ISA Asia-Pacific Conference in Hong Kong, and the 2017 WISC Conference in Taipei. Through the generous support of Coventry University (Pump Prime Grant), we were able to organize a workshop in Kakunodate (Akita Prefecture) in 2016, which allowed us to discuss our papers in depth. Our particular thanks go to Tetsuya Toyoda for suggesting this picturesque former samurai town in Northern Japan and taking us to the Mikaeri-no-Taki Waterfall. We also thank the staff of the Tamachi Bukeyashiki Hotel and Taenoyu Onsen for making our stay so memorable.

Working on a book project and even more so on an edited volume, however, would not come to fruition without the support of many people beyond the editors and contributors. We are particularly grateful to the series editors,

L. H. M. Ling and John M. Hobson, for accepting our volume for *Global Dialogues: Developing Non-Eurocentric IR and IPE* and Dhara Snowden and Rebecca Anastasi at Rowman & Littlefield for guiding us through the publication process. Equally, we thank Yong Soo Eun, Michael Gardiner, Ryūhei Hatsuse, Josuke Ikeda, Giorgio Shani, Chih-yu Shih, Reiko Shindo, and the anonymous reviewers at Rowman & Littlefield for their generous support at various stages of this project.

We hope this book will inspire a deeper engagement with political thought in Japan, its exchanges with the rest of Asia, Central Europe, and beyond, and further critical awareness about International Relations as an academic discipline and shared practice.

Tōkyō and Coventry
January 2018

Introduction

Japan as Potential: Communicating across Boundaries for a Global International Relations

Felix Rösch and Atsuko Watanabe

REFRAMING DIALOGUE

"[T]he academy's most overtly 'international' discipline is finally going 'global,'" Julian Go and George Lawson (2017: 2) recently noted. After decades of essentializing international politics from a relatively small part of the world commonly identified as the "West," International Relations (IR) has gradually moved from spatiotemporally conditioned concepts like the state or anarchy and has opened itself up to "the study of differences" (Inayatullah and Blaney 2004: 17) and "border-crossings" (cf. Agathangelou and Ling 2004; Valbjørn 2008; Acharya 2011; Tickner and Blaney 2012; Blaney and Tickner 2017).

While contributions to this endeavor are coming from a range of perspectives, most notably but not exclusively feminism, postcolonialism, historical sociology, comparative political theory, political geography, and global intellectual history, all are driven by similar ambitions to establish a "global dialogue" (Bleiker 2004: 135; also Dallmayr 2001, 2004; Acharya 2011). With this ambition, IR has been able to excavate and challenge its disciplinary origins in colonial administration, highlighting that many of its debates, interests, and concepts are rooted in a specific spatiotemporal conditioned ("Western") perspective (cf. Hobson 2004, 2012; Hoeber Rudolph 2005; Behr and Rösch 2010; Shilliam 2010; Ashworth 2014; Anievas and Matin 2016; Go and Lawson 2017). They demonstrated that IR suffered from an "'imperial gaze' that theorized non-Western populations through racialized lenses that essentialized and homogenized those populations while occluding alternative perspectives" (Go 2016: 4) to the effect that "any theoretical comprehension of the 'international' as a thick space of interconnection and co-constitutive societal differentiation" (Anievas and Matin 2016: 1) has been missing until recently.

Modern Japanese Political Thought and International Relations contributes to this growing literature on differences in IR by taking a Japanese lens in aspiring to "unlearn" (Rösch 2017; Bilgin and Ling 2017) this imperial gaze. In this respect, one might wonder how studying the thought of one particular state—seemingly, an obsolete political community in a globalized world—might be helpful. Yet, our aspiration is not to rehabilitate Japanese political thought (March 2009: 542). Others have covered its comprehensive history ever since Japan was catapulted into Western modernity with the arrival of Commodore Perry's black ships (*kurofune*) into Edo Bay in 1853 (cf. Wakabayashi 1998; Oguma 2002; Calichman 2005; Piovesana 2013). Rather, by considering Japan's interconnectedness with the wider Asia-Pacific and the world (Iacobelli, Leary, and Takahashi 2016), making it a knowledge exchange "hub" (Yamamuro 2001), we understand Japan as a "potential" (Mae 2007: 297), exploring the way political thought dealt with the manifold encounters of differences, trying to reconcile its emotional and intellectual commitments.

As such, provocatively put, this book aims to decolonize the idea of a dialogue itself. This idea is "culturally rooted in the European intellectual tradition" (Shogimen 2016: 325) and nearly absent in non-Western discourses, as evidenced in Japan. Aiming to going global, therefore, might paradoxically run the risk of reiterating rather than dissolving the imperial gaze of IR by falling back to a hegemonically imposed monologue, as Fred Dallmayr (2001, 2004) has warned. To avoid this risk, in agreement with Naoki Sakai (1997, 2007), we do not aim to demonstrate an alternative way of conceiving dialogue, but to reframe it. Communication thus aims not for commonality as the fundament for dialogue but the opportunity to realize the particularities of the Self by exposing it to the Other. Hence, the dialogue we want to investigate is a product of *difference*. As Erich Auerbach (1969: 2) put it for the case of *Weltliteratur* (world literature), communicating globally and therefore beyond boundaries "does not merely refer to what is generically common and human; rather it considers humanity to be the product of fruitful intercourse between its members [*wechselseitige Befruchtung des Mannigfaltigen*]. The presupposition of *Weltliteratur* is a *felix culpa*: mankind's division into many cultures." Our interest is therefore "excess," the "singularity that is incommensurate with the Same [that] has to be eliminated" (Sakai 1997: 71) in a European style dialogue. Each contribution to this volume then shows "different pathways" to understand difference as excess.

At first sight, Japan seems ill-fitted for this endeavor because its modern history apparently solidifies the conventional format of dialogue. Not only was Japan the first follower of the West in the non-Western world but having aimed to surpass its dependence from the West by building its own empire, Japan was eventually defeated by the West in World War II. However,

although we do not intend to averse this view, we argue that by focusing on Japan's own transformation throughout modernity, the above-mentioned way to understand dialogue crystallizes. The work of Japanese scholars like Masao Maruyama[1] (1976) has been driven by an ambition to go beyond what appears universal and ubiquitous to highlight the particularities of humanity (Watanabe 2017). Maruyama (1997) states that theories and worldviews as the first layer of political thought are buttressed by the second layer of imagination of the world to further our everyday (Yonehara 2007; Rösch and Watanabe 2017). In order to be appropriated, foreign ideas have to be supported by both. It follows that the apparent hegemonic worldview can be buttressed by different *everydays* (Maruyama 1964; Havel 2009), which contest this hegemonic view because trivial differences or "nonidentities" (Marcon 2016: 111),[2] emerging in thought processes in which all of us engage, facilitate dialogue in practice rather than processes of abstraction as argued for in conventional understandings of dialogue.

By studying the (re)shaping of these particularities (Shogimen 2016: 343) in Japan in the light of constant encounters of differences and their evolvement through "localization" (Acharya 2016: 4), exportation, and reimportation, we look for a way of communication whose "borders are made permeable not by means of prior intellectual or ethnic background, but by means of very hard work," as Leigh Jenco (2007: 752–53; similar Sakai 2007: 189–90) writes. Understanding communication as the sustainment of particularities rather than a dialogue in the conventional sense enables IR scholars to reimagine the global and argue for a "universal particularism" that Christopher Goto-Jones (2005: 94–96) identifies in the work of Kyoto School members. Better paraphrased as "universal singularity" to more precisely capture Kitarō Nishida's (1982) emphasis on *kobutsu* (*das Einzelne*), Rosa Vasilaki (2012: 20–21) further maintains that "the 'universal' is not fixed or timeless, but an open-ended project to be built according to the given historical circumstances by all those who share a commitment to the subversion of relations of domination within and beyond IR" (also Ikeda 2011).

It is for this reason—the aim to decolonize the idea of dialogue, while not renouncing the prospects of a global discipline—that we adopt Amitav Acharya's (2014; 2016) recently coined term of a "Global IR." It is not without reservation that we employ this term, as further expounded below, but, having been popularized at the 2015 ISA Annual Convention, presided by Pinar Bilgin and L. H. M. Ling, this term does not only allow to subsume the efforts of various IR scholars, but it also allows, if carefully defined, to stress the particularities of international political thought without falling into the trap of essentializing it again or sustaining an imperial gaze.

Viewing Japan as a potential contributor toward a Global IR, the contributions to this volume engage with modern Japanese political thought through

the lens of international law, colonialism, localization of (Western) concepts, and popular culture with a particular focus on encounters of difference since the nineteenth century. To provide their context, this introduction has to answer three questions that this focus evokes. First, what do we mean by encountering difference since the nineteenth century? Second, what do we mean by Global IR? Finally, what do we mean by speaking of Japan and Japanese political thought? In other words, how do we imagine Japan (Bellah 2003)?

WHEN AND WHERE WAS THE NINETEENTH CENTURY FOR JAPAN?

To answer the above questions, posed by Jürgen Osterhammel (2014: vii) in his *The Transformation of the World*, we could have simply taken the relatively arbitrary distinction of the Gregorian calendar (1800–1900) or settled for Eric Hobsbawm's (1987: 8) "long nineteenth century," lasting from 1789 to 1914. However, although these latter dates had implications on a global scale, they still gaze at the world from a Eurocentric perspective. The same goes for the Gregorian calendar, which did not became commonly accepted even in Europe until the eighteenth century and outside of Europe until the nineteenth century, despite having been developed in 1582. China only adopted it in 1949 and, although Japan introduced it already in 1873, it still runs its own periodization system based on imperial rule since the seventh century. Hence, at the time of the publication of this book, Japan is in Heisei 30, the year before the current Tennō will abdicate.[3]

To reflect these spatiotemporal issues of classification, we engage with Osterhammel's questions by conceiving of the nineteenth century in consideration of Buzan's and Lawson's (2015) "The Global Transformation." In this work, the authors show that the sociopolitical and economic changes were so profound at this time that they affect international politics to this day. During this time period, Europe overcame its "derivative late development" (Hobson 2004: 190) and strengthened its global domination. However, this does not mean that Europe independently undertook these processes of modernization or that it was the only region of the world experiencing transformations; rather, it depended upon the continuous, often violent exchange of knowledge, goods, and people with the rest of the world. It is for this reason that the modernity that we locate in the nineteenth century has to be understood as a "condition" that is "improvisational," "blended," "conjunctural" (Gluck 2011: 683, 685), and "co-eval" (Bonnett 2004: 61).

If we apply this understanding to Japan, the beginning of modernity ("Westernization") for Japan is not as straightforward as it seems. Commonly

located with the arrival of the black ships and the Meiji Restoration, as Japan was relatively closed off during the Tokugawa shogunate from the Western sphere of influence due to its *sakoku* policy (since 1633–1639), restricting foreign access to a few places like Dejima (an artificial island in the harbor of Nagasaki), recent contributions assert that *sakoku* was largely a myth, jointly excogitated by Japan and the West. Indeed, this kind of policy was common in East Asia and, therefore, is better understood as a way international relations worked in the region (Arano 1988; 2012; Mitani 2003; Ōshima 2009). Due to this revision, it was debated to remove *sakoku* from Japanese elementary school and junior high school textbooks (*Mainichi Shimbun* 2017).

Still, Maruyama (1967: 117) argues that Japan was "suddenly confronted with the 'international society' . . . forcing [Japan] to build a '*national identity*' (*Wir-Sein*), separating itself from the world, and in doing so, adapt to the international political order." This awareness led to concerted knowledge-seeking efforts by sending several missions abroad between 1860 to 1873 (Reinhard 2016: 844), with the Iwakura Mission being the most famous, and the later establishment of more permanent legations (Cobbing 2017) as well as concerted efforts of translating sociopolitical and legal concepts into Japanese (Howland 2002). However, if the aforementioned revision reflects Japan's "Westernization" in a more nuanced way, the Meiji Restoration must be understood in terms not only of a break, but also of continuity. This means that, already attaining the condition of its own modernity, Japan in the late nineteenth century was exposed to another modernity. In this respect, Tōkoku Kitamura (1893) was right to argue that the Meiji Restoration was "not a revolution but a transition." Its national identity was not newly developed but renewed, having the international political order transited from one to another. Japan did not remember this history to date because "the past does not enable us to recall the excess" and not because we "romanticize" the past (Kobayashi 1961: 76). However, the excess is returning, letting us imagine Japan differently.

Enlightenment scholars like Amane Nishi (Havens 1970) and Yukichi Fukuzawa (2009) did not merely translate Western concepts but forged them through transition. In fact, many important concepts like diplomacy, society, territory, philosophy, and love were absent in Japanese vocabularies. This does not mean that they were created out of nothing. Throughout the creative struggle over knowledge, these concepts evolved in manifold, unsynthesizable parallels (Rösch and Watanabe 2017) between Japan, East Asia, and the West, containing multiple pasts. The process led to unique contributions to political thought, as, for example, highlighted by Ryoko Nakano (2013) for the world political imaginary of Tadao Yanaihara (also Aydin 2007).

The nineteenth century in this context did not end for Japan with the outbreak of World War I, but continues today. Although Japan seemingly

quickly adapted European sociopolitical and cultural conventions, as reified in the Rokumeikan, it found itself in a conundrum, as it was still not accepted into the Western dominated international society, being perceived as "abnormal" (Hagström 2015: 122) and even as a "freak" (Hopf 2017: 17; also Hook et al. 2005; Suzuki 2009). Partly as a consequence to this rejection, Japanese intellectuals discussed possibilities of "overcoming modernity" (Calichman 2008), that is, diverging from Western standards of development and adopting imperialist policies, leading to the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895); the latter ending the First Sino-Japanese War and effectively rendering Taiwan into a Japanese colony. It also caused the Mukden Incident (1931), marking the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which the Japanese government insisted occurred out of self-defense.

As Eri Hotta (2007: 2–6) explains, this conflict was referred to as, officially, *Daitōa Sensō* (Greater East Asian War) during the war and today is termed "the previous war" by the Japanese government. As such, this is still a politically contentious issue in Japan. There is reason to suggest calling it a Fifteen-Years War (Weber 2012: 148) to denote its prolonged temporal aspect or the Asia-Pacific War to highlight its geographical space (*Verortung*). While we do not settle for a specific term for this war, a way to understand this confusion is part of the struggle over globalization of knowledge and its changing subjectivity throughout not only of a "hinge period" (Osterhammel 2014: 918) that would cover the 1920s and 1930s, but a "constitutive experimental phase" (Kunkel and Meyer 2012: 9) that started in the 1850s and continued beyond the end of the war (Hotta 2007: 104). Indeed, in Japan, this has been called "the issue of historical perspectives (*shikan mondai*)," in which not only historical questions of racism, colonialism, capitalism, and Marxism are seen (Ueyama 1964), but also the validity of geographical divides like the ones between East and West and Asia and Europe. In this context, all monikers reflect partial (institutionalized) fact as well as fiction to support the fact (Maruyama 1964: 487). As a consequence, framing the Japanese self and that of the other, and consequently what Japan is, differs. During this long nineteenth century, Japan has experienced a series of perceptional breaks in this respect, taking place in accordance with wider ideological transformations globally. Then, one might argue, that the ongoing revisionist move is finally marking the end of Japan's long nineteenth century.

RECONFIGURING GLOBAL IR

With Global IR, Acharya (2016: 4) aims to transcend the Western dominance of the discipline and "embrace greater diversity." While this aim is indisputable, approaches as to how to reach this goal are contested, as Bilgin

(2016) rightfully stresses by asking "how to do Global IR?" In a series of essays, Acharya proposed to search for concepts beyond the Western canon, initially calling them "local produce" (Acharya and Buzan 2007: 296), and apply them on a wider scale to add different perspectives to enhance our understanding about international politics. In his ISA presidential address, for example, Acharya (2014: 650) urges "to develop concepts and approaches from non-Western contexts *on their own terms* and to apply them not only locally, but also to other contexts" (also Acharya 2016: 14).

However, merely adding voices to the Western nomenclature may not constitute a Global IR (Liu and Vaughan-Williams 2014: 3). Rather, as Ching-Chang Chen (2011: 4) maintains, this approach may reproduce "the logic of colonial modernity rather than disrupting it" because much of what is produced in terms of international political thought in East Asia operates with frameworks delineated from Western scholarship (also Go 2016: 6). By merely following "historicist trajectories laid down by the West" (Chen 2011: 16), the danger of creating particularistic national schools rather than a Global IR (Buzan 2016) exists, as recent attempts to forge a Chinese IR highlight (Kristensen 2016). Differently put, the historicist attitude that is evoked here would be a mimicry of Western understandings (Sakai 1997). Thus, trying to "catch up" does not allow to transcend IR's imperial gaze, and the binary between the West and non-West would not be overcome, but essentialized. Operating with the assumption that both have had distinctive, separate historic trajectories, Western scholarship would be able to maintain its hegemonic grip over scholarship produced elsewhere (Shani 2008; Chen 2011; Liu and Vaughan-Williams 2014).

If adding non-Western voices is not enough, how (if at all) is a Global IR possible? To approximate this question, we consider Go's (2016: 2) recent intervention to turn "south" "by attending the concerns, categories, experiences and practices of subaltern subjects at the bottom of global hierarchies." While at first glance Japan does not seem to easily fit this category, it provides in its long nineteenth century such a standpoint, or rather, standpoints, as contributions to this volume highlight. Go (2016) proceeds to connect this standpoint with what he terms a perspectival realism. Similar to epistemological stances taken by classical realists (cf. Molloy 2006; Rösch 2016; Behr and Williams 2017), Go's realism treats knowledge as perspectivist, meaning that its validity is not absolute but rests on spatiotemporal relations that establish convergence through expressing their antagonisms. This implies that knowledge can only be partial, allowing for the possibility of multiple truths (Go 2016: 6–7).

Approaching Global IR through a southern standpoint with a realist lens enables us to perceive "global" not as an ontological category, but as an encompassing one "that mark[s] out spatial and analytical *scales* of social

interaction" (Go and Lawson 2017: 4). In this way, global resonates with place in Nishida's sense, as "it cannot be objectified, for it were, it would simply be another 'being' and not the 'place' of being" (Arisaka 1997: 552; also Watanabe 2017). However, Go's terminology ("the south") also creates limitations. As discussed, Japan's changing perspectives calls into question the validity of geographical divides in world politics (Ó Tuathail 1996). Or it is the adjective "geographical" per se that restricts perspectival realism, as it limits historical aspects which can ultimately lead to geographical determinism. The Japanese debate of historical perspectives adumbrates that even in a geographical community, there is no sole perspective but only perspectives. Thus, space and time must be considered as space-time (Harvey 2006). In order to get a more comprehensive picture about the complexity of world politics, we should contextualize the relations through which knowledge has been exchanged with a careful assessment of the power relations enshrined in these knowledge exchanges. This procedure has to avoid the perpetuation of a hegemonic standpoint, be they Western, Japanese, a "unique 'Yamato soul'" (Dower 2012: 49), or even southern, as there is no "global standpoint" (Shogimen 2016: 327). Then, how can we conceive of the diverse (and changing) perspectives of Global IR simultaneously without losing spatiality and still not falling into a geopolitical trap?

JAPAN AS POTENTIAL

In our investigation, Japan is reconceived as a space of manifold social relations in which people engage to give meaning to their life-worlds through a specific intellectual style. People in different contexts see different conditions in this space. Though the people living in this space are never the same, the geographical confinement in which people experience their everyday gives them a common denominator. For this investigation, we go beyond IR as a discipline. Indeed, the academic division is misleading for nineteenth-century Japan, as academic disciplines in the Western sense were only introduced after the Meiji Restoration (Arisaka 1997: 543) and even the works of scholars like Nishi or Fukuzawa cannot be simply classified as philosophical, sociological, or political. Rather, they were polymaths, accompanying Japan's Westernization as translators, educators, journalists, political thinkers, and public officials. Although we use the term Japanese political thought, we agree with Goto-Jones (2005: 3; also Jones 2003) that "political philosophy [in Japan] was a richly textured landscape . . . [that] contained a wide variety of distinct political concepts, each of which was contested within a healthy and lively discourse . . . [that relied] on a combination of both Asian intellectual traditions *and* European philosophical conventions." It is posited as

an experimental field of global knowledge interaction, or a heuristic device, in which people (not just "Japanese") staying in the community deliberately studied foreign knowledge, sustaining each singularity. It is not just a structured dialogue, but various unexpected encounters in which people were learning and teaching at the same time. As we have demonstrated elsewhere (Rösch 2014; Rösch and Watanabe 2017), such encounters often accommodate misunderstandings because they are integral to learning. The encounters we examine are therefore singular events blending and overlapping with other singularities in this unique space called modern Japan, which is imagined differently by each of them at each space-time intersection.

This space is evocative because encounters revolving in it contain a lot of excess. While people were ardent followers of the West, they still have kept their singularities. Because Japan has not been colonized, people voluntarily interpreted foreign knowledge in this relatively closed space. They further developed their own fruits of learning and used knowledge largely in their own language for their own purposes. At the same time, however, this apparent autonomy was never truly autonomous because it has been exposed in continuous knowledge exchanges by people going in and out of this space (on the redrawing of Japan's borders, see Morris-Suzuki 2016). This is evidenced in the evolving discourse of *sakoku*, the modern wars Japan has fought, and therefore the historical perspectives. Thus, Japan can be observed as a showcase of changing relations of space and power in world politics. It is strictly in this sense that we call the target of our collective investigations "Japanese political thought" and not because we want to explicate the thought to provide different theories for students of IR. By investigating the struggles to understand/develop ideas, concepts, and theories in Japan, our aim is to rethink how our globe as a political space has come to be perceived as such, despite the differences among us. In this respect, the "uniqueness" of Japanese political thought is only one example of such diversity. We investigate this place not because Japan is unique, but on the contrary, because it can exemplify the diversity of knowledge. In perceiving this potential of Japan, we believe we can find one way to understand the diversity of world politics, which is increasingly becoming discernible, providing a basis for Global IR.

OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

To highlight this potential, this book discusses Japanese political thought and its relevance for IR not in isolation, but the individual chapters acknowledge connections, overlaps, and simultaneous coexistences across borders, that is, "potentialities working themselves out in process" (Levenson 1965: 10). To this end, it is divided into four parts, each of which comprise three chapters.

The first two parts, titled "Challenging International Law and toward a Global IR? Investigations into Japan's Entry into the Westphalian System of Nation-States" and "Empire-Building or in Search for Global Peace? Japanese Political Thought's Encounter with the West," mainly, but not exclusively, deal with pre-World War II Japan. Its chapters highlight how, particularly through international law, the forced opening to a Western dominated international society was also actively supported by Japanese intellectuals, as epitomized by Yukichi Fukuzawa, urging in one of the editorials of his newspaper *Jiji-Shinpō*, "that Japan must re-invent itself as Western" (Bonnett 2004: 67). In the resulting spaces of "in-between-ness" (Ikeda 2008: 20), Japanese thinkers sought to gain (self)awareness through the realization of differences. As the chapters in these two parts demonstrate, they managed to fork out these differences, despite this process being hampered by "the imperatives of 'science' and the core-periphery dynamics central to global knowledge production [that made it] difficult for difference to make a difference" (Blaney and Tickner 2013: 7). Eventually, therefore, their ambitions failed, as the West did not accept Japan on equal grounds, and partly as a consequence, Japan embarked on a violent journey of empire building, fighting numerous wars in the Asia-Pacific (Buzan and Lawson 2013: 629).

In the first chapter, Atsuko Watanabe and Ariel Shangguan trace the introduction of Western international law to China and subsequently to Japan in the mid-1800s. By examining how the idea of the international became international, they demonstrate that international law was not merely imposed on these countries, but that it triggered different imaginations of international law. In doing so, Watanabe and Shangguan broaden the focus of current global intellectual history by not only focusing on dialogues among elites, but also including the perspectives of locals, domesticating ideas through developing their own methods of inquiry in popular imaginations. This is followed in the second chapter by Tetsuya Toyoda's study on Mineichirō Adachi, a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice ("World Court") during the early twentieth century. Through investigating Adachi's influence on the "World Court," who managed to include the notion of "civilized nations" into the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Toyoda questions assumptions that Japan would have embraced Westernization unreservedly, but, invoking Homi Bhabha's (1994) "mimicry," it early on challenged it. Indeed, Adachi's cunning bargaining allowed him to balance concerns by both the Permanent Court and the Japanese government to eventually have this notion included into the statute, achieving his aim to promote plurality among nations. In the final chapter of this section, Kevin Doak presents Kōtarō Tanaka, an underappreciated early twentieth-century Japanese scholar in Western academia. Being influenced by Catholicism and personal experiences in South America, Tanaka was one of the first scholars to have developed a theoretical account of international

culture, much of which resonates with more contemporary critical IR scholarship. His "transnationalism" was based on a critique of basic assumptions of international politics. Particularly the notion of state sovereignty as the foundation of law, and even of the state as the ultimate unit of international politics, was challenged by Tanaka and, consequently, he perceived society, rather than the state, as the key collective body for local and global cultural relations.

The opening chapter of part II begins with a discussion of Fukuzawa, arguably one of the most important Meiji intellectuals, and among others founder of Keio University. In this chapter, Atsuko Watanabe questions common understandings of the concept of region in IR, contributing to the spatial turn in the discipline. In doing so, this chapter identifies an essential tension in Japan's geopolitical imagination between "the state" as an imported concept and historically-developed East Asian international relations, arguing that Fukuzawa tried to overcome this tension by unlearning the local regional order, which he thought had to be replaced with a Western regional order. In the fifth chapter, Seiko Mimaki investigates the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations, a transpacific non-governmental organization (NGO) that promoted peace and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region during the interwar years. The work of the institute's members was characterized by a critique of legalistic-moralistic approaches, which widely permeated Anglo-American notions of peace during this time. By highlighting that these notions were based on intellectual statism, having been elaborated without consideration of non-Western perspectives, Japanese scholars criticized Anglo-American worldviews for their objectification of the non-Western world. In her chapter, Mimaki, however, not only engages the institute's thoughts on how to establish peaceful change, but she also calls IR's disciplinary history into question. Given that this institute was established in 1925, three years before the International Studies Conference (Long 2006), Mimaki, concurring with recent IR scholarship (cf. Carvalho, Leira, and Hobson 2011), challenges common readings of IR being a discipline that has been exclusively formed in Europe and North America. Finally, Ryoko Nakano provides a discussion of the works of pluralist scholars such as Inazō Nitobe and Tadao Yanaihara, with the aim to shed light on the dilemma of humanitarian aid and development assistance as a vehicle to sustain the liberal international order. As Nakano shows, a critical reading of their works contests the rigid structure of the nation-state framework, while it also highlights the tension within liberalism/pluralism in the hegemonic order.

By studying Japanese conceptual discourses, demonstrating how "theories" travel, to use Edward Saïd's terminology, the third part, "Local(ized) Japanese Political Concepts for a Twenty-First Century International Relations," critically engages with Claudia Derichs's (2017: 15) recent intervention that "localised knowledge in Asian IR theory building is an under-researched

and conceptually under-developed topic." In chapter 7, Eiji Oguma provides the reader with a genealogical account of "people" in Japanese. This term, frequently changing between *minzoku*, *kokumin*, and *shimin* in Japanese discourses over the course of the twentieth century, provides for an impressive account of how ideas and concepts develop over time, reflecting changes in the wider sociopolitical and economic fabric. While social movements in the 1950s, aiming to engage people at large, were concerned about the establishment of American military bases in Japan, the 1960s, an economic boom period, saw the rise of environmental movements and widespread student protests. In light of the rapid urbanization, social movements continued to spread well into the 1970s, but started to wane as of the 1980s. It was not until the 2011 Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster that the Japanese reengaged in social movements to challenge government policies. A careful spatiotemporal contextualization of discourses surrounding these movements is not only required to understand the connotations of these different terms, sometimes altering the meaning of "people" dramatically, but they can also highlight how "non-Western" political subjectivity is possible and what kind of thought people create in a limited sociohistorical context. In chapter 8, Misato Matsuoka reconsiders the concept of *amae*, originally developed by the Japanese psychoanalyst Takeo Doi in the context of Japan's discourse of uniqueness (Derichs 2017: 18). While this led to assumptions of *amae* being only applicable within a Japanese context, Matsuoka challenges this reading in her chapter. By investigating Japanese-American nuclear politics, she demonstrates that *amae* can be conceptualized beyond the Japanese context and it allows to gain fresh insights about contemporary dependency theory. In the final chapter of this section, Hiroyuki Tosa excavates the Japanese overcoming modernity debate in the interwar years. In this chapter, Tosa not only demonstrates that this debate is still ongoing and in recent years even intensifying, but that it also allows to consider the possibility of a new regionalism in world politics, encouraging imagination of different pluralist world orders.

The final section is titled "Forming an Imagined Community, yet Reaching People Globally? Japanese Popular Culture in Historical Perspective." Even prior to the Meiji Restoration, popular culture played an important role in political theorizing in Japan and since then it created spaces of in-betweenness beyond the Japanese archipelago in which its particularities have informed universal aspects of humanity. Sean O'Reilly begins this section with his chapter on Shōin Yoshida. In a diachronic analysis of the mythology surrounding this short-lived, relatively unknown early nineteenth-century thinker, turning into one of Japan's greatest heroes, O'Reilly demonstrates that through works of popular culture since the 1880s Shōin was deliberately used to forge a national identity. In doing so, this chapter exposes the implications of shifts over time in Shōin's perceived usefulness to the imagined community

in Japan by addressing the contemporary popular cultural renaissance of interest in Shōin personally and the *Bakumatsu* period more generally. Kosuke Shimizu then brings the reader back to the twentieth century by studying in his chapter the work of one of the most famous Japanese film directors and animators: Hayao Miyazaki. While Miyazaki is mistakenly understood as a nationalist, for some of his films appear to be applauding Japanese traditional culture, this chapter gives a fresh reading of his films in order to clarify his antinationalist political thought and commitment to the countermovement against the mainstream Japanese state-centric nationalism. Indeed, Shimizu demonstrates how the Studio Ghibli Cosmos, generally, and *Princess Mononoke*, in particular, lends itself as a form of Japanese soft power, as Miyazaki speaks a traditionalism beyond nationalism that reaches people globally. In the final chapter, Michael Tsang investigates the political thought of another well-known Japanese artist: Haruki Murakami. By discussing Murakami's "wall-versus-egg" speeches, Tsang reflects how political thought can extend beyond its original context by demonstrating its influence on the democracy movement in Hong Kong. Specifically, this chapter traces how this bipartite metaphor was appropriated during and after the 2014 Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong, demonstrating that the metaphor was reinterpreted by different sides and camps in the Umbrella Revolution, often to strengthen their appeal for their own benefit but sometimes at the expense of contradicting each other. Such contradictory recontextualizations of Murakami's metaphor reminds us that the revolution was not a monolithic and monoglossic civil protest. In fact, these contradictions reveal deep-rooted conflicts and tensions that have been plaguing Hong Kong's social movement scene in recent years.

NOTES

1. Throughout this volume, Japanese and Chinese names are written in the Western way of first mentioning the given name and then the family name. The decision to do so was taken to enhance readability and avoid confusion among readers not familiar with the Eastern name order.
2. All translations are by the respective chapter authors, unless otherwise stated.
3. For more on the flexible Japanese system of time, see Morris-Suzuki (2015: 163–64).

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Part I

CHALLENGING INTERNATIONAL LAW AND TOWARD A GLOBAL IR?

INVESTIGATIONS INTO JAPAN'S ENTRY INTO THE WESTPHALIAN SYSTEM OF NATION-STATES

Chapter 1

How Did Two *Daos* Perceive the International Differently?

Atsuko Watanabe and Ariel Shangguan

It has been argued that through the appropriation of international law East Asian countries were admitted to the European international society. Although the topic itself has been relatively well investigated, the question as to why China's entry into the international society lagged behind that of Japan has not been comprehensively addressed in Anglophone International Relations (IR) (for recent investigations, see Suzuki 2009; Lorca 2014; Ringmar 2012). By contrast, this question has puzzled East Asian intellectual historians for quite some time (Satō 1977; Maruyama 1992; Kin 1995; Yoshida et al. 2010; Shū 2011). Inspired by international political sociology, this chapter readdresses this puzzle by linking these two debates from a slightly different point of view. It does so by taking Masao Maruyama's (1961: 39–41; 2006: 216–17) claim seriously that institutions require an ethos (*seishin*) to be activated in a society. If the international society has expanded from Europe globally, as IR theory (most notably the English School) posits, the process would have turned the globe monolithic, ignoring what L. H. M. Ling (2014) calls "multiple worlds." This chapter therefore asks how an institution forged out of an ethos is interpreted and activated through another ethos, in order to be perceived as "shared" among diverse ethe. It argues that international society cannot be perceived as a mere expansion of the European term, but is a product of different imaginations. To give evidence to this argument, this chapter takes a comparative genealogical approach by examining scholarly texts during this period, aiming to recover the spatiotemporal conditions.

A QUASI SOLIDARITY?

The first book on international law in East Asia was the Chinese translation of *The Elements of International Law* published in Beijing in 1864. Originally published in 1836, this book, written by the American diplomat Henry Wheaton, experienced remarkable success in East Asia. In the same year that the Chinese translation became available, it was brought to Japan and translated in 1865 (Tanaka 1991). In these translations, many Confucian notions were used to describe Western conceptions, helping readers to comprehend these foreign terms more easily (Ōkubo 2010: 159). Japanese readers understand Chinese characters, therefore, they can read the same text. However, their comprehension of the content was distorted, as they read the Chinese ideograms as Japanese *kanji* (Tsuda 1984; Katō 1991), which often differ in meaning from the Chinese original. As such, although En Shū (2011) is right in saying that this book was not just a translation but "burdened with a role as a medium to fusion two totally different worldviews," it was not just two worldviews—of the West and the East—but much more as this chapter will demonstrate.

Concerning the question of ethos and institution, this chapter examines social imaginary, which was evoked by the term "international" among people living in two different spaces during the same period. Considering the work of George Lawson and Robbie Shilliam (2010: 75), we argue that, while different forms of social life can exist, traveling ideas attain a "quasi" social solidarity across borders. This solidarity is buttressed by each social imaginary that rests upon each domestic context. Its focus is, therefore, domestic continuities rather than change in the international, but that buttresses the international transformation.

The intensifying debates on non-Western IR open the invitation to look into the conception of the "international" outside of Europe (Bilgin 2016). Recent contributions suggest that there has been a qualitatively different world order in East Asia from the European territorial order. Yaqing Qin (2016) proposes a relational theory of world politics inspired by Chinese thought, while Erik Ringmar (2012) argues that Sino-centric and Tokugawa systems were more relational than territorial, which suggests comparing the systemic difference among different orders. By contrast, we want to consider *different relations* in respective societies, instead of arguing which one provides a more relational outlook. In doing so, we reinvestigate the unquestioned universality of the international as a common space of analysis. By examining Chinese and Japanese debates around the appropriation of international law, we propose another way of understanding the complexity of the international as a space in which different forms of the social, rather than different systems, are imagined. In their contribution,

Gunther Hellmann and Morten Valbjørn (2017) call a renewed attention to the "inter" as a space, stating that much attention in IR debates have been paid to the national. By contrast, we demonstrate a different possibility of envisaging the "international" by pointing out that the differences are not civilizational, regional, or national, but communal. By explicating the two examples, we propose the need of a thorough reconceptualization of the international, by not only historicizing the international but *at the same time* spatializing it.

ETHOS AND SOCIAL IMAGINARY

In *Thought in Japan*, Maruyama (1961) explores the "issue of ethos (*seishin*) in institution" by discussing Japan's *kokutai* (interpreted as national polity, sovereignty, or body politic). He, arguing that it is in this malleable notion of *kokutai* that modernity was easily connected to premodernity in Japan, directs attention to the fact that economic and political institutions are largely considered to be "universal," even by scholars promoting cultural plurality. This is because its historicity is ignored (Maruyama 1961: 40–41). Although the modern Japanese state was modelled after the modern European state system in the late nineteenth century, the history of the term *kokutai* dates back at least to the beginning of the century. The term *kuni*, which means state in Japan and composes part of the notion *kokutai*, can even be traced back to China's Warring States Period (403–221 BC) (Ogawa 1928). Treated as a mechanism, the state as an institution has been considered to be evidence of modernity. However, once the state as a concept had started to travel, spreading out globally from Europe, what happened to its meaning when used in a specific context? To understand this neglected point, as Maruyama (1961) asserts, institutions, particularly those which incorporate political and ethical elements, must be understood in totality.

Maruyama's inquiry can be related to recent critics of the rise of social theories in IR. Patricia Owens (2015) criticizes the "obsession with things 'socio"' in IR and states that the fundamental issue of such theory is "whether the concepts and analytical tools that emerged in a specific historical and political context are adequate for addressing *that context*." This question requires us to consider "the historical and political origins of social forms of governance and thought" (Owens 2016: 451, emphasis in original). The notion of socialization in Europe is a "product of a political and ideological crisis in liberal capitalist governance" (Owens 2015: 658). In this respect, most of social theory is a mere product of a particular European context. Then, to understand the "true" international, the fact that

there must have been other variants of the social has to be acknowledged. Here, the comparison of Japan and China on international law is intriguing given that, as this chapter explicates, the conception has been inscribed with various meanings as it is contextualized in different situations due to its complex historical trajectory.

For this purpose, this chapter relies on insights of Japanese intellectual history, in which the difference of the historical relations between public and private in Japan, China, and the West have been compared. The notion of public (公) is important for this study because international law was translated as 万国公法. The literal retranslation into English is "the public law among thousands of nations." In the two countries, this has brought up the association of the state as private. The Japanese historian Hiroshi Watanabe (2010) begins with the exploration on the relation between the two in the West. In the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "public" is defined as the opposite of "private," which pertains to "the people of a country or locality." Watanabe directs our attention to three points. First, "public" fundamentally means ordinary people and therefore the conceptual structure is bottom-up. Second, in this conception, public and private coexist, retaining each distinctive territoriality. Third, as the aforementioned definition implies, "public" denotes a group of people. Hence, the realm has externality.

Next, Watanabe defines Chinese private and public in the Ming-Qing era. First, *koh* (公、public) has no substantial referent object. In this respect, its conceptual structure is not explicit. Second, despite its apparent malleability, *koh* is singular and universal. If different "publics" come into conflict, one of them must be *shi* (私), that is, private. Therefore, third, public and private cannot coexist, but the two are in conflictual rather than oppositional relation.

Finally, in Edo Japan, *ohyake* (おほやけ、public) and *watakushi* (わたくし、private) are essentially conceived in a vertical relation, in which *watakushi* is embedded in *ohyake*. Private and public cannot coexist in the same horizontal arena, however, the relation between the two has no explicit borders but indicates only vague territoriality. Public includes many multiple privates. For these reasons, any group of people can be public. Public can be invaded by private but not vice versa. The relation indicates power relations with the public as the stronger and greater and private as the weaker and smaller (Watanabe 2010). Thus, public does not indicate people but "authority."

As indicated elsewhere (Rösch and Watanabe 2017), similar points are being made by Michel Foucault during his lectures in Japan in 1978. He argued that Confucianism in Asia functioned analogously to Christianity in Europe. However, while Christianity's pastoral power rested on individual

promises of salvation in the afterlife, Confucianism promotes a this-worldly essentialism. While Confucianism aimed to stabilize the society as a whole by clarifying the rules imposed on the society, Christianity tried to subject each individual (Foucault 2007: 161). Confucianism, therefore, defined "practices between the state, society, and individuals, whilst reflecting on the world order" in Asia. Defining it as "the state as philosophy," he maintained that in European history, it was only after the French Revolution when this type of state appeared (Foucault 2007: 145–46). Maruyama (1961: 41–42), on whose study on Confucianism Foucault relied in his lectures, argued that while in Chinese Confucianism natural law had a normative and contractual character, in Japan, loyalty and gratitude were stressed, rendering its authority (public) context-dependent.

This divergence of three societies is epitomized in the notion of heaven. Ryū Shōsan (2006: 67–69) claims that the "divergence of Western and Eastern philosophy appeared first and foremost on the knowledge of 'heaven.'" He argues that while Catholic heaven, connoting God as the Creator, composes a distinct realm in opposition to the present world, Chinese heaven, by contrast, exists at the intersection of "religion, politics, observation, and mathematics, and people and notion of the world." Thus, there is only one heaven; its substance has no form and therefore no externality. It contains everything and its influence on humans is continuous, even unconscious. Thus, as Foucault claims, Confucian heaven represents a this-worldly value, as found in contemporary debates of "All-under-heaven" (*tianxia*, 天下). To illustrate, Tingyang Zhao (2006: 30) argues that *tianxia*, which is "very close to the *Idea* of empire," means "an institutional world" of the social that "consists of both the earth and people," whose viewpoint is a "world-wide-viewpoint." By contrast, in Edo Japan, the same term exclusively meant the shogunal sphere of influence, which largely matched the geographical area of Edo. Although the emperor, who lived in Kyōto, was called the "child of heaven" (*tenshi*, 天子), it did not mean that the shogun was under the emperor's influence or vice versa. Rather, the relation of the two was left ambiguous (Watanabe 2010: 58–59). The above points enable us to highlight the divergent appropriations of international law in the two countries in relation to the association of the social as the space of its enforcement. European international society was, together with the state as its component, a foreign idea for Asians in the nineteenth century. In addition, the society was, and still is, an unobservable institution. In the course of comprehension, it was each of the collective imaginations of the social that played a significant role.

Suzi Adams (2015) identifies ten trends in recent debates of social imaginaries. Of them, seven are of our interest. First, the emphasis of the social aspect of imagination. Second, imagination is "authentically creative rather

than as merely reproductive or imitative." Third, the shift from imagination to social imaginary pronounces that from reason to varieties of rationalities. Fourth, social imaginaries indicate meaning as social but not reducible to intersubjectivity. The analysis of social imaginaries highlights the "trans-subjective aspect of socio-cultural activity." Fifth, the analyzation of cultures as "open." Sixth, a posit society is a "political institution," stressing "the *situated* nature and *collective* forms of interaction." Seventh, it "does not reduce analyses of social formations and projects of power to normative considerations alone" but to address the question on "political." Then, it is social imaginaries, or in Maruyama's words, ethos that customize/localize the ready-made institutions.

As demonstrated in the following section, it was not until the notion was comprehended in reference to local notions that the international was successfully localized in China and in Japan. Moreover, although both local referent notions were ostensibly similar Confucian-derived notions, their meaning slightly, yet crucially differentiated: while Japanese intellectuals understood the international in a relativist formula, the Chinese tried to consider the same notion in a universalist formula.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN JAPAN AND CHINA

The Elements of International Law was translated by the American Presbyterian missionary William Martin, known as 丁韙良. In the book, the term international law was translated as *bankoku kōhō* (万国公法). Albeit not being the only source of knowledge of international law for Asians, it was undeniably their most important one. As stated, our interest is not the translation of the text per se, but how the notion of international was interpreted by particular ethe. Still, given its significance, a brief explanation is necessary. The translation was supported by the Zongli Yamen (総理衛門), an imperial Chinese government body in charge of foreign policy, providing several translation assistants to Martin. Since China had lost the Opium War in 1842, its government had an urgent need to increase its knowledge of international law as a way to negotiate with Europeans (Katō 1991; Zhang 1991; Shū 2011). In addition, Martin himself had an intention to use the book for his missionary activity (Zhang 1991). Despite these intentions, and given various limitations and challenges non-expert translators in the nineteenth century could face, it has been stressed that the translation as the final product was sufficiently faithful to the original (Zhang 1991; Shū 2011). Related to the question as to why Japan, the country that had learned from China for centuries and belonged to the Sinocentric world order, was

able to surpass China, some have argued that Japan played out *Realpolitik*, while China overlooked the brutal reality of world politics (Suzuki 2009). Some also stress geographical and/or cultural factors (Kin 1995; Ringmar 2012). Watanabe (2010: 372) emphasizes that encounters in nineteenth-century East Asia between the West and the East were such that "everyone tried to rely on their own 'righteousness.'" This question of righteousness was viewed on how people ought to act in reference to their own political practices and less on whether they behaved properly in relation to each other, assuming that there was no uniform objective criterion of righteousness among the aliens. In addition, having no lingua franca, interactions were slow with many interruptions and obstacles. Although contemporary IR tends to emphasize Western arrogance trying to impose its self-claimed universal value, the fact was that in not knowing each other, everyone believed what each other judged as right had to have universal validity not necessarily because they thought they were more civilized than others, but because it was the only criterion they could rely on (Satō 1977; Watanabe 2010). In this respect, issues each actor faced were reflexive, rather than dialogical.

This reflexive tendency was stronger in East Asia where diplomatic relations among states had not really been formalized. Pluralistic multicultural relations among voluntarily formed regions developed economically, whereas "political" ties were loose and more cultural and symbolic. In addition, these political ties were less hierarchical, as they were contingent on each actor's interpretation (Hamashita 1999: 8). In this normative (and rather practical) order called *Hua-yi* (華夷), strict distinctions between "international" and "domestic," as seen in modern international law, did not exist because regional relations were generally characterized as an extension of the domestic central power framework. By and large, this central power was China, but each actor exerted its own "central power" domestically and to weaker neighbors (cf. Hamashita 1999; Onuma 2000; Sun 2007). In short, it was neither "the international system" in a European sense nor a rigid hierarchical order of states but a loose polycentric order among diverse communities. Because of this lack of formality, imaginations played a significant role. As further expounded below, the crucial difference of the two assimilation processes was that while China's inquiry revolved around the question of universality, it was relativism that buttressed Japan's quick assimilation.

China

Although Martin's translation was published in 1864, historical cases indicate that the first encounter between China and international law occurred

much earlier. In signing the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), there was already a practice of international law recorded between the Qing and Russian empires (Sebes 1961). The difference between such practices and China's later adoption of international law, according to Yin (2016), is that before the nineteenth century, the principle of international law was only used when the government deemed that the other party was not familiar with Confucian jurisprudence. The Qing firmly believed that the Chinese imperial legal system had the flexibility to incorporate any foreign customs and therefore the concept of international law was nothing but a "barbarian technique (*yiji*)" (Yin 2017: 1008). The heavy defeats in the two Opium Wars, however, crushed China's confidence; the shift in power dynamics forced officials and intellectuals to realize that China had been absorbed into the European international society. As such, from the beginning of the 1860s, a growing number of intellectuals and ruling elites began to advocate the study of Western knowledge. This is what is often called the beginning of China's "Western learning (*xixue*)."

Martin's translation appeared at the beginning of Western learning. The prevailing public and intellectual discourse of the demand for Western knowledge led historians and legal scholars to conclude that China's acceptance of international law was inextricably linked to the national aspiration to Western learning. This is indisputable as the process of Western learning was indeed spurred by its existential crisis after the Opium Wars. What, however, tends to be forgotten is that Western learning was not one totalized movement that occurred between 1860 and 1900; scholarly discussions on China's adoption of international law often dismisses the first wave of Western learning and focuses extensively on the works from the second movement. In fact, from the beginning of the 1860s till the end of the 1890s, China experienced two distinct movements of Western learning, each corresponding to China's defeat in two different wars. This point is important when discussing the Chinese understanding of international law because each movement gave rise to different but continuous ways of interpreting the idea of international.

The first wave, also known as the *Yangwu*, or the self-strengthening movement, came immediately after the second Opium War. It was led by a number of ruling elites who saw the urgency in China's adoption of Western technology and military modernization. At the core of this movement was the idea of "以夷制夷 (*yi yi zhi yi*)," meaning to use the foreign to counter the foreign (Zhou and Li 2001). One distinct feature of this movement is that despite being about Western learning, to a considerable degree, China's desire for Western knowledge during this period emerged out of its instinct for survival instead of a genuine interest in the West (Jenco 2015).

As such, scholarly interpretations of international law in this period often indicated a sense of instrumentalism in which international law was seen as a political technology that is ready to use for everyone. In 1866, Hongzhang Li, one of the earliest advocates of the movement, accused European powers of aggressive conduct in Chinese territories with reference to his reading of international law:

> Every country knows their purpose is to serve people, but only to Chinese people they [European nations] want to put up more restraints. They want to control people by threatening officials, and control officials by threatening the imperial court. . . . This conduct is devoid of emotion and reason, and it is not fair and just. (cited in Shen 1966: 9)

Earlier in the chapter the main difference between the Japanese and the Chinese understandings of public and private has been discussed. This point is further explicated by Yūzo Mizoguchi (1995) in his genealogical study of the Chinese conceptualizations of public and private, where he traces the conceptual development of the two terms in Chinese thought from the beginning of Song up to the end of Qing dynasty and argues for the scholarly attention to the complexity embedded in the conceptuality of *koh*. He maintains that despite its long and convoluted history, *koh*, in general, has three different meanings when it is used in premodern Chinese texts: (1) refers to state, government, emperor; (2) of the people—common, popular; and (3) a moral connotation that suggests a sense of fairness and justice. These three Chinese meanings of *koh*, albeit different, share one commonality, that is, they are all imbued with a sense of universality. In other words, whether it refers to the idea of state, people, or moral principles, the idea of *koh* in Chinese thinking does not—and probably should not—only apply to China, but also to the rest of the world. This universalist connotation of *koh* was what distinguished Chinese interpretations of international law from that of Japan's and was also the fundamental reason behind the shifting interpretations of international law.

In the above example, by accusing Western behavior as not fair and just, Li was clearly understanding the public in the third meaning, that is, a sense of justice and fairness. More importantly, Li believed that this sense of fairness could be applied to European powers—in other words, China's sense of fairness and justice should also be the world's sense of fairness and justice. This implies the inherent universalist notion of *koh* embedded in Li's understanding. Rulun Wu, one of Li's aides in the imperial court, also had a fairly similar understanding of *koh*; as he wrote regarding European aggression,

> after war, two nations sign a treaty to agree not to cause any more harm to one another. Therefore if one party acts against the treaty and takes the other's belongings . . . he should return what he takes immediately. . . . The norm of public law is that we do not violate widows or take away soldiers' accomplishments. The monarch and his subjects always act righteously, even if the treaty has not been finalized. We fought each other, but we also have rights. . . . A just win for ten thousand countries shall rely not only on one's military strength but also on his good faith. If good faith is lacking, then losers might suffer from the peril of survival, and winners from the possibility of overturn. (cited in Shi and Xu 2000: 543)

Wu's statement is even clearer than that of Li's on his interpretation of *koh*. "To follow what is just is the essence of public law"—the purpose of international law, or public law in Chinese, in Wu's view, was to remind countries that they should always act upon what is just and fair even if they fought a hard battle. Instead of regarding the international as something that China needed to become part of and international law as a set of rules China needed to adopt, both officials here stressed the moral aspect of international law and used it as a *means of persuasion* to contain European powers. Neither Li nor Wu interpreted *bankoku kōhō* as *public* law, but rather as *natural* law. This natural law is not based on the Western conception of natural law as a system of rights common to all human beings, but on the Chinese idea of *koh*, which connotes a set of universal moral principles.

What is intriguing is that such interpretations of *koh* began to shift as it came closer to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In 1894, seeing that Japan still didn't initiate their attack, Li (cited in Qi 2001: 4) said, "I still firmly believe that as long as the *public law for ten thousand countries* stands, Japan would never dare to start a war." He later added,

> although Japan endeavors to prepare for the war, as long as we do not attack, they will not either. This is the (common) convention according to the public law for thousand countries; whoever starts the war, loses in his reason. (cited in Gu 1998: 6013)

Unlike his previous account where he read *koh* as a sense of fairness, in this context Li interpreted it as common. This implies that Li's reading of *koh* shifted from a purely moral concept to a more normative concept. He then cited *bankoku kōhō* and applied it to predict Japan's behavior, claiming that it was "the convention" of *bankoku kōhō* not to attack first. His aim here clearly was to use international law to restrict a further escalation of tensions between the two countries. Rather than as a natural law that stresses the moral principles, international law in Li's interpretation appeared to function more like a law of nations that delineates the legal

obligations of sovereign states. What, however, remains unchanged is that in both of his interpretations, *koh* connotes a sense of Chinese universalism; while the moral understanding indicates universal applicability of Chinese moral principles. The normative interpretation suggests the Chinese presumption about the existence of certain universal rules. Juxtaposing Li's two accounts on international law, one can then conclude that during the first wave of China's Western learning, the interpretations of international law among the ruling elites were highly fluid but imbued with a sense of continuity. Such continuity is characterized not only by the Chinese search for universality in their interpretations of *koh*, but also by the Chinese imaginary regarding what the idea of "international" should/would/could entail.

This Chinese search for universality reached its zenith during the second movement of Western learning. The Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) completely subverted power relations in East Asia. Intimidated, but nonetheless fascinated, by the Japanese model of modernization, a young generation of Chinese intellectuals began to advocate for a series of constitutional reforms. This led to the beginning of the second wave of Western learning, *Weixin* movement (commonly known as [*Wuxu*] *Bianfa*). Compared to those on the *Yangwu* movement, there have been extensive scholarly discussions on *Bianfa* and its lasting impacts on China. The reason for this are twofold: First, unlike the *Yangwu* movement, which was led by the ruling elites who were concerned with China's survival, *Bianfa* was inaugurated by the young Guangxu emperor and his reform-minded supporters. *Bianfa*, in other words, took a top-down approach to nationwide reforms while the *Yangwu* movement was more of a bottom-up approach. Second, and more importantly, compared to the *Yangwu* movement, which mainly advocated for the importation of Western technology and the implementation of modernization on the superficial level, *Bianfa* called for thorough reforms at political, intellectual, cultural, and educational levels (Jenco 2015). Although the movement itself only lasted for 103 days (from June 11 till September 21, 1898), its scale as well as political and intellectual significance far surpassed the first movement.

Also during the *Weixin* movment, Chinese intellectuals began to engage more theoretically with the idea of international law, the most important figure of all being Youwei Kang, one of the senior officials of the Guangxu emperor and arguably China's most influential thinker of the nineteenth century. As a prominent advocate of Western learning and constitutional reforms, Kang's writings were heavily influenced by his readings of Western classics and Confucian texts. According to Bai (2013), Kang was the first person in China to use the term 科学 (*kexue*), meaning science, in his writings. Fascinated by the accuracy and universality of Euclidean

geometry, Kang's ambition was to develop a way to *scientifically* explain societal and human conduct. As he says:

> If a law is derived from geometry axiom, then the truth it claims is substantial; if it is set up by man, then the truth it claims is relatively weak. A law of geometry axiom is called absolute substantiality, as well as eternal substantiality; a law of man is called equivocal substantiality. (Kang 1886: 198)

The aim of the writing is to equate what Kang believes is 实理—substantial truth—with scientific validity. For him, geometry axiom represents a form of substantial truth because it is universally proven and therefore eternally valid. A positive law, on the other hand, is only equivocally valid because it is not scientifically provable and subject to human practice. Kang asserts that although it is not likely to have positive law as substantially true as the law of geometry axiom, it is still possible to develop a law of truth about humanity and social phenomenon using the criterion of substantiality. As he wrote later in *Shili Gongfa*:

> A law derived from geometry axiom is one aspect of public law. But because there are too few laws derived from geometry axiom, not enough for usage, that's why we need law of man. . . . There are many systems in the world that cannot be captured by geometry axiom. Laws that are not derived from geometry axiom but are established by man do not have solid foundation; therefore we should implement the laws that are for the greater good of humanity and make them public law. (Kang 1892: 278)

Evidently, Kang's interpretation of *kōhō*, that is, public law changed dramatically from those made by the ruling elites from the *Yangwu* movement. Yet, by interpreting public law as "laws that are for the greater good of humanity," Kang's understanding also denotes a continuity from the last movement in terms of his universalist understanding of *koh*. Indeed, it is widely argued that when Martin was translating Wheaton's text, he was advocating international law as a form of Christian universal values. Because for missionaries like Martin, Westernization and Christianity are inextricably connected; any form of modernization would eventually lead to Christian conversion (Spence 1969). In this sense, Kang's reading of international law was fairly close to Martin's intended interpretation. The truth, however, is that Kang's interpretation ended up transcending Martin's intention because in his seminal work, 大同书 (*da tong shu*), Kang laid out his universalist visions of the world using the Confucian notion of 大同 (*da tong*), meaning the great unity, instead of Christian universalism. In Kang's theory, neither Chinese traditions nor Western knowledge alone can account for the world.

Instead, one should develop a universal formula that can be applied to most people and in so doing achieve "great unity." For Kang, then, this universal formula was to understand Western knowledge through Confucian universality.

Kang's approach to Western learning through Confucian universality soon gave rise to a new wave of intellectuals trying to interpret international law through Confucianist lenses, especially with reference to *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋、*chunqiu*), a classic text that chronicles the history of the state of Lu from 772 to 481 BC. As Jujia Ou (cited in Zhongguo Falv Shi Xuehui 2007: 56), one of Kang's students, wrote in 1897 following Kang's approach:

> *Chunqiu* has a law of three times; it says in the time of chaos one wins with power, in the time of progress with wisdom, and in the time of peace with benevolence. With power one integrates its own but excludes other states; with wisdom one integrates all states but excludes other ethnicities; only with benevolence one sees all under heaven as the same. Be it about affairs caused by speaking of faith and cultivating harmony, or fatal destructions caused by forces and killings, all states around the world, those who can implement the teachings of *Chuqiu*, they hope it will be as close as to Confucius's governance of the great community and great tranquility. Therefore I say: *Chunqiu* is the public politics for ten thousand countries, and certainly the public law for ten thousand countries.

In the previous discussion on the *Yangwu* movement, it became clear that the arbitrary interpretations of international law during the first wave of Western learning was mostly enabled by conceptual ambiguity of *kōhō*. Lai (2011) argues that in premodern China, the term "public law" was never deemed as an intellectual concept, in fact not even a common term, because of the various and often diffusive meanings imbued. This means that by translating international law as public law, the idea of international law not only lost its conceptuality in Chinese, but also failed to attain any conceptuality in the first place. Kang's universalizing approach, however, changed the nature of such translation: in contrast to Li's and Wu's accounts, there was no hesitation in Ou to define what *koh* means—*koh* is 天下 (*tianxia*) and therefore a public law should be a law for all under heaven. Previously, in both Li's and Wu's accounts, the idea of *kōhō* was contextualized due to its conceptual ambiguity. In Ou's account, however, the idea of *kōhō* not only became conceptualized but also endowed with a very specific Confucian conceptuality. In other words, by equating international law with *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Kang and his students managed to turn the incommensurability of two distinct concepts, the international and *koh*, into a condition of universality.

Japan

In Japan, the comprehension of the concept of sovereign equality of states in international law was similarly interpreted. The difference, however, was that in contrast to Chinese inquiries revolving around the universal, those in Japan took a relativist formula. In addition, in Japan, in contrast to the *Weixin* movement, the acceptance of the idea was accomplished when the society as a whole followed a greater authority. It was neither top-down nor bottom-up, but the whole society followed the greater public, that is, international society. As Sakuzō Yoshino (1927) states, international law as the public law for thousands of countries was envisaged in terms of the Confucian notion of *ten dō* (天道, Way of Heaven). It was a natural consequence given the fact that the "original" text of *The Elements of International Law* for the Japanese was Chinese. As in China, this notion of *ten dō* was analogous to nature. However, differing from the Chinese understanding, nature was not something rigid but understood as continuously changing.

Although the divergence of Japanese Confucian ideas from those of the Chinese original had probably started from the outset of its importation (Tsuda 1984), it marked a dramatic shift in the Edo period, when an intellectual movement called *kokugaku* emerged, which attempted to move away from Chinese knowledge and refocus on Japanese classics. Accordingly, the idea of nature, and therefore heaven, had been historicized and had little room for normative claims. In this tradition, although nature was always in flux, it had a canonical function *because of this flexibility* (Maruyama 1983). It was this malleable conception of nature that enabled Japanese intellectuals to adapt to the new reality of world politics.

As demonstrated below, Japanese people accepted the idea of the international as they understood it as a historical-social construction and *because* it was a construction, for them, its authority was manifest. Evidently, this was different from the European natural law tradition. However paradoxically, it was this divergence that allowed Japan to accept the idea of international. In this comprehension, the international was envisaged as a greater public, in which states as a smaller public, and then individuals as the minimal entity, were embedded. Because the social relations were envisaged vertically rather than horizontally, the international in Japanese imagination came to be distinctively different from the European one: there was little space of the inter-national as in-between nations because of this verticality. In addition, the distinction between domestic and international became blurred. The consequences of this imagination are: first, it becomes difficult to think about the space of the international as anarchy; second, because individuals are embedded in the domestic state and the state is embedded in the global society, people of the state apt to think that their national

interest matched those of the wider society, rendering their foreign policy optimistic as well as idealistic. Or more precisely, as Shuichi Katō (1991) points out, it tended to become either extremely idealistic or extremely militaristic. Third, the state tends to rely on the power of hegemon, rather than to try to be independent. Indeed, as Kazuhiro Takii (2003) points out, the Meiji politicians willingly accepted international law. Hereafter, we further elaborate the points by analyzing scholarly writings and historical backgrounds.

The first half of the 1860s was a kaleidoscopic period in Japan. As a decade had passed since Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853, it had become impossible for the samurai class to retain the status quo. In 1858, the US-Japan Treaty of Amity and Commerce, the first unequal treaty, was signed, introducing Japanese people to notions of international law. Together with the issue of the shogun's heir, it caused political upheaval, leading to anti-Western *Sonnō Jōi* (revere the emperor and expel barbarians) movement. Still, in the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan peacefully restored imperial rule, promulgating the Charter Oath as the basis of imperial Japan's constitution. Its fifth clause can be translated as follows: "Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule." In due course, the new government declared that its foreign policy would thoroughly rely on *kōhō* (Yoshino 1927: 468; also Tanaka 1991).

What enticed the Japanese people to accept the unfair rule? Indeed, Japan's importation of international law was assertive. Next to Martin's book, they imported many other texts from Europe and politicians and students were sent to Europe and the United States to study law. The most well-known were Amane Nishi and Masamichi Tsuda, who were lectured by Simon Vissering at the University of Leiden. Although until around 1890 the majority of the publications were still translations of Western books, Japanese intellectuals began writing on the topic from the 1870s onward.

One of the earliest examples was *Shinshin Kōhōron* (On New and True Public Law) by Takamasa Ōkuni, a *kokugaku* scholar. Ōkuni in his 1867 work, speculated that Hugo Grotius established international law because he was discontent with the Chinese distinguishing themselves as civilized and others as barbarians. Though he appreciated Grotius's attempt, his point was not supporting the European *kōhō* but the plausibility of establishing Japan's own *kōhō*. He stated that like humans, there had to be good and bad countries in the world. Among them, Japan was potentially supreme because of its unbroken imperial line for thousands of years. This meant for Ōkuni (1927; also Yoshino 1927; Maruyama 1992; Yasuoka 1999) that the emperor had to be the king of *bankoku* (thousands of countries). This discussion, already predicting justification for the Greater East

Figure 1.1 Bankoku danjyo jimbutsu zue by Yoshikuni Utagawa (1861). *Source*: Waseda University Library. Available at: http://bit.ly/2Dnbjf0. Accessed: January 12, 2018.

Asia Co-prosperity Sphere during the Asia-Pacific War, indicates the reasons why the idea of international law was readily accepted in Japan. That is, first, it was understood fundamentally as a social principle. Second, it was exhaustively historicized and therefore envisaged as something whose authority anyone potentially could be. For Ōkuni, the potential contender of Europe was Japan, which had already surpassed China because of its blessed history. In this discussion, because of the historicization of natural law, any dividing line was never stable but always in flux.

The world as one unified society was popular in Japan as indicated in some *ukiyo-e* (see Figure 1.1). Yukichi Fukuzawa (1878), in a book titled *Tsūzoku Kokkenron* (On Popular Discourse of Sovereignty), argues that the foundation of sovereignty resides in people like the foundation of a household is in women, and stresses that the association between nations is equal to that among people. Hence, peace is the common objective of all humans. Fukuzawa goes on to say that albeit there is no difference between foreign people and the Japanese, because customs are different, international law is needed. It is necessary not because the Western way is superior but because without knowing the rule, Japan would get a bad deal. As he insists, "the degree of the skill is different from the difference of style" (1878: 27). Therefore, there was no difference between Buddhism and Christianity. *Bunmei* (civilization) was no one's possession but everyone's. Japan had to learn the new way but without totally abandoning the old way (Fukuzawa 1873).

Takeshi Nakamura (1887) likewise stated that international society was analogous to that of individuals. As people from different parts of the world came into contact with each other, rights and duties were formed. By

extension, international law was the new moral principle (Nakano 1889). Although underappreciated in contemporary IR, the biggest controversy among Japanese scholars during the period was the question if international law was exclusively Christian (Nakamura 1887; Numasaki 1888; Ogawa 1889; Hatoyama 1896). In addition to the fact that Martin was a missionary and the translated book stated that international law was among Christian nations, this suspicion was a natural corollary for them because Christianity was banned since the beginning of the seventeenth century. In this context, civilization was for the Japanese a far more acceptable criterion than religious difference. They did not consider the West as superior, but they identified something familiar in the scheme. As Yoshino demonstrated in 1927, when *kōhō* was understood in this way, it became not an external pressure, but a rescue for Japanese politicians. It was here the mistranslation *bankoku kōhō* was effective. Later, some scholars tried to rectify the mistake to "*kokusaihō*," which was a direct translation of international law (Mitsukuri 1873). However, despite the efforts, it was *bankoku kōhō* that had been widely used until the beginning of the last century. In other words, for the Japanese, it *had to* be called public law (*kōhō*) instead of international law. The authority was not in the author (the West) but in the law per se (Tanaka 1991: 432).

Thus, the international, having no substantial source of law and international society being an unobservable institution, were favorable for the Japanese, even for *kokugaku* scholars like Ōkuni. It was this ambiguity that let them imagine the international as society and its authority in their own creative way. Because of the ambiguity, the image was vivid. Later, during the Asia-Pacific War, as indicated in Ōkuni's discussion and the Charter Oath, the emperor became the symbol of civilization (Ogawa 1889). As Yoshino (1927) claims, the fascination for international law was nothing taught, brought into, or imposed, but *naturally emerged* among Japanese.

CONCLUSION

David Livingstone (2005) calls attention to the way in which scientific texts are creatively read by locals. Emphasizing "the significance of location" in such "hermeneutic encounters," he has demonstrated that the process is essentially a collective affair that takes place in a particular space. For him, in this circulation of ideas, neither authenticity nor misreading occurs. By revisiting the two appropriations of the international, our aspiration lay in clarifying such contingency, creativity, and diversity of global knowledge circulation. We wanted to demonstrate that it is diverse ethe that enables such circulation. In nineteenth-century China and Japan, people imagined

the unknown idea in reference to their own social relations. In the two imaginaries, the way to see social relations played an integral role to understand foreign institutions. However, as seen in Japan's case, the earlier assimilation did not necessarily lead to its right understanding. With the Chinese case, it indicates that it is not necessarily similarity that facilitates the acceptance: it was not China's search for universality that was fairly close to Western Christian universality but Japan's relativist comprehension that paradoxically attained the earlier entry into the European international society. It was their unique way of understanding that facilitated the localization. Moreover, the case of China indicates that such conditions of acceptance were subject to change. It is, then, safe to conclude that it was particular reasons, rather than rationalities, that played a significant role. We do not mean to say that misunderstanding works better than proper understanding. Rather, our point is that the two appropriations indicate that meaning is social but not necessarily "inter-subjective" but "trans-subjective." Thus, the international must not be understood literally as a society because the solidarity is still probably only nominal.

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Chapter 2

Japan's Early Challenge to Eurocentrism and the World Court

Tetsuya Toyoda

Despite the early impact of Chinese civilization on European philosophers (Toyoda 2010; Tosa, chapter 9 in this volume), Europeans in the nineteenth century considered themselves unique in the sense of being particularly civilized, perceiving *la mission civilisatrice* as their moral obligation (Wallerstein 1997). By the turn of the twentieth century, "civilization" had become synonymous with Europe and the West, in general.[1] Very few people in Europe and the West in those days (for the sake of simplicity, the terms "Europe" and "European" hereafter are used to refer to the European nation-states and their former settler colonies in North America and elsewhere) could imagine civilized life beyond Europe. For example, when Johann Caspar Bluntschli (1872) first published *The Modern International Law of Civilized States Presented as a Legal Code (Das moderne Völkerrecht der civilisirten Staten als Rechtsbuch dargestellt)* in 1868, he did not question the centrality of European civilization and what he discussed as the international law of civilized states was, in essence, a law to regulate the conduct between European states. In the United States, President Grover Cleveland also declared in his State of the Union Address in 1896 that the education of American Indian children is "a prime factor in the accomplishment of Indian civilization,"[2] implying that to be civilized meant to follow European-style customs and laws. Mentioning these examples, however, happens not for the mere purpose of accusing Europeans of their Eurocentrism (cf. Go 2016: 31). During that time, not only Europeans but also many non-Europeans were Eurocentric. In Japan in 1875, Yukichi Fukuzawa (2010: 17; Yamauchi 1996: 6) published *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* and discussed the semicivilized status of his own nation:

> When we discuss civilizations in the world, we think it the world opinion that the highest civilization is of European nations and the United States; Asian countries such as Turkey, China, and Japan are recognized to be semi-civilized nations and the other African and Australian are said to be barbarous. Only European nations pride themselves on their civilization. Even the semi-civilized peoples obey this distinction and put up with the classification of semi-civilized nations. They dare not pride themselves on their states and rank with the civilized nations of Europe.

Fukuzawa's remark indicates his pragmatism, but the fact that such a statement was acceptable at that time also tells us how highly the Japanese regarded European civilization. The sense of civilizational inferiority, or at least the understanding that European civilization was better suited than the Japanese or Chinese in achieving *material* wealth and strength, was widely shared by Japanese elites. This was the background against which the Meiji government pushed for the Europeanization (i.e., "modernization") of Japanese society (for more, see Suzuki 2009).

In less than half a century, the Europeanization of non-Europeans, the Japanese in particular, led to attempts to challenge European domination and overcome their own sense of inferiority. In military terms, this was evidenced by Japan's victory over Czarist Russia in 1905, one of the major European pre-World War I powers.

But Japan's challenge against Eurocentrism was not limited to material aspects. Once its material—economic and military—strength established it as one of the major powers in international relations, Japan began to also challenge Eurocentrism from a moral standpoint. The best known example of Japan's moral challenge to Eurocentrism was its advocacy for an antiracial discrimination amendment. In February 1919, the Japanese delegation at the Versailles Conference put forth a proposal to include the following sentence in the Covenant of the League of Nations:

> The equality of nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Parties agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all alien nationals of States members of the League equal and just treatment in every respect, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of their race or nationality.

A vote was taken at the League of Nations Commission on April 11, 1919. The majority voted in favor of the proposal (11 to 6). However, the British delegation and US Congress voiced opposition. As a result, the chairperson of the commission, US president, Woodrow Wilson, vetoed the proposal, requiring unanimity for it to be approved. In the end, heated discussions took place to no avail in Paris, Tōkyō, London, and Washington concerning the wording

of the amendment. In the end, it was not included in the finalized texts of the League of Nations (Kawamura 1997; Shimazu 1998).

This chapter, however, looks into a lesser known, but more successful case of a Japanese anti-Eurocentrist challenge: the proposal of the civilizational plurality clause in the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), or the "World Court." In July 1920, only a little more than a year after the failed attempt for the inclusion of the racial equality clause in the League Covenant, a Japanese diplomat was successful in claiming the inclusion of the principle of "the representation of different forms of civilization" in the founding treaty of the first judicial body at the international level to settle international disputes through peaceful means.

The article in question concerned the distribution of seats for judges among different forms of civilization. The drafting committee adopted the text of Article 9 of the PCIJ statute as follows:

> At every election [of members of the court], the electors shall bear in mind that not only should all the persons appointed as members of the Court possess the qualifications required, but the whole body also should represent the main forms of civilization (*la représentation des grandes formes de civilisation*) and the principal legal systems of the world.

The text of Article 9, which explicitly accepted the plurality of civilization, was inherited by the International Court of Justice (ICJ), which replaced the PCIJ in 1946. The whole body of the court was meant to represent the main forms of civilization as well as the principal legal systems of the world. It was thus recognized that civilization could take different forms and did not equate with European civilization. In the following pages, we shall see how Japanese diplomacy was more successful for the civilizational pluralism clause in the PCIJ statute than in the much advertised campaign for the racial equality clause in the League Covenant.

THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT AND THE WORLD COURT

The motive for the Japanese proposal for civilizational pluralism, in fact, was far from being altruistic or sincere. Rather than attaining the civilizational plurality per se, the Japanese government was interested in making sure that it should be given a permanent judge appointment in the World Court. When negotiations started on the text of the statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Japanese claim was to give each of the permanent members of the Council of the League of Nations (Japan, the UK, France,

and Italy) and the United States the right to appoint a national judge. Since such a proposal of blunt power politics was in contradiction with the judicial principle that judges be nominated for their personal quality, another idea was put forth to grant Japan practically the same privilege.[3]

Japanese Skepticism against International Adjudication

The Japanese government was never enthusiastic with the introduction of international adjudication. Its skepticism was rooted with its experience of consular (or "extraterritorial") jurisdiction since the 1850s. The first treaties that the Japanese government (the Tokugawa shogunate) concluded with Western powers provided that most foreigners in Japan were subject only to consular jurisdiction and therefore escaped the Japanese judicial system. From the outset, the Japanese government tried to renegotiate these highly unpopular treaties. The general public was dissatisfied with them as well, as evidenced in the reaction to the Normanton Incident in 1886. On October 24, a British cargo ship ran aground and sank off the coast of Wakayama Prefecture, drowning all Japanese passengers on board. This incident sparked public uproar, as the British Consul at Kobe settled on November 5 that the captain and his crew were innocent, despite having made no attempt of rescuing the Japanese passengers.[4] As suggested by Masaharu Yanagihara (2017: 5), it is likely that Mineichirō Adachi decided to study international law because of the Normanton Incident.

In addition to such internal disillusionments, there were also external cases that furthered these sentiments (Kayaoğlu 2010; on the role of international law in solidifying European imperialism, see Koskenniemi 2009). One of them, losing the House Tax case against three European powers (the United Kingdom, France, and Germany) before the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 1905, caused a "shattering disillusionment," triggering a lasting aversion among Japanese policy makers against international adjudication and a "lurking suspicion born in the mind of Japan in the manipulative aspect of international law" (Zachmann 2014: 118).[5] It was with such skepticism over the neutrality of international judicial bodies that the Japanese government was dealing with the creation of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Negotiations on the Composition of the Court

By virtue of Article 14 of the covenant, the Council of the League of Nations was required to "formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice." In February 1920, the council appointed ten experts of international

law as members of the Advisory Committee of Jurists to prepare a draft statute for consideration by the member states of the League of Nations.

The list of members reveals how political this committee was:

- Mineichirō Adachi, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, at Brussels
- Rafael Altamira, Senator, Professor of the Faculty of Law of the University of Madrid
- Clóvis Beviláqua, Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil (later replaced by Raoul Fernandes, former Brazilian delegate to the Paris Peace Conference)
- Édouard Descamps, Senator, Belgian Minister of State
- Francis Hagerup, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Norway, at Stockholm
- Albert de Lapradelle, Professor of the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris
- Bernard C. J. Loder, Member of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands
- Walter Phillimore, Judge of the High Court of Justice in London
- Arturo Ricci-Bustatti, Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Italy, Legal Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Italy
- Elihu Root, Former Secretary of State of the United States of America

With diplomats, politicians, and legal advisors in the foreign service, it certainly sounded unconvincing to claim, as did, in fact, one of the committee members (Hagerup), that "the members of the Committee were not representatives of individual countries [and that] the Committee was not a diplomatic conference" (ACJ 1920: 22). The ten members were carefully chosen: five members from great powers—France, Italy, Spain, the United States, and Japan—and five members from middle powers—Brazil, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands. In essence, it *was* a diplomatic conference.

The Japanese government chose Mineichirō Adachi (1870–1934) as its representative in the committee.[6] Adachi graduated from the University of Tōkyō and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1892. He was a member of the Japanese delegation at the Portsmouth Peace Conference in 1905 to end the Russo-Japanese War, the Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico from 1912 to 1915, and the Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium from 1920 to 1927. It was in the last capacity that he participated at the Versailles Conference after World War I.

In a telegram on May 18, 1920, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave Adachi instructions that his first priority was to ensure permanent seats for the UK, France, Italy, Germany, and Japan (MOFA 1973: 324–25). It was due to his efforts to satisfy the Japanese government that Adachi insisted on the

insertion of the concept of civilization in the article, which is now numbered Article 9. According to the official record, in spite of criticisms from the representatives of middle powers,[7] Phillimore observed that "the present formula was adopted to give satisfaction to Adatci" (ACJ 1920: 371).[8] Hagerup "held to his opinion, but he would not press it in the face of the opposition of several members (in particular M. Adatci) who attached much importance to this phrase" (ACJ 1920: 437). According to the summary record of the committee meetings, "M. Adatci emphasized the fact that he was moved by the strongest desire for reconciliation and that he cared only to reach an agreement with the other members" (ACJ 1920: 385).

This was how the concept of the "main forms of civilization" was introduced in the PCIJ statute. What is interesting here is not Adachi's genuine wish for the recognition of civilizational diversity, but how the concept could be used effectively as a diplomatic means in multilateral negotiations in 1920. The other members of the committee were certainly aware of Adachi's intention to obtain a privileged status for Japan in the new court by blandishing the cause of civilizational diversity, but they avoided openly criticizing him for hypocrisy.

Japanese and European Sensitivity for Civilizational Pluralism

In the statute of the International Court of Justice, Article 38, paragraph 1 reads:

> The Court shall apply:
>
> (. . .)
>
> 3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;
>
> (. . .)

It is not uncommon to criticize this concept of "civilized nations" as Eurocentric, not least because as of 1920, many regions outside of Europe were still under colonial rule, considered non-civilized, and as a consequence, suffered from discrimination. It is often criticized that such a discriminatory phrase slipped in the PCIJ statute and is maintained in the statute of the International Court of Justice even today (cf. Pellet 2012).

As Gerrit Gong argues in his *The Standard of 'Civilisation' in International Society* (1984), the concept of civilization functioned as a means of exclusion of non-Europeans from the protection of international law and the practical consequence of it was the imposition of unfair terms on

non-Europeans. However, it should be emphasized that Eurocentrism was criticized in Europe and North America already in the nineteenth century (*contra* Hobson 2012). Although some scholars served European imperialism by providing theoretical frameworks and justifications for the expansions (including the righteousness of the Opium War by insisting on the freedom of trade),[9] some European scholars were harshly critical of such Eurocentric attitudes (cf. Woolsey 1891). For example, the Swiss jurist Alphonse Rivier (1889: 27–28) condemned the Opium War as doubly unjust because of the illegality of opium and the illegality of imposed trade. Even scholars who found justification in European powers forcing China to open its market did not argue for it because of Chinese "non-civilizedness," as evidenced in the writings of Albert de Lapradelle (1901: 340), one of the ten committee members. As a member of the committee to draft the PCIJ statute, de Lapradelle favorably received the concept of different forms of civilization, even though he was hostile to the idea of ensuring permanent seats to the Five Powers. Faithful to his own principle, de Lapradelle advocated for the elimination "of civilized nations (*de nations civilisées*)" in the provisions of Article 38, even though his effort proved unsuccessful and the wording of Article 38 remained unchanged.

The attitude taken by Adachi, the de facto representative of the Japanese government, was in sharp contrast with that of de Lapradelle. According to the proceedings of the drafting committee of the PCIJ statute, Adachi declared that "all different kinds of civilisation must be taken into account, among them the civilisation of the Far East, of which Japan was perhaps the principal representative" (ACJ 1920: 136), even claiming that

> the Japanese system was fully entitled to be represented upon the Court, more especially as there was a distinct tendency for it to spread throughout Asia. Thus it was Japanese jurists who had prepared the new constitution of China and who had drafted the laws of that country. (ACJ 1920: 384)

Adachi was certainly not a civilizational egalitarian. As the only representative of an Asian country in the committee, Adachi could have spoken for a wider Asian cause. But he did not. As the Norwegian member of the committee said, we should recognize "in all civilized countries—in Norway as well as in Japan—a civilization national in origin, on which there has been grafted a civilization general in character, and more or less common to all countries" (ACJ 1920: 365). In Asia, there was the Chinese civilization, Korean civilization, Siamese civilization, and many others along with the Japanese. Adachi's claim was that Japan was the unique civilizational representative of the Far East.

Adachi's Solitary Maneuvers

While Adachi was making efforts to revise the draft statute to Japan's advantage, the Japanese government was not supportive. This is evidenced in the telegram exchanges between Adachi and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When Adachi advocated for the civilizational representation, the ministry did not see any value in it. Adachi received a telegram on June 27, 1920, instructing him as follows:

> Even though the proposed representation of legal systems is little clear, if it means that national legal systems are classified into a number of groups and each group should have a representative in the Court, it would mean something as absurd as China's representation in the Court because of its antiquated legal system and Japan's non-representation for being considered as a country of French or German legal system. Be aware that, for these reasons, the government of the Empire of Japan can hardly accept such provisions. Even though, according to your telegram No. 106, such a proposal has no chance to be adopted, I mention this just in case. (MOFA 1973: 335–36)

The Japanese government was therefore hostile to the idea of the representation of legal systems due to its ambiguity. Once receiving this telegram, Adachi tried to persuade the ministry in Tōkyō by writing that the phrase of "different forms of civilization and juridical systems" was to "make sure that a Japanese judge should be nominated" (MOFA 1973: 339), but there was no reply of approval coming from Tōkyō. Eventually, Adachi abandoned efforts trying to convince his colleagues in Tōkyō and, instead, reported that he attempted to persuade the committee to delete the phrase "different forms of civilization and juridical systems." The phrase was adopted nonetheless as part of the final draft of the committee (MOFA 1973: 347–48).

It is to be assumed that Adachi was deliberately incorrect in this telegram. The official record of the committee contradicts Adachi's as to what happened in The Hague. As mentioned above, the phrase "different forms of civilization and juridical systems" was adopted in order to satisfy Adachi. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs must have been surprised to see the idea of the representation of legal systems and different forms of civilization adopted in the final text, since Adachi reported in telegram No. 106 (July 20, 1920) that the idea had little support (MOFA 1973: 333). In short, it was Adachi himself who was pushing for it, while deceiving his diplomatic colleagues in Tōkyō.

JAPAN'S TURN TO CIVILIZATIONAL EGOCENTRISM

Even if he could not elicit approval from Tōkyō, Adachi achieved what the Japanese government wanted to obtain: a permanent seat in the Permanent

Court of Justice. Since its establishment in 1922, the PCIJ continued to have a Japanese judge until 1942, ten years after Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations. In total, there were three Japanese judges: Yorozu Oda from 1922 to 1930, Mineichirō Adachi from 1931 to 1934, including his presidency of the court from 1931 to 1933, and Harukazu Nagaoka from 1935 to 1942.

Adachi died in December 1934 in the Netherlands, and the Dutch government offered him a state funeral. The idea of Japan being a civilizational representative of East Asia, which did not convince the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1920, however, outlived him. In November 1943, the Greater East Asia Conference was convened in Tōkyō with the participation of leaders of Japan, Manchukuo, the reorganized National Government of China, Burma, the Second Philippine Republic, and the Kingdom of Thailand. It was to build an "East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" with Japan as the leading nation. The establishment of a New East Asian Order would certainly fit the idea that "Japan was the principal representative of the civilization of the Far East." Twenty-three years after the adoption of the PCIJ statute with its civilizational pluralism clause, Japan, with the other five nations of the conference, declared that "the countries of Greater East Asia by respecting one another's traditions and developing the creative faculties of each race will enhance the culture and civilization of Greater East Asia" (MOFA 1943).

On December 8, 1941, Japan declared war against the United States and the United Kingdom, because, "[e]ager for the realization of their inordinate ambition to dominate the Orient, both America, and Britain, giving support to the Chungking regime, have aggravated the disturbances in East Asia" and it was at least officially the mission of the Japanese Imperial House to "ensure the stability of East Asia and to contribute to world peace" (*Japan Times and Advertiser* 1941: 1). The idea of Japan's civilizational leadership was a relatively new idea in 1920 but became a guiding principle within the two subsequent decades. The seed of Japan's civilizational egocentrism was already planted when it started to contest Europe's egocentrism, and when Adachi claimed that the Japanese civilization was civilizing the rest of Asia, including China.

CONCLUSION: THE LEGACY OF JAPAN'S EARLY ATTEMPT TO CHALLENGE EUROCENTRISM

Conventional history in twenty-first-century Japan presents the country as a challenger to the international domination of the West in the first half of the twentieth century. Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 gave hope to peoples under colonial yokes in Asia and Africa. The failure to insert the racial equality clause in the Covenant of the League of Nations seemingly illustrates this

Western arrogance. But such a simplified narrative hides the post-Eurocentrist or universalist attitudes taken by Western international policy makers already in the 1920s. While the much-mediatized racial equality clause was not to have any direct legal consequences, the civilizational plurality clause in the PCIJ statute did have direct consequences on the operation of one of the most important international organizations of the time. The conventional narrative, in addition, hides the egocentric imperialism of the Japanese government. By challenging Western domination in international politics, Japan did not mean to break the Euro-Western-centric paradigm. It merely presented itself as "civilized" or as civilized (Europeanized) non-Europeans, in the midst of other "un-civilized" Asians. Japan's hegemony needed European recognition, which is part of the reason why Japan signed the Three-Power Pact with Germany and Italy on September 27, 1940. Japan declared to "recognize and respect the leadership of Germany and Italy in establishment of a new order in Europe," while Germany and Italy declared to "recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in greater East Asia" (MOFA 2004).

Japan's turn to egocentrism or its use of the civilizational plurality argument was not institutionally planned as of 1920. Rather, it was the brainchild of just one person, Mineichirō Adachi. While the entire government of Japan only caused public anger domestically, one diplomat was able to make an important change in one of the fundamental documents of international law without the support of his government. This is another case where the power of ideals in international law was utilized fully. The ideal of civilizational pluralism made its own way into the international judicial system. But what seemed a lofty ideal later turned into the political doctrine of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity. Here, the danger of ideals in international law is evidenced. However, the sincerity with which Adachi pursued the ideal of an international judiciary should not be easily discredited (e.g., Yanagihara and Shinohara 2017). In September 1930, he was elected a PCIJ judge with the highest number of votes and in January 1931 he became president chosen by his fellow judges. Shrewd diplomacy and power politics cannot fully explain such international trust placed in him. I have no doubt about the noble personality of Mineichirō Adachi. A great ideal came into being at the initiative of a great person, but not without risk of distortion and abuse by others.

As to the principle of representation of different forms of civilization in the election of judges of the World Court, should it have been formulated more bluntly that each of the permanent members of the council have the right to have a judge? In fact, this was the practice of the Permanent Court of International Justice until 1946 and since then it is that of the International Court of Justice.

NOTES

1. The question of scope of the concept of European/Western civilization is beyond the purpose of this chapter. For more, see, for example, GoGwilt (1995).

2. "The total Indian population of the United States is 177,235. . . . Of this number there are approximately 38,000 children of school age. During the year 23,393 of these were enrolled in schools. The progress which has attended recent efforts to extend Indian-school facilities and the anticipation of continued liberal appropriations to that end cannot fail to afford the utmost satisfaction to those who believe that the education of Indian children is a prime factor in the accomplishment of Indian civilization" (cited in Whitney 2002: 293).

3. Concurring with Bardo Fassbender (2014: 582), Article 9 was essentially "a manifestation of power politics" and "the combination of the two phrases 'main forms of civilization' and 'principal legal systems of the world' was meant to solve the problem of how the principle of equality of State could be reconciled with the wish of the 'Great Powers' to be always represented on the Court." Fassbender is also right in pointing out that the concept of "principal legal systems of the world" derives from Article 1 of the Draft Convention Relative to the Creation of a Judicial Arbitration Court of 1907.

4. The British Court for Japan in Yokohama (the appeal and final consular court), set up in the British Embassy, overturned the decision of the first instance and found the captain guilty of criminal negligence and sentenced him to three months of imprisonment, but rejected the victims' claim for compensation.

5. For example, Harukazu Nagaoka (1983: 5), later a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice regretted that the Japanese government "simply thought that we can expect a person of a country without interest in Japan to make fair arguments."

6. At first, the Japanese government named Ambassador Satsuo Akizuki, who was the head of the Japanese Delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference. But as the formation of the Advisory Committee of Jurists took more time than initially planned, and Akizuki returned for personal reasons to Japan, the government decided to appoint Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium Mineichirō Adachi ("Requesting Instructions as to the Recommendation of Minister Adachi as our National Representative to the Committee of Jurists," telegram from Ambassador in the United Kingdom Chinda to Foreign Affairs Uchida, January 24, 1920 [MOFA 1973: 316–17]). Akizuki was not an internationally acclaimed expert of international law. The choice for Adachi, who was an expert in international law, however, also seems to have been rather accidental.

7. "M. Loder was opposed to the idea of representing the various legal systems. This idea had been talked of a great deal without its meaning ever being clearly explained" (ACJ 1920: 363) and Haegrup "agreed with M. Loder that the idea was unsound. The Court was to deliver judgment according to international law; consequently there was no need to have national systems of law represented on it" (ACJ 1920: 365).

8. In the *Proceedings*, Adachi is spelled Adatci.

9. For example, Carl Gareis (1888: 5; author's translation), a professor of law at the University of Giessen, wrote: "the question whether a civilized state can force culturally a less developed state to accept international trade, at least, to the minimum extent and participate in interactions in the great international community should be answered in the affirmative."

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Chapter 3

Kōtarō Tanaka (1890–1974) and Global International Relations

Kevin M. Doak

> Though many researches have been conducted on many aspects of Tanaka's life and thought, his commitment to international cultural relations has been ignored or forgotten.
>
> (Shibasaki 1999: 39)

In his recent study on International Relations (IR), Atsushi Shibasaki (2015: 90) claims that "Tanaka Kōtarō was the first person in Japan to develop a comprehensive theory of international culture" (*kokusai bunka*). And yet, as Shibasaki rightfully regrets, there has been little attention to this aspect of Tanaka's myriad intellectual contributions to modern Japanese cultural history. In this chapter, drawing on Shibasaki's pioneering work, I propose to introduce the main features of Tanaka's contribution to IR. I will focus on his travels in and writings on Latin America from the late 1930s through the late 1950s for two reasons. First, Tanaka was sent to Latin America in 1939 as a practitioner of "national diplomacy" (*kokumin gaikō*), something distinct from but akin to what is more commonly known in English as "people's diplomacy."[1] Second, Latin America is the best example of Tanaka's theory of international culture. As Shibasaki (2010: 35) notes, "Latin American countries were the true example of his particular-universal formulation of global international relations. Each country is independent and has a particular culture and they share Catholicism as a commonality." Catholicism was the key element in what Tanaka called international culture, as Catholicism was the most concrete manifestation of an understanding of culture that was neither limited to the tribe nor beholden to the state. Approaching culture from the global standpoint of Catholicism gave Tanaka (1937) a way of avoiding the pitfalls of "culture for culture's sake" that trivialized culture

(and often violated the dignity of the individual) or "culture for the state" that in IR easily became merely a form of cultural imperialism.

This chapter has been deeply informed by the theoretical work of Shibasaki and others, but it takes a historical approach in order to add specificity on Tanaka's activities in Latin America as evidence of the extent to which his theory of global international relations became a reality in practice. Tanaka's cultural diplomacy, like diplomacy in general, is best found in the interstices between what the diplomat knows and whom he knows, and to fully appreciate Tanaka's role in international cultural relations we need to have a good understanding of both.

Tanaka's national diplomacy may be best understood in the context of what is better known as informal diplomacy. According to the US Department of State,

> informal diplomacy includes Public Diplomacy which involves government-to-people diplomacy and reaching out to non-executive branch officials and the broader public, particularly opinion-shapers, in foreign countries, explaining both foreign policy and the national context out of which that policy arises. Public Diplomacy is carried out by both diplomats and, under their programs and auspices, non-officials such as academic scholars, journalists, experts in various fields, members of non-governmental organizations, public figures such as state and local government officials, and social activists. (n.d.)

This definition of informal diplomacy captures well the nature and range of Tanaka's activities in Latin America. Tanaka was an academic scholar and a social activist (especially on Catholic issues) who reached out to opinion-shapers and the broader public in all the countries of Latin America where he visited, and his activities were conducted under programs sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is precisely for the reason that he was not an official diplomat, we need a fairly detailed look at whom he met and, where possible, the kinds of topics he discussed, to assess the significance of his informal diplomacy.

PRELUDE TO TANAKA'S LATIN AMERICAN INFORMAL DIPLOMACY

Even before Tanaka's mission to Latin America as an informal diplomat, he was in contact with official diplomats from Latin America. He attended a dinner for sixteen people at Apostolic Delegate Paul Marella's residence the evening of January 16, 1935. There Tanaka was joined by US ambassador, Joseph Grew; British ambassador, Robert Clive; French ambassador, Fernand

Pila; Brazilian ambassador, Carlos Martins Pereira e Souza (1884–1965); Columbian minister, Domingo Esguerra Plata (1875–1965); in addition to several Japanese diplomats and Catholic clerics. In December of that year, Tanaka traveled to Italy as an exchange professor, hosted by Japan's Center for International Cultural Relations (KBS). He spent half a year in Europe, travelling to France, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, and the United Kingdom, giving lectures along the way. Although Tanaka's mission was purely academic and cultural in nature, the experience was a formative one for his political activism. Reflecting on that time in his autobiography, Tanaka (1961: 62) called it "a turning point in my life." Takamaro Hanzawa (cited in Shibasaki 2015: 52) describes this trip as a decisive shift from Tanaka's youthful aestheticism to mature political consciousness as a "public man." In contrast to his first visit to Italy from 1919–1922, the country was now firmly under fascist rule, and Tanaka was apprehensive about visiting a fascist country. Shibasaki concludes that Tanaka's success in Fascist Italy was due to the fact that he did not fall into a political propagation of cultural ideology but gave lectures with an elevated content. But in addition, and perhaps even more important, he points to Tanaka's facility with foreign languages, his deep knowledge of Western art and scholarship, and above all the fact that he himself was a devout Catholic (Shibasaki 2015: 68). All of those resources helped Tanaka connect with the Italian people during his visit.

In this context, we can begin to see the formation of Tanaka as an actor in what has been called the use of "soft power" in diplomatic relations. The concept of soft power was introduced and developed by Joseph Nye (2004) in order to capture a form of cultural diplomacy that sought to attract and co-opt others indirectly rather than through the direct use of force or monetary incentives for desired behavior. Also, Shibasaki (2015: 147–209) outlines Tanaka's national diplomacy in this context. What is germane to this chapter is that Imperial Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs exercised a kind of soft power diplomacy that frequently used Japanese diplomats and civilians (informal diplomats), like Tanaka, who were Catholic to attract goodwill from political and social elites in Latin American countries. The idea was to break down stereotypes about Japanese culture as alien to the cultures of those Catholic countries by introducing Latin Americans to patriotic Japanese who shared the same faith that they held. Implicit in this soft power policy was a challenge to overly restrictive notions of national and religious cultures that would, for example, exclude Catholic identity as an authentic way of being Japanese. In short, as soft power, Catholic Japanese diplomacy required a new definition of national and international culture, one that did not reduce international culture to merely relationships among homogeneously defined national cultures.

Shortly after returning from Europe, Tanaka offered an outline of this new understanding of international culture in an article called "The Idea of an International Cultural Movement" that was published in the leading public opinion journal *Kaizō*. His theory was informed by two competing ideas: cultural imperialism based on extreme nationalism and cultural cooperation based on sound internationalism. He insisted that cultural cooperation cannot be realized through an emphasis on the particular culture of ethnic groups, but must be approached through the "universal human culture" (cited in Shibasaki 2015: 70) of law, technology, and natural science. He recognized the validity of particular ethnic cultures, and even argued that ethnic culture is the basis of cultural exchange. At the same time, universal human culture is the essential ground for cooperation among the peoples of the world. Cultural exchange and cultural cooperation taken together, he concluded, hold out the promise of harmonizing cultural diversity and cultural universalism. Tanaka called for a new approach to international cultural work that could contribute to universal human culture while at the same time enhancing respect for particular ethnic cultures. To Tanaka, "an ethnic national position and an international position are not at all contradictory. In their relationship we find a delicate harmony of nationalism and internationalism" (Shibasaki 2015: 70–71).

The second precondition for Tanaka's work as an informal diplomat fell into place on February 17, 1939, when, caught up in a major controversy over the purge by university president, Yuzuru Hiraga (1878–1943), of certain Tokyo Imperial University economics professors, Tanaka resigned his position as dean of the law faculty.[2] Three months later, Tanaka was on his way to Latin America, something that could not have happened had he remained dean. But just before he left, he wrote a second major article, also published in *Kaizō*, that took up the defense of his theory of international culture in the face of the gathering winds of nationalism following the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in July 1937. *Cultural Agreements and Cultural Work*, written on May 5, applied Tanaka's theory on cultural particularism and universalism to the cultural agreements the Japanese government had signed with Hungary, Germany, and Italy. He argued that what was necessary to make such cultural agreements meaningful is the "promotion of activity by the diplomacy of the entire nation [*zen kokumin-teki no gaikō*] that participates in the national whole [*kokumin zentai*] which possesses the national culture (*kokumin bunka*)" (cited in Shibasaki 2015: 73).[3] This was not mere abstract theorizing: Tanaka already knew he was about to depart for Latin America as an informal national diplomat (*kokumin gaikōkan*) so this article should be interpreted as setting out Tanaka's own understanding of the role and significance of his mission. Perhaps the most significant line in this article, in terms of Tanaka's mission in Latin America, was this one:

> If one plans for exchange between ethnic cultures without mutual respect and certain demands on the other country's ethnic culture that come from mutual respect, the result will be merely the acceptance of a mutual invasion of cultures. . . . Cultural agreements then become nothing more than efforts by the State to continue the work of various private organizations that seek to promote international culture as conventionally understood . . . even such private work must be built on spiritual ties (*seishin-teki chūtai*) between the countries involved, ties that are both established in fact and open to the possibility of expansion. (Tanaka 1939a: 7)

Tanaka's trip to Latin America, on the eve of the outbreak of World War II, was his chance to test his theory of international cultural relations through practice.

As Shibasaki (2010: 34) writes, Tanaka "was welcomed all over the place, especially in Catholic countries. This was the time period just before the formation of the 'axis' between Japan-German-Italy. In some part his Catholicism and internationalism was considered as a good 'tool' to make a good relationship between Japan and Christian countries in the viewpoint of the Japanese government officials who sought to reestablish friendly relations after leaving the League of Nations in 1933." Shibasaki's characterization of Tanaka's use of Catholicism and internationalism as a good tool for Japan to improve its relations with Christian countries fits nicely within Nye's understanding of soft power, or the US State Department's definition of informal diplomacy. Tanaka's informal diplomacy, like formal diplomacy, rested as much on personal relationships as it did on concepts. So, before returning to Tanaka's theory of intercultural relationships, we need to have at least a brief summary of whom he met in Latin America to understand the nature of the diplomatic relationships he established during his three and a half months there.

But first we should recognize that Tanaka was not the first Catholic informal diplomat Japan sent to Latin America. There were others who preceded him, most notably Rear Admiral Stefano Shinjirō Yamamoto (1877–1942) who was sent on his own national diplomatic mission (*kokumin shisetsu*) to sixteen countries from Brazil to North America to Europe from July 1937 to November 29, 1938 (Yamamoto 1993: 194–96). Yamamoto, who had served briefly after World War I as an official diplomat, was sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Army Ministry as an unofficial representative specifically "to strengthen the correct understanding of the Sino-Japanese War among his overseas friends and among those in the Catholic Church" (Yamamoto 1993: 195). Upon his return, Yamamoto gave a long speech about his trip at the *Gakushi Kaikan* ("Scholars Hall") in Tōkyō. Other than that speech, however, there is no report or publication by Yamamoto on his

mission. In fact, he fell ill from the exertions of his travels and, after a prolonged period of confinement, died on February 28, 1942.

NATIONAL DIPLOMACY IN PRACTICE: TANAKA'S INTERCULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Like Yamamoto, Tanaka was sent to Brazil out of a sense that his Catholic faith had diplomatic value for Japan in the late 1930s. The trip was enthusiastically supported by Setsuzō Sawada (1884–1974) who had just returned from his post as ambassador to Brazil from 1934 to 1938 (Tanaka 1961: 70). Catholicism opened doors for some of the most influential Japanese of the day (Doak 2015). When Tanaka arrived in Latin America, Japan's ambassador to Brazil was the Catholic, Kazue Kuwashima (1884–1958), and its ambassador to Argentina was the Catholic, Iwatarō Uchiyama (1890–1971).[4] Catholicism was an integral part of Japanese formal diplomacy in Latin America, and Tanaka, as Japan's most famous Catholic, was a key component of that broader strategy.

Tanaka's 1939 trip to Latin America was sponsored by the American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed by his close friend Ken Yanagisawa (1889–1953), with financial support also provided by the Japan Cultural Association of Brazil, the Japan-Argentine Cultural Association of Argentina, and the University of Buenos Aires. On arrival in Rio de Janeiro on June 22, Tanaka was met by Ambassador Kuwashima and his staff, as well as by Pedro Calmon (1902–1985), dean of the Faculty of Law of Rio University, and others. Faculty members of the law school of the University of Brazil with whom Tanaka spent the most time included Dean Calmon; Haroldo Valladão (1901–1987), a lecturer on international law; and Levi Carneiro (1882–1971), former president of the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) and a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters (Tanaka 1961: 559–60). Appellate judge, Francisco Cavalcanti Pontes de Miranda (1892–1979), dropped in on a cocktail reception for Tanaka and spoke on wide ranging topics of law and philosophy and praised Japanese legal scholarship. Calmon, Carneiro, Pontes de Miranda, and Valladão were the Brazilians with whom Tanaka bonded most strongly, as they were scholars working in the same field of law with largely similar approaches and conclusions that matched his. Carneiro, who served as a justice on the International Court in The Hague from 1951 to 1954, was most likely a key influence in getting Tanaka his own seat on the court in 1960.

Tanaka was a high profile visitor, and reports on his visit regularly appeared in the Brazilian media. He met Antônio Austregésilo (1876–1960), president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters; Herbert Moses (1884–1972),

president of the Brazilian Press Association; Augusto Pinto Lima, the "head of the OAB"[5]; Secretary of the Interior, Francisco Campos (1891–1968), who had just drafted the Brazilian Constitution in 1937; and Cláudio de Sousa (1876–1954), member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and president of the Brazilian PEN Club. Tanaka also got to know the dean of the Faculty of Letters of Rio University, Alceu Amoroso Lima (1893–1983) who, as head of the Dom Vital Center, was the leader of the Catholic cultural movement in Rio.[6] Lima was at the time greatly influenced by Jacques Maritain, although it is not clear whether Tanaka was aware of his relationship with their mutual friend.

Tanaka frequently gave lectures, interviews, and radio talks during his visit to Brazil, a remarkable feat since he had practically no previous knowledge of Portuguese. His academic lectures were generally given in French, such as the one he gave on Savigny's jurisprudence to the OAB in Rio de Janeiro. Among the fifty to sixty leading members of the Brazilian legal community in attendance was the éminence grise of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and former minister of justice, José Carlos de Macedo Soares (1883–1968), who offered a few remarks promoting Brazilian-Japanese relations. Tanaka gave yet another lecture in French at the National Art School on issues in Japanese spiritual life, presided over by University of Brazil president Leitão da Cunha. On the morning of July 8, he received Ernesto de Souza Campos (1882–1970), one of the greatest figures of culture and education in Brazilian history. De Souza Campos had a great interest in Japan, having led a student group there for a month in 1934 to study Japanese education. Tanaka also gave a lecture in French on "The Mission of Catholic Students during this World Crisis" to Dean Amaroso Lima's Catholic group, the Dom Vital Center.

On the afternoon of July 20, Tanaka had a twenty-minute audience with President Getúlio Vargas (1882–1954). Vargas warmly welcomed him, telling him he had read in the newspapers that Tanaka had given a lecture in Portuguese; Tanaka replied he tried his best to learn the local language to promote mutual relations between Japan and Brazil. Vargas asked his academic specialty and, when he learned it was private law, he told Tanaka that Brazil was trying to unify private law and commercial law. Tanaka merely replied that was an interesting academic endeavor, while withholding his endorsement of the effort. Tanaka praised Vargas for establishing policies against communism while not running to the Far Right, something he said he appreciated as a Japanese. On July 24, Tanaka went to the Jockey Club for a special dinner where the distinguished guests included Filadelfo de Azevedo (1894–1951) who would become Brazil's first justice of the International Court of Justice in 1946, and Hahnemann Guimarães (1901–1980), another of Brazil's most important jurists.

In Saõ Paulo, as in Rio, Tanaka gave academic lectures and met the social and political elite: one lecture given in French was on "Various Problems in Contemporary Japanese Spiritual Life" at the law school, hosted by the August 11 Centro Academic.[7] The group's president, Trajano Pupo Netto (1915–1991), made opening remarks and then turned it over to dean of the Law Faculty Sebastião Soares de Faria (1883–1952). Tanaka also met Waldemar Martins Ferreira (1885–1964) who had just been dismissed from the faculty for his anti-Vargas activities (Tanaka 1961: 560).[8] Perhaps the most interesting meeting Tanaka had in São Paulo was with an elderly German man who came to his hotel room early in the morning of August 1. He told Tanaka that for many years he had run a men's clothing shop in Berlin, where his customers included a good many Japanese. He saw in the local newspapers there was a K. Tanaka in São Paulo and thought this might be one of his former customers. It was a different Tanaka but still they talked. And Tanaka found out that two years earlier, this clothier was forced out of Berlin at the age of seventy-four due to the Nazi anti-Jewish laws. The gentleman praised the Brazilians for their lack of racism and told Tanaka he was grateful he could live there in peace (Tanaka 1961: 214). This was one of several experiences that led Tanaka to see Latin America as a region largely free from the racism he had witnessed in the United States and Europe.

Tanaka spent two weeks in late August in Argentina, where he was assisted by Uchiyama. There he met Dean Agustín Matienzo of the law school (1889–1973),[9] and director of the academy, Carlos Ibarguren, among many other leading scholars. Among scholars he met who were also politically active were Leopoldo Melo (1869–1951) and Vincente Gallo (1873–1942). Melo and Gallo (then president of the University of Buenos Aires) had run unsuccessfully for president and vice president on the Radical Civic Union ticket in 1928. On August 25, Tanaka was feted at a welcome luncheon hosted by Ambassador Uchiyama at the Jockey Club in Buenos Aires where, in addition to Melo, he conversed with Vice-Admiral Manuel Domecq Garcia (1859–1951), president of the Argentina-Japan Cultural Association; and he met former foreign minister and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Carlos Saavedra Lamas (1878–1959); chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Matías Guillermo Sánchez Sorondo (1880–1959), as well as leading university officials. On August 29, Uchiyama introduced Tanaka to the president of Argentina, Roberto María Ortiz (1886–1942), who spent most of their ten-minute meeting lecturing Tanaka on the current tendency in legal studies to take economics more seriously (Tanaka 1961: 323–25). Tanaka gave five academic lectures in addition to a lecture in Buenos Aires at the headquarters of the Catholic Action ladies branch on "Catholicism and the Mission of Catholics in the World Crisis."

Tanaka then flew over the Andes to Chile where he spent one week. In Santiago, he called on Oscar Dávila Izquierdo (1882–1970), head of the Chilean Bar Association. A reception for Tanaka was held at the Union Club where Senator Maximiano Errázuriz Valdés (1895–1950), a devout Catholic, greeted him warmly. Tanaka lectured at two universities in Chile: the National University of Santiago and at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. He met the law school dean, Fernando Alessandri Rodriguez (1897–1982), who was the son of the former president of Chile, Arturo Fortunato Alesssandri Palma. Tanaka was more impressed at the Pontifical Catholic University where he befriended the president, senator, and former head of an economic mission to Japan, Alfredo Barros Errázuriz (1875–1968). One week later, Tanaka flew to Lima and stayed another week in Peru where, once again, he gave lectures and met with dignitaries. What stands out from his time in Peru was his engagement with the Japanese immigrant community. He warned them against rising exclusivist sentiments and encouraged them to see their Japanese identity as in no way at odds with a sense of brotherhood with local Peruvians. He was, in fact, promoting his idea of international cultural identity (*kokusai bunka*), suggesting that ethnicity may be embraced but does not limit one's cultural identity. Tanaka's speech, published in the *Lima Nippo* in September, argued that Japanese-Peruvians can consider themselves to be good Japanese even if they do not speak the language well, just by following the general moral principles embedded in the Imperial Rescript on Education, along with other universal moral principles (Shibasaki 2010: 76). Such moral principles were legitimate elements of an international cultural identity and an important link between ethnic Japanese immigrants and their fellow Peruvians.

After briefly passing through Panama and Guatemala, Tanaka finally arrived in Mexico City on September 23. He was met by Minister Saichirō Koshida (1884–1963), Minister Masayuki Harada, and Minoru Unno (1908–2002) of the *Dōmei* News Service. After a welcome reception at the embassy, Tanaka went to meet the president of the Mexican Bar, Víctor Manuel Castillo (1863–1946), at his office. Tanaka was impressed that Castillo was old enough to have known Viscount Takeaki Emoto (1836–1908). Tanaka was even more impressed when he was shown an old house and told that Tsunenaga Hasekura (1571–1622) had stayed there between 1613 and 1621, both on his outward journey as an emissary of Masamune Date to Rome and on his return trip to Japan. In Tanaka's day, the building housed a high-end café catering to foreigners (Tanaka 1961: 442). Tanaka had written his first book on the Cristero Wars and the persecution of the Catholic Church in Mexico, but now he found the faith vibrant, with standing room only at the Masses.

Political and legal issues were a different matter. His meeting with the dean of the law school of the National Autonomous University of Mexico,

Roberto Esteva Ruíz (1875–1967), did not go well. Tanaka (1961: 453) found out that Ruíz accepted the Natural Law as a moral principle, but he defended it from a positivist position that was indebted to Léon Duguit (1859–1928). Tanaka was opposed to positivism and had written much against Duguit's theories. And when he mentioned that he had heard that the former president of Mexico, Francisco León de la Barra (1863–1939), had just died, he found Ruíz uninterested in the topic, presumably for political reasons. Tanaka had met de la Barra at a café in Paris just three years earlier. Tanaka knew that President de la Barra was pro-Japan, having visited the country where he had an audience with Emperor Meiji who bestowed an imperial decoration on him. Ruíz's disinterest in de la Barra came as a great disappointment to Tanaka. Tanaka's meeting with President Salvador Reynoso (1882–1950) of the Escuela Libre de Derecho, one of Mexico's top law schools, went better, as did his meeting with the director of the Academia Mexicana de Jurisprudencia, Toribio Esquivel Obregón (1864–1946), one of the founders of the Christian N. G. O. Partido Acción Nacional and a key figure in the history of Mexican jurisprudence.

Tanaka gave several lectures in Mexico. At the Academia Mexicana de Jurisprudencia he lectured again on Savigny. Toribio Esquivel Obregón gave him a warm introduction and Tanaka spoke before about fifty people, mostly professors from leading law schools. Later the same night he gave another lecture on "The Idea of World Law" at the National Autonomous University of Mexico before about four hundred students in a large auditorium. Tanaka thought many could not hear his soft voice due to the hall's poor acoustics and background noise coming through the open windows, but the transcription of the lecture was later published in Spanish in the institute's journal, allowing many to read it later (Tanaka 1939b). Tanaka (1961: 466–67) also visited the Cathedral of Our Lady of Guadalupe and viewed the famous image of Our Lady of Guadalupe which he described as an object of "national veneration" (*kokumin-teki sonsū*) due to its association with Hidalgo in the Mexican War for independence.

Tanaka flew to Los Angeles where, on October 3, he boarded the *SS Argentina* in Long Beach for the trip home, sailing first-class with Uchiyama's wife (Rio Consul Shun'ichi Komine) and family; tenor Yoshie Fujiwara and his wife; as well as Gunjirō Mochizuki (1879–1940; Knight of Order of St. Sylvester); and other friends. Tanaka (1961: 329) had already met Komine in Rio and Fujiwara in Argentina when he had attended the tenor's solo performance on August 27 at Uchiyama's official residence in Buenos Aires. All of the group on Tanaka's return ship, to a greater or lesser degree, may be considered members of the Catholic soft power diplomacy that Japan was employing in Latin American during the late 1930s (Lone 2001: 129). But none more so than Tanaka.

TANAKA'S LATIN AMERICAN–BASED IR THEORY

From 1939–1949, Tanaka wrote many articles and essays on Latin America, many of which were republished first in *My Travels in Latin America* (1940a; *Raten Amerika Kikō*) and then, with additional essays, became the basis for his two volume 1949 book, *An Overview of Latin American History* (*Raten Amerika Shi Gaisetsu*), which Kiyoshi Nakagawa (1995: 189) calls "the first serious general overview and scholarly study of the history of Latin America [in Japanese]." One constant theme in these varied writings is the emphasis on culture rather than political or economic issues as determining the nature of Japan–Latin American relations. In "Cultural Conditions in Latin America," published in the leading journal *Kaizō* just months after his return from Latin America, Tanaka praised the cultural and educational level of Brazil and criticized his fellow Japanese for their ignorance of Latin America, adding that "we have a tendency to disparage what we are ignorant of." He also noted the contradiction that while many Japanese at the time, including emigrants to Latin America, were praising themselves for their Japanese culture of "spiritualism," they ignored the rich spiritual culture of Latin American countries and tended to see them only as resources for economic gain (Tanaka 1939c: 251). His next article, "The Culture and History of Central and South America" (in 1940a) published in *Bungei Shujū* in February 1940, picked up on that theme and defended the cultural achievements of Brazil against the racist stereotype of Rio as a place where "negroes the color of asphalt lie naked under rows of mango trees whose branches were laden with fruit and, when suddenly a rain shower comes up, the negro merely opens his mouth and a ripe mango falls into it" (Tanaka 1940a: 522).[10] Against such misunderstandings, Tanaka reported the wide variations in climate in Brazil and the rest of Latin America and noted that, in terms of international cultural exchange, the Southern Hemisphere benefitted from European and American professors, musicians, and others who went there during their summer vacations for the cooler climate. He added that French cultural influence was so strong in Latin America that in certain respects the entire region could be called a cultural colony of France (Tanaka 1940a: 528). Tanaka was not making a political argument for national liberation from European cultural colonization; rather, he was pointing to varied cultural achievements in the region to contradict stereotypes that underestimated the cultural riches of Latin America.

But Tanaka was not blind to the political problems that confronted Latin America during the late 1930s. He directly addressed those political issues within the context of his overall cultural diplomatic approach in an article "Latin America as a Contest of Hegemony among the Great Powers" that was published in *Kaizō* in July of 1940 (Tanaka 1940b). This article was a rebuttal of Carleton Beals's (1938) "Japanophobic" book, *The Coming*

Struggle for Latin America that he had read while returning to Japan.[11] Contra Beals, Tanaka (1940b: 10) argued that, with the exception of Argentina, most Latin American countries sympathized with the Allied forces, not the Axis powers. He noted that even Beals had conceded that the bonds of solidarity among Latin American countries are stronger than any artificial ties between Latin America and the United States. For Tanaka, religion was the key to understanding Latin America as a unit and it served as the foundation for his international cultural theory. He cited the speech by Argentinian foreign minister, José María Cantilo (1877–1953), at the 1938 Pan-American Congress in Lima that intoned how

> all of us share a common ancestor, a common religion, and a common language. . . . We are united by a single Latin American culture. It goes back to Greece, was structured by Rome and united into a single culture by Christianity. This Greco-Roman culture was transformed by the Gospels and created a unity of the spirit under the Cross of Christ and Spanish standards. In this spirit, we feel the intimacy of brothers with Brazil. The harmonious language of Brazil differs very little from our own. It is the same with Haiti. Haiti is a miracle that emanates from French culture and is proof that culture matters more than race. (Cantilo, cited in Tanaka 1940b: 12)

Tanaka was convinced that because of the strong influence of Catholicism in Latin America, there was little chance of an alliance between Latin American countries and Hitler's Germany (even though he noted its influence via the Aski Mark, military supplies, and even Lufthansa).

Tanaka did concede there was considerable sympathy for Mussolini across Latin America, but he argued this was due more to religious issues than political sympathy for fascism. While he noted strong Italian immigration in Argentina, he also pointed out that Italian immigrants there tended to be working-class while the political elite were more heavily of German extraction. Across Latin America, there was criticism of Mussolini's annexation of Ethiopia, but it was easy for some to believe the annexation was about promoting Catholicism, similar to Pizzaro and Cortez bringing the faith to Latin America, and that feeling could allow some sympathy for Mussolini. Tanaka was surely right to add that Mussolini's aid to the Catholic general, Franco, in Spain only made Mussolini more attractive to Latin American ruling classes. His key point was that up until 1939, Mussolini was seen as more a defender of the Catholic faith than an attacker of it, unlike Hitler.[12] He noted that across Latin America, only Mexico and Costa Rica were anti-Mussolini due to the strength of populist socialism there. But Tanaka (1940b: 16–18) also believed that the Soviet Union was not likely to be able to benefit from these divisions, as Marxism was mainly restricted to the university lecture halls; he

failed to see the future of atheistic communism in the heavily Catholic Latin American countries.

Nationalism was another matter. Tanaka was concerned about the appeal of nationalism overtaking the common culture of Latin America and the violence it could unleash. He cited a recent incident of ethnic national violence against Japanese immigrants in Lima. He generally accepted the idea carried in a May 19 *Dōmei* News report on an upcoming Japanese diplomatic meeting in Rio that would propose an "antipodal good neighbor policy" (*taiseki koku zenrin seisaku*) for Japan as an alternative to the American "Western hemisphere good neighbor policy" (*nishi hankyū zenrin seisaku*). But he offered two caveats. First, he cautioned that the Japanese should not accept American overestimations of Japanese influence in Latin America. While there were many Japanese small shops and restaurants, and some Japanese bank branches across the region, the Americans dominated the infrastructure: power, electricity, railroads. Second, Japan's good neighbor policy must not be a utilitarian slogan, but a policy based on morality and culture that develops concrete policies for cultural and economic exchange with Central and South America. He concluded that Japan

> should not get hung up on geographical relations where there are surprisingly close sentiments and relations of cultural similarities. We must set aside utilitarian motives and first understand them better . . . we must understand that better spiritual and cultural relations are the foundation for better political and economic relations. Let's establish true fraternal relations. Once we do so, profit will come along on its own. (Tanaka 1940b: 20)

In March 1941, *Kaizō* published a tête-à-tête between Tanaka and former ambassador, Setsuzō Sawada, on their impressions of Latin America, with the title in bold face and photos of the two men. It was a remarkable piece, foregrounding in one of Japan's most visible publications these two Catholic diplomats and their relationships with Latin America. Both men agreed that the temperament of the people in Latin America and North America is markedly different, with Sawada candidly saying "there are people in the Latin American countries who feel disgusted by North Americans" (Tanaka and Sawada 1941: 295). When the interviewer asked Tanaka if there was any truth to the idea that some indigenous Latin Americans had ethnic affinities with the Japanese, Tanaka downplayed the idea and pointed to similar cultural behaviors, such as the practice of formally welcoming academic visitors who attend conferences. Both Tanaka and Sawada recognized the great class differences in Latin America, with Tanaka explaining the situation through the biblical expression "to those who have, more will be given; to those who have not, what little they have will be taken away." Tanaka went on to clarify that if

Japan wanted to establish profitable trade with Latin America, it had to stop seeing it as a place to dump cheap goods. The propertied class was already consuming high quality luxury items from France and the United States, so Japan had to be able to compete economically from a position of respect for the peoples and cultures of the region (Tanaka and Sawada 1941: 297).

In November, Tanaka wrote a series of three articles in the *Tokyo Asahi* newspaper about the recently signed Japan-Brazilian Cultural Agreement. He put it in the context of formal and informal diplomacy, noting the earlier efforts of Ambassadors Sawada and Kuwashima, Rear Admiral Shinjirō Yamamoto's "Catholic mission" to Brazil and his own, and then noted that he "couldn't help but long for the day when the government authorities would embrace international cultural policy as a key component of their grand national policy and establish that as their guiding spirit for international cultural undertakings" (Tanaka 1941: 3). As Shibasaki (2015: 79) notes, Tanaka's criticism of the government's cultural policy was published only one month before Pearl Harbor and war with the United States.

Tanaka's informal diplomacy in Latin America may have failed to prevent war in the face of growing militarist pressures at home, but in other respects it was not a complete failure. Tanaka's meeting in Mexico with Minoru Unno may have had some impact on Unno's participation in secret efforts to end the war. Unno's role with Tsurutarō Adachi in trying to get the Suzuki cabinet to end the war from April 1945 has been documented (Yoshida 2010: 52). I have yet to find direct evidence that Tanaka was collaborating with Unno on their efforts to end the war. But on July 21, 1944, Tanaka met with Morisada Hosokawa who was working with Imperial Navy Rear Admiral Sōkichi Takagi to assassinate Hideki Tōjō and find a peace plan to end the war. Hosokawa was private secretary to Fumimaro Konoe, prime minister of Japan from 1940 to 1941. Significantly, Tanaka told him that the existence of Latin American dictators was the result of the sociologically low cultural level of the people (*shakaigaku-teki ni mo mindo ga hikui koto*) (Hosokawa 1978: 281). By 1945, Tanaka was one of seven members of the Toshikazu Kase Secret Peace Society whose members sought a way to end the war and who were in contact with influential Japanese (Matsuo 1975: 230). Kase himself was private secretary to Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu (1887–1957). History records that these efforts were unsuccessful.

Tanaka remained consistent in his culturally based diplomatic strategy, and this vision laid the foundation for his activities in rebuilding Japan in the postwar period, as minister of education, Diet member, chief justice of the Supreme Court, and ultimately as a judge on the International Court at The Hague. As Shibasaki (2010: 36) has noted, Tanaka "wished to rebuild Japan as a cultural state (Kulturstaat) which conducts sound national cultural policy and international cultural policy following the schema of

'universal-cooperate, particular-exchange.' . . . He regarded UNESCO as the ideal institution of promoting such policy." Tanaka's Latin American cultural diplomacy also played a role in the rebuilding of postwar Japan. In 1957, as chief justice of the Japanese Supreme Court, he was invited back to Brazil by the Associação dos Magistrados Brasileiros to participate in their "Justice Day" (*Dia de Justiça*) to be celebrated in Salvador da Bahia. He was embraced on his arrival by Pontes de Miranda and Carneiro and was reunited also with Valladão, Pinto Lima, and many other old friends from his 1939 trip. He published a record of this trip the following year called *From Brazil to Mexico*, which included photos from his earlier visit as well as the recent one (Tanaka 1958). Those photos and Tanaka's reminiscences of his prewar trip are all the more valuable since most of his Latin American library collection was lost during the air raid of May 1945 (Nakagawa 1995: 193). The experience of Brazil's Justice Day led Tanaka to propose a Law Day for Japan.[13] The first Japanese Law Day was observed October 1, 1960, in Tōkyō with Chief Justice Tanaka presiding and even Prime Minister Hayato Ikeda (1899–1965) present. Law Day actually involved a week-long series of activities and events designed to "foster public respect of law as well as to stamp out all forms of lawless activities" (*Japan Times*, October 1, 1960: 3). This was yet another way that Tanaka's Latin American diplomacy, with its emphasis on the power of culture rather than politics, helped to shape the democratic culture of postwar Japan.

NOTES

1. But see the scholarly discussion by Shibasaki on Junpei Shinobu's distinction between two interpretations of *kokumin gaikō* as either national diplomacy (Tanaka) or people's democracy. The latter is closely related to Sakuzō Yoshino's notion of *minponshugi*, or a kind of people-minded bureaucratism; whereas with national democracy the people (= the nation) take action themselves "without the direction of politicians or diplomats" (Shibasaki 2011: 27).

2. Tanaka (1961: 70) himself believed it was the first time a dean of law at Tokyo Imperial University resigned for other than health reasons.

3. As Shibasaki notes, Tanaka also explicitly warned against adopting a superiority complex toward China.

4. Uchiyama, best known for promoting Japan's membership in the League of Nations, was appointed ambassador to Argentina in 1937, after having served as a diplomat in Chile, Saõ Paulo, and Rio from 1917 and in the Spanish Embassy in 1912. The son of Isamu Uchiyama, vice president of Marubeni Brazil, he was fluent in Spanish.

5. Tanaka was under the impression that Augusto Pinto Lima was president of the OAB when he visited. However, the OAB website says the president of the OAB

in 1939 was Fernando de Melo Viana, and Pinto Lima was not president of the OAB until 1948.

6. Alceu Amaroso Lima (1893–1983) was a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, founder of Brazilian Christian Democracy, and a powerful opponent of Fascism. He converted to Catholicism in 1928, the same year he become a leader of the Dom Vital Center. Like Tanaka, he was deeply influenced by Jacques Maritain. Lima was one of the Brazilian representative at the Second Vatican Council.

7. The Centro Acadêmico XI de Agosto is the representative body of the students of the Faculty of Law of the University of São Paulo. The group takes its name from the date of the law that established the first two law faculties of Brazil, in São Paulo and Olinda. Its foundation was given on August 11, 1903. It is the oldest academic law center of the country, having participated in several national political campaigns. It was active in the movement to defend democracy during the Vargas dictatorship.

8. On January 13, 1939, Waldemar, along with his colleagues, Vincente Ráo and Antônio de Sampaio Dória, were dismissed from their posts (Dulles 2014).

9. Agustín N. Matienzo was the son of the socialist, José Nicolás (1860–1936), one of the most important jurists of Argentina who had preceded his son as dean of the law school.

10. Tanaka noted that he heard from a "Mr. S" of the Yokohama Specie Bank in Rio that this image of Brazil as the land of the lazy Negro was actually reported as accurate in a roundtable discussion in Japan. "Mr. S" appears to be Fumiya Shiigi with whom Tanaka spoke on July 1, 1939, about Japanese misconceptions of Brazil.

11. Consider the title of the opening chapter of Beals's book: "The Mikado Looks South." To really get a taste of Beals's (1938: 13) Japanophobia, one merely has to read the first lines of the book: "The Japanese are great fishermen. In Latin America the Japanese are also great barbers. They are great spies. They fish and fish and spy and spy. They cut hair and spy. They shave people and spy. Scratch a Jap fisherman, and you'll find an imperial naval lieutenant."

12. Up until Pius XII's issuance of *Summi Pontificatus* on October 20, 1939, it was still possible to believe that Mussolini was on the side of Catholicism, but not after. In contrast, at least by 1937, Hitler had declared his enmity for the Catholic Church and the Vatican responded with secret efforts to assassinate him (Riebling 2015).

13. On Tanaka's efforts to use Law Day to strengthen Japan's judiciary, see Makihara (2006: 18). Makihara does not make the connection to Brazil's Justice Day, however.

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Part II

EMPIRE-BUILDING OR IN SEARCH FOR GLOBAL PEACE?

JAPANESE POLITICAL THOUGHT'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE WEST

Chapter 4

Unlearning Asia

Fukuzawa's Un-Regionalism in the Late Nineteenth Century

Atsuko Watanabe

Although Japan is geographically located at the eastern edge of the Eurasian continent, it has long been questioned if Japan is part of Asia or the West. An early vocalization of this debate was asserted in the late nineteenth century by the Japanese Enlightenment thinker Yukichi Fukuzawa, who, in an editorial later called *Datsu-A-ron* (de-Asianization), stated that Japan should leave Asia. This ambivalent identification, transcending time and space to join the West, has contributed both positively and negatively to Japan's unique place in modern world politics. Renewed interest in regionalism, however, might compel the Japanese to rethink this identification. In 2014, Amitav Acharya (2014: 1) proposed "global international relations and regional worlds" as an agenda for a "truly inclusive discipline" that goes beyond traditional Eurocentric International Relations (IR). While this idea is appealing to a wider audience, the notion of regionalism is too simplistic to explain the complex relations between Japan, Asia, and the West. Aiming to fill this gap, this chapter reexamines one aspect of the historical development of the concept of "region" in Japan by tracing the discourse that evolved around *Datsu-A-ron*.

To date, region has been conceptualized in IR as a geographically superordinate category of the modern state, as regionalism has been mostly discussed by setting Europe as the yardstick, presupposing that the history of regionalism started in the post–World War II period (Fawcett 2012; Buzan 2013; Paul 2013). It consequently posits regionalism in non-European regions as "belated" (Hamashita 1999; Beeson 2005). However, region is probably the most elusive geographical concept. It is composed of "both material and 'virtual' elements, as well as very diverging social practices and discourses"

(Paasi 2009: 131). Because of this complexity, as David Harvey (in Paasi 2009) points out, regional identities can be both inclusive and exclusive. Region is a construction of diverging elements of history, geography, politics, economy, and culture, which is imagined in "the minds of people both within and outside it" (Semian and Chromý 2014: 264; also Paasi 2002, 2009). It is an "imaginative geography" (Saïd 2003: 54), created at a plurality of sites, in which different subjectivities "arbitrarily" and differently imagine an ostensible single space (Bonnett 2004; 2010). In this respect, region has to be understood as a poly-contextual concept, being more amorphous than that of the state (Jessop 2016). The present study examines this elusive and ever-changing space as a resource of identity politics seen in the debate of *Datsu-A-ron*.

ANOTHER STORY OF "REGION"?

Although the difficulty of contemporary Asian regionalism is often suggested, region was nothing new in late nineteenth century Asia, particularly for countries under Chinese cultural influence. As Kojin Karatani (2001: 36) states, there used to be an "imagined transnational community" among intellectuals *before* Japan established the modern nation-state. Recent contributions have started to question the origin of regionalism, arguing that the "deviant" regionalism of fascist states like Imperial Japan and communist states should be taken into consideration as a part of the history of regions (Schouenborg 2012). Sympathetic to this concern, my point is that in Japan, region was not perceived as a supra-state, but as a pre-state, or more precisely, a collateral and subsuming concept "within" states.

Given that Tokugawa Japan pursued an isolation policy (*sakoku*), this might sound astonishing. However, recent Japanese historical contributions claim that the idea of *sakoku* was first identified by the German naturalist and physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716) during the eighteenth century and only reversely introduced to Japan at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Tokugawa shogunate in practice started restricting foreign trade (Arano 1988; Mitani 2003; Ōshima 2009). This follows that back then that the Japanese did not perceive their situation as isolated because, as Yasunori Arano (1988) argues, the *sakoku* can be identified as a common East Asian foreign policy, indicating that the state and its relations were differently conceptualized from Europe. The mythic conception of *sakoku*, then, was established only after ignoring and abandoning existing East Asian international relations (Arano 1988) or even more bluntly the Asian "universe" (Karatani 2001: 37). This suggests that what the Asian transnational community in Karatani's words meant cannot be properly comprehended in

terms of today's standard or the one of nineteenth-century Europe. While in Europe, it was during this period that the world began to be perceived as "a single unified globe of occupied space" that can be explained as a whole (Ó Tuathail 1996: 27). In Japan, by contrast, people were able to fully acknowledge that there was another space.

In the context of twenty-first-century international politics, regions are not conceived simply as geographical areas, but implicitly understood as varieties of civilizations. Moreover, it is still largely acknowledged that these civilizations are hierarchical. Thereby, the West is believed to be more civilized than "the rest," including Asia. However, although writers such as Samuel Huntington (1996) treat civilizations as something based on longstanding historical continuity, it is a relatively new idea. Even in Europe, "civilization" in the meaning we use today became common only in the late eighteenth century (Caffentzis 1995). The idea of the West "as a term linking a contemporary political bloc" appeared in English much later only "between the 1880s and the 1920s" (GoGwit 1995: 37). Similarly, for Fukuzawa and his contemporaries, both the West and Asia must have been perceived differently from today. Although his seminal *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization* (1898) seemingly indicates that civilization was already then an established idea, this can be doubted, as his work was not widely read until 1931 (Matsuzawa 1995). Thus, it was not this "Asia" and that "West" in today's understanding that were imagined by Meiji intellectuals. As argued in the contribution by Watanabe and Shangguan in this volume, the way to imagine international spaces was subject to every actor living in a particular context at least until the beginning of the last century. Until then, the region, rather than the state, was envisaged by Japanese intellectuals as the symbol of world order, simultaneously implying that this perception later changed significantly. It was in this context that Fukuzawa thought that there must be Western and Eastern civilizations (Bonnett 2010). Thereby, this awareness made Japanese people realize that their foreign policy was isolationist (from the West).

Since this perceptional transformation, Japan's identity has not been consolidated, but frequently oscillated between region (Asia) and state (Japan). Whereas Japan's pure "Yamato race" discourse is internationally well-known, the aspiration to Pan-Asianism was domestically strong particularly among liberal intellectuals during World War II (see Tosa in this volume, chapter 9). As Eiji Oguma (1995) has demonstrated, while the former is a myth that only became dominant after the war, it was the latter that had supported imperial expansionism (Miwa 1981). Oguma also argues that the two ostensibly different discourses have been analogous in its function in Japan. Both have provided convenient explanation for the rapidly transforming reality: from the birth of the modern Japanese nation-state, to the expansion of imperial Japan, the defeat in World War II, and US occupation (Oguma

1995). Simultaneously, Japan's foreign policy has been balancing between the West and Asia, both of which are however, in many cases, idealized in their own imaginations (Irie 1966). In doing so, Japanese people secured meaningful identities in international politics that are proper for respective situations.

The debate over *Datsu-A-ron* is a product of this ever-changing national identity. In fact, the editorial was not controversial at the beginning. Like Fukuzawa's book on civilization, it took more than half a century to become the topic of popular debate during the Asia-Pacific War. This renewed interest in Fukuzawa's work turned him into a controversial political symbol, contributing to the assertions of diverged political views throughout the history of modern Japan. I do not intend to explicate Fukuzawa's true intention, but to elaborate the malleability of regions as a concept by tracing the popular political debates around the editorial in detail. In doing so, I simultaneously decipher Fukuzawa's text as a proposition to unlearn (Rösch 2017; Bilgin and Ling 2017) a particular understanding of political space to attain a transposition of knowledge from other political space and to deal with the difference. By revisiting Fukuzawa's method of understanding "the foreign," we can reconsider the enigmatic role of regions in world politics. Merely relying on regional identities as an alternative of state identities can never provide a solution for global IR; in order to make it as a robust concept of analysis, spatiotemporal considerations have to be taken into account. In what follows, I first introduce the historical context of *Datsu-A-ron*. Then, I elaborate how state and region were used differently in Fukuzawa's era. On this basis, the discourse that revolved around *Datsu-A-ron* is rediscussed in relation to his thought.

RE-CONTEXTUALIZING *DATSU-A-RON*

Datsu-A-ron was written as an anonymous editorial that appeared in *Jiji Shinpo*, a newspaper founded by Fukuzawa. It was published on March 16, 1885, a few months after the Gapsin Coup in Korea. Following Japan's example, this rebellion aimed to establish an independent, modern government to overcome the status of a tributary state to China. In Japanese middle school history textbooks, however, the historical context of this editorial is usually left out. *Datsu-A-ron* is only briefly mentioned as "a thinking which aimed at Japan's Westernization without cooperation with Asian countries" (Teikoku Shoin 2011: 171). As such, it has been seen as a pretext to Japan's national identity in post-World War II period. The literary critic Yoshimi Takeuchi (1966: 87) asserted that "from a standpoint of . . . *realpolitik* . . . [Fukuzawa] considered that Asian solidarity was lukewarm" as a policy to

confront Western Great Powers and Fukuzawa "stated to employ civilization." The geographer Koji Iizuka (1960) equally maintained that *Datsu-A-ron* had "an enigmatic meaning of prediction," writing that "the development of Japan's capitalism had made this island empire defy Asia with an ambition of imperialism analogous to that of the Western Great Powers," but not "a friend of Asia, in other words, of the oppressed people." In the same vain, however, from a contrastive perspective, the developmental economist Toshio Watanabe (2008) argues that it is high time to go back to Fukuzawa's assertion and once more say good-bye to Japan's increasingly Japanophobe neighbors.

In these typical interpretations of *Datsu-A-ron,* the conflict between the political Right who tends to see the position of Japan in world politics as the most important ally of the United States in the Asia-Pacific and the political Left who is sympathetic to Asia is highlighted. However, a deeper investigation of the discourse that revolved around the editorial confirms that the story is more complex and the two seemingly divergent perspectives are intertwined. As stated above, it was not until the 1960s that the editorial became popular. Yō Hirayama additionally points out that Fukuzawa's authorship was not revealed until 1932 (Hirayama 2004; also Maruyama 1992). Later, it has even been questioned if the author of this anonymous editorial was indeed Fukuzawa because the text stands in contrast to Fukuzawa's egalitarianism.

For the purpose of this chapter, it is negligible if Fukuzawa is the author or not. Important is to assess the changes in the perception of people who read the editorial. One might argue that it has been the rapidly changing international affairs that caused different interpretations throughout history. What has been so far largely absent from these debates is the changing perception of geographical notions in a community. It was not just the situation that changed, but *the way* to imagine the geographical concepts, such as region, state, and civilization, that changed too. The unacknowledged fact by contemporary readers is that Japan had only promulgated a European-style constitution twenty years prior to the publication of the editorial. Although it is assumed that modern Japan employed the European modern state system, it cannot be posited that it was the same institution that had proliferated from Europe. Rather, it was culturally modified (Phillips 2016) because the new entity required an already existing local political entity as its foundation. In such cases, an earlier institution is not replaced by an imported one, but the two virtually coexist, resonating with each other. This point was probably more profound for China because, as Qichao Liang, a Chinese reformer in late Qing dynasty lamented, China until this period had no self-descriptive name of the state, but only designations for each dynasty (Kawajiri 2010). It follows that the international as a space was imagined differently in Europe,

China, and Japan because in the latter two the foreign notion was understood in terms of already existing social relations and institutions.

Evolving Concepts: State, Region, and Civilization

Datsu-A-ron argued that Western people are "active these days" by using "the means of transportation," allowing them to span conveniently large distances. Because the Western civilization is like a pandemic of measles, we have no alternative than daring to acquire infection for immunity. The Japanese, acknowledging the importance to accept the civilization, "ousted the government" to protect the independence of the state. "To be innovative in the whole Asia," what should be done is not just "abandoning the old jacket" but "getting out of Asia." The "mischance" for Japan is that the two neighboring countries, that is China and Korea, "do not know the road to reform and progress," but sticking to "old Asian governing principle, religions, and custom" for hundreds of years. In the author's point of view, the two cannot sustain its independence but "will be divided into pieces by the civilized states" as far as the two "opposes the natural law of pandemic." Because the two are geographically near to Japan, the civilized states might think Japan would ignore science as they do. In this respect, they are of no use but rather impede Japan. Thus, as "a present tactics . . . we have no leeway to wait for their awakening to establish Asia together" and "should decline bad friends from Asia" (Fukuzawa 1933).

The immediate motives that encouraged the author to write this editorial was, as the timing implies, probably the Gapsin Coup in December 1884. This coup only lasted three days after the Chinese Qing dynasty intervened militarily. For Fukuzawa, this was disappointing, as he had supported the rebels, some of whom had studied with him in Japan. Another motive was in Fukuzawa's disillusionment of traditional Asian governments, including the shogunate, failing to protect their people, which was partly due to the difference between Asian and European international systems. The crucial controversy that led to this coup was whether Korea were to stay Qin dynasty's tributary state or to become an independent state, that is, if the Qin dynasty held suzerainty over Korea or not. However, as Okamoto (2014: 111–12) maintains, because there was no consensus on the meaning of those concepts—suzerainty, state, and tributary—there arose confusion and hostilities among the concerned countries including European ones, even between the Qin dynasty and Korea, worsening the situation ultimately to induce the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894 (see also Mutsu 1983).

The unusual comparison between civilization and measles in the editorial could not be unrelated to the repeated cholera outbreaks in Japan, which coincided with increasing Western influence. Many of these outbreaks, causing

the death of thousands of people, started from foreign vessels berthing in Japanese harbors (Kanagaki 1858; Yamamoto 1982). In particular, the outrage against extraterritoriality caused by the *Hesperia* Incident in 1879, which has been almost forgotten even in Japan today, was symbolic. Following orders by the German government, the *Hesperia*, a German merchant ship, broke quarantine regulations and entered Yokohama Port, being protected by a gunboat. The immediate reason for the quarantine regulations was a pandemic, killing more than one hundred thousand, that allegedly had originated in China (Inoue, 1955; Fuess 2014). The new Japanese government, suffering from unequal treaties, negotiated with European countries for temporal quarantine regulations. However, while some countries accepted them, the British and German governments, among others, refused it.

Evidently for Fukuzawa and his contemporaries, these everyday threats were much more imminent than the black ships' cannons, which are known today as the symbol of Western power that forced Japan to open its country. Facing this security crisis, Japanese intellectuals fully realized how effective European state system secured the rights of its citizens, while their own state was completely useless in this regard. In his book titled *Tsūzoku Kokkenron* (On Popular Sovereignty) published one year earlier, Fukuzawa (1878) argued that, although some foreigners were barbarous, and their way of coming to Japan can be compared to intruding in another person's house, to set fire, and claim damages,[1] they were not condemned because the state protected them. For Fukuzawa, it was Japan's inability to protect its territoriality that required its transformation into a modern European state. The transformation was necessary not because the Western way was superior but without it, the Japanese could not counter future catastrophes. For him, previous Asian governments, including his own Tokugawa government, was very different from the European one. He argued that European international relations were a consecution of conflicts, while Asians had been relatively peaceful (Fukuzawa 1995). Still, he thought that the Japanese state had to be independent *in the European sense* to protect itself from such immediate threats. In practice, this involved the abolition of extraterritoriality (Fukuzawa 1884).

In this context, the Meiji Restoration was neither a revolution nor the establishment of a modern nation-state. Largely caused by external threat, it was a transformation from one state type to another, which was *necessary for all the Japanese people*. The transformation might have metaphorically stood for an entry into the European international society (Suzuki 2009), but in effect it meant the establishment of the modern *territorial* state *in* East Asia, where such a state was foreign. Strictly speaking, it was not the expansion of European international society but the transformation of components in the Asian international society. For Japanese people facing the threat, the difference between European states and the traditional Japanese one was too obvious to

neglect. While European states effectively protected its nationals even abroad, Japan's old state system could not protect its people within Japan. Extraterritoriality literally allowed European power to be exercised beyond its territory, whereas Japan had no right to protect its own territory and because it was not a Westphalian state. As Turan Kayaoğlu (2007: 651) demonstrates, institutionalization of state law was for Europeans "a precondition for the recognition of non-Western country's claims of Westphalian sovereignty." For the abolition of extraterritoriality, it was necessary for Japan to become a modern state.

This demand was, at least for Fukuzawa, comprehensible. In his *Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, he candidly argued that civilization had to be a verb, not a thing. He stated, barbarous meant nothing but merely to reject change and innovation, whereas to be civilized entailed coping with change to live better. For him, therefore, civilization was composed of technology and ethos to overcome change. While the former is easy to emulate, the latter is hard to acquire. For him, living at this particular intersection of history and geography, this acquisition meant first establishing an independent state in a Western sense (Fukuzawa 1995: 25–33, 57) and it was to demand the abolishment of extraterritoriality. Etymologically speaking, this understanding of civilization was neither fanciful nor prescient, but fairly accurate regarding the usage of the term during this time in Europe. According to George Caffentzis (1995), when the term "civilization" appeared in English in the early eighteenth century, it was used as a technical legal term that meant the process of "assimilating common law to civil law" (Caffentzis 1995: 14). For the Japanese, *kaikoku* did not mean to open the country to accept the state as a technology, but rather required an assimilation of European law as a local practice to another local practice.

Indeed, back then Japanese people felt that their country was too open and defenseless against external threats. This openness was not just because they had opened the country. It was partly historical and in relation to their region. The geographical moniker "Asia" is the name that was given by Europeans, although its etymological origin can be traced back to the Assyrian "asu," meaning east (Bonnett 2004: 25). However, this does not mean that Asians had no sense of community before it was given its name. The name for its state, *Nihon*, means "where the Sun rises," can be traced back to the seventh century, and implies it geographical position from China as the middle kingdom. Hence, Japan was named in terms of its "international" relations, which demonstrates that Japan already had external relations beyond the archipelago in this period (Kobayashi 2010). This is confirmed by recent historical studies, demonstrating that there had been regional economic networks in South East Asia already during the Song dynasty (960–1279) (Sakurai 1999). In these networks, actors were never only states but rather various politico-economic entities. Some states did not have clear state borders and, as seen in the example of

the Ryūkyū Islands, even had two de facto suzerain states (Mitani 2001, 2003). Moreover, for political elites in some regions like Japan and Korea, whose written language was Chinese, China was still the intellectual center (Kato 1991). With regards to Asia, Japan was therefore already territorially "open."

The structure of the Asian region was polycentric, and it was partly due to this ambiguous territoriality, or more strictly, the absence of a concrete notion of territory in the modern European sense (Elden 2013). Although in contemporary IR it is commonplace to see the "Asian traditional world order" as analogous to the Chinese hierarchical tributary system, the reality was much more intricate and amorphous, partly because the shape of its states was more obscure and diverse. According to Takeshi Hamashita (1999), the *Hua-Yi* order was an idea that subsumed diverse political systems. Important here is that this idea was "a consciousness of the world as a self-consciousness," rather than the representation of relations between states (Hamashita 1999: 27). He states that "'the barbarous other" for China did not strictly imply "the other" but "the other for the self"' (Hamashita 1999: 28). Under this banner, other entities thought this order in a similar way. To put it differently, for its members, because of the loose and "self-centered" (for each actor) relations, the other was more in their imagination than reality. In Japan's case, this tendency was much stronger because it was separated from the Asian continent by the sea, which endowed Japan greater freedom of imagination. Acknowledging itself as a periphery in terms of not just China but also of India, Japan posited itself as "'the other's other," which always requires the other as the center to be the self. This way of thinking certainly helped the Japanese not just to expand their "region" to the wider region that included Europe as the new center (Sun 2007) but also to decrease it. Simply put, the "order" in Japan and its neighboring countries was in one sense very flexible in which actors imagined the reality in their own ways because of its essentially normative character. Therefore, at least for Fukuzawa, it was these obscure relations with its neighbors, and not Asia as a geographical region, that had to break. Metaphorically, Japan closed the country from Asia and instead opened it toward Europe.

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

As stated, there is no indication that *Datsu-A-ron* caused controversy at the time of its publication. If Asia as a region had been familiar before the advent of the modern European state, and if the Japanese saw their traditional region and the state as obsolete, their apparent disinterest to the editorial becomes understandable. Differently put, what seems like an aggressive formulation was back then not perceived as such. Hence, the assertion was not understood

as problematic in late nineteenth-century Japan and readers were even sympathetic to Fukuzawa's statement. This sympathy was not necessarily because they disdained Asians, but they thought that clinging to the old Asian "international" system, which lacks the candid notion of state's sovereignty and territoriality, was dangerous for all Asians, as new forms of these concepts had already been brought into the region along with military power symbolized in the black ships. As Bunzo Hashikawa (1973: 8) stated, Fukuzawa's life-long purpose was "abolishing the Japanese feudal system and the expansion of Japanese sovereignty." However, it is worth noting that back then this expansion was not yet of imperial nature, but first and foremost to gain sovereignty in the Western sense on the basis of a bounded territory. Therefore, as Hashikawa (1973: 49) points out, "Asia that was rejected by Fukuzawa was the Asia that had to be overcome by the self." It was truly the period, as Fukuzawa (2009: 15) claims, when "the unorthodox theories of the past become the commonly accepted ideas of the present; yesterday's eccentric notions become today's common knowledge." Certainly, the "unorthodox views" of Fukuzawa's period in Asia—Western notions of state and region—has become "common ideas and theories" for us to live in "the future."

Thus, *Datsu-A-ron* did not predict that Korea was "geopolitically" destined to be governed by Japan (Watanabe 2008: 174). Rather, it captured correctly the ongoing transformation of both region and states in Asia during this period. In this sense, de-Asianization was for Fukuzawa the demand of this turbulent times of changing common sense. The overwhelming power of Western civilization to unite the world was seemingly like measles and this power was represented in the distinctive territoriality and sovereignty of European states. To get out of the old world, Japan had to become part of this new world. In order to protect their territory from disasters, they had to open the country, paradoxically by enclosing the state within a territory. This meant to say good-bye to "the bad friends in Asia," as Fukuzawa (1933) asserted. For them, the sluggish present to be overcome was exemplified in the regional tradition in which ideas of sovereignty and territoriality were different from Europe. They made the transition not because they thought the European way was superior (Fukuzawa 1995; Yoshida 1999). It is equally misleading to read *Datsu-A-ron* as a product of cynic realism. More important for people living in this period was to defend themselves from everyday threats because their governments, including the Chinese and Korean ones, were too powerless to do so; its governing power was, comparing to the Western counterpart, only nominal and its territoriality was too vulnerable.

It was half a century later that *Datsu-A-ron* got attention, when the Asia-Pacific War provided for another historical crossroad, changing the epistemologies of state and region for Japan. Takeuchi argues that the war had a dual structure: while Japan demanded leadership in East Asia, it

simultaneously aspired to oust the West from the region for a new regional order. Whereas the former required Japan to follow the "European principle of developed nations versus developing nations," the latter was on the basis of "Asian principles" (Takeuchi 1979: 167; also Sun 2010). In this time of intellectual confusion, Fukuzawa's assertion sounded suggestive for some and consequently was included into his collective writings, published in 1932. According to Hirayama (2004: 130–31), it was incorporated because the editor thought, similarly to contemporary supporters of the editorial, that it "predicted" Japan's colonization of Korea and the division of China. However, it drew only limited attention during the war, implying that the assertion was still too early to be accepted. This was the period when the uniqueness of Japan and consequently the union of Asia was emphasized more than Japan's Western-ness, as famously seen in the debate of overcoming modernity (see Tosa in this volume).

Datsu-A-ron became problematic only after the understanding of the state and region became closer to those in a contemporary sense. It was when Japan as the state became an exception of European modern states. For Japanese historians after World War II, their mission was to demolish the predominant wartime discourse in which Asian history was considered to be different from European history. The 1949 meeting of the Historical Science Society of Japan, for example, had as its theme "the general law of history." In the new discourse, Asia came to be depicted as "exceptional" of the "general law" (Tōyama 1966) and the Meiji Restoration was seen as part of the history of postcolonial movement (Rōyama 1963). It is only in this context that Japan, in *Datsu-A-ron* came to be perceived as "an agent of European Great Powers in Asia." This reorganization of history affirms the axiom of IR as a discipline: international politics is anarchic, in which the more powerful actor wins. As European theory was applied in this way, Japan became an exceptional modern state (Hagström 2015; Agnew 2016). For this new discourse, the idea of *kaikoku* had to be opening the country, which accompanied the forgetting of the past. Thus, the intellectual conflicts that the assertion has caused to date can be explained as a question of ever-changing understandings of its readers on the notions of the state and region. In this way, the same text has provided a kaleidoscopic view to the Japanese and this was because it was not just the object of analysis but also their way of understanding it that is changing.

CONCLUSION: REGION AS ALTERNATIVE?

Acharya (2014: 650) argues that Global IR "gives the center stage to regions and the area studies tradition and approach." He does not forget to mention

the malleability of the concept by saying that it is "not as fixed physical, cartographic, or cultural entities" but "dynamic, purposeful, and socially constructed spaces." Despite the reservation, there is still the danger of an uncritical application of any geographical concept by missing the everydayness, historically contained in these concepts. Although regions are ostensibly more substantial and pluralistic in dividing the world than the ubiquitous West/non-West dichotomy and therefore more promising, the Japanese experience depicted above implies that region as an analytical concept contains another pitfall.

As Anssi Paasi (2002: 805) claims, region is to be thought as "multiple practices in which hegemonic narratives of a specific regional entity and identity are produced." In this respect, it is more place than space, in which multiple, yet interconnected origins should be identified. For many Asians (not only the Japanese), regions have been something old, instead of something new. At the same time, however, this spatialized history of space has been gradually changing and old practices have been forgotten as new people experience new realities. Throughout history, regional identity is surprisingly multifaceted and elusive. Thus, although a textbook statement in a particular geographical context claims that it is a new development, it might not be in a different geographical context. It is this collective forgetting that allows us to see numerous international histories as *the* international history.

It is this point that is evidenced in the evolving discourse of *Datsu-A-ron*. While the contemporary geographical category of Asia was given by the West, and together with the moniker, its spatialization practice of the territorial state has become more pervasive in Asia, a regional custom is never a thing of the past. On the contrary, the uneven and messy development of contemporary Asian regionalism cannot simply be compared to that of Europe, indicating that old practices are still alive. Another implication of the discussion of this chapter suggests that region and state should be conceived relationally. This is because, as Karl Mannheim (1985: 45) notes, "principal propositions of social sciences are . . . situational diagnosis in which we use . . . the same concrete concepts and thought-models which were created for activistic purposes in real life." Hence, concepts are intended for everyday use. If the observation I make above is right, Acharya's proposition must be carefully reexamined by spatializing each construction of political-geographical space. It is done by continuously asking for whom, in what context, and in what way regions and states are being conceived of.

NOTE

1. During the Edo period, Europeans were classified as barbarians (Yoshino 1927).

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Chapter 5

Pursuing a More Dynamic Concept of Peace

Japanese Liberal Intellectuals' Responses to the Interwar Crisis

Seiko Mimaki

PEACE AS DEFINED BY INTERWAR JAPANESE INTELLECTUALS

Most would agree that peace is an indispensable goal, yet globally, there is no consensus about what peace really means, indicating that peace, like other theoretical terms, is not easy to define. Famously, Johan Galtung (1964) proposed a distinction between "positive" and "negative" peace. While negative peace means "absence of war," positive peace requires, in addition to the absence of direct physical violence, an international system that is free from structural violence such as poverty, oppression, and discrimination. According to Galtung's (1969: 168) broadened definition, "violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations."

Although it was in the 1960s that Galtung and other scholars developed the concept of negative and positive peace, influential intellectuals in Japan were already discussing the problem of peace along similar lines during the interwar years, as this chapter argues. Japanese intellectuals were largely divided into two camps over the post–World War I international order and the newly created League of Nations. For liberal thinkers like Sakuzō Yoshino, who led the Taishō democracy movement, the victory of the Allied powers in November 1918 meant the Hegelian verdict of history, that is, the triumph of liberalism and democracy over militarism and authoritarianism. Yoshino (1996) became an ardent supporter of the League of Nations, regarding it as "the crystallization of prevailing world trend toward abolishing wars . . .

[and] the embodiments of Anglo-American attempts to establish international justice and realize an eternal world peace."

Nevertheless, liberals' enthusiastic endorsement of the League of Nations invited strong criticism from those who insisted that it was a mere victorious nations' convenient tool for preserving the status quo. According to these critics, liberals' uncritical appraisal of the League made people blind to harsh realities. In "Eibei Hon-i no Heiwa-shugi wo Haisu" (Reject the Anglo-American-centered Pacifism), published in the popular nationalistic magazine *Nihon oyobi Nihon-jin* one year before the Paris Peace Conference (1919), Fumimaro Konoe, a direct descendant of the noble Fujiwara family, who attended the Paris Peace Conference as an aide to Marquis Kinmochi Saionji, bitterly criticized the League, regarding it as an Anglo-American attempt to identify violators of peace as enemies of justice and humanity. In fact, following Konoe (1995), the League of Nations, arms limitation, or whatever else the Anglo-American powers proposed in the name of peace, were only facades designed to hide their real motive of defending the existing order. According to Konoe, the fundamental character of international politics is a struggle between the status quo powers, which aim to retain their benefits, and the revisionist powers, which aim to destroy them. The former call for peace simply because it serves their national interest to preserve the status quo, and the latter cry for war because they want to change the existing system, which they find unequal and unjust. The former is not necessarily morally superior, and the latter is not necessarily morally inferior.

Liberals and their critics, however, had only a partial view of the nature of the post–World War I international order and could not provide a clear path for Japan's future diplomatic mission. Liberals, who believed their mission was to enlighten people but were captured by outdated imperialist worldviews, idealized the post–World War I Anglo-American "New Order" and were largely silent about its defects. Konoe gave a powerful analysis of these liberals' hypocritical views and grasped the Anglo-American-centric character of the post-World War I peace. He insisted that US president Woodrow Wilson's advocacy for a more just and peaceful "New Order" was self-deceiving and unconvincing, as Americans themselves never considered the discriminatory expulsion of Japanese immigrants. Ultimately, Konoe insisted, Japan should not hesitate to resort to war in order to secure the country's *Lebensraum* in Asia. He criticized the uneven distribution of land, which forced nations with growing populations, like Japan, to expand. Considering the fact that the Japanese economy in the interwar period largely depended on the American market, however, Konoe's suggestions could hardly be more realistic than those of the liberals.

What was missing in these discussions was the perspective of peaceful change; that is, how to bring about positive *changes* in international politics

through *peaceful* means. However, if we look at a more regional level, we can find Japanese intellectuals struggling toward this goal. Here is the reason that this chapter focuses on the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR), founded in 1925 with the purpose of promoting cooperation and peace in the Asia-Pacific region. As one of the largest transnational NGOs in the region, the IPR was a rare venue where non-Western members could participate on equal footing with Western members and advocate for their own ideals.

This chapter also contributes to the ongoing debates in IR over its disciplinary history. By gaining a new understanding of the IPR's formative years, the Western focus of contemporary IR can be broadened (cf. Schmidt 1998; Wilson 1999; Riemens 2011; Ashworth 2006). The IPR included not only Western scholars, who fundamentally believed in the continued Western predominance of power and knowledge, but many transpacific intellectuals who recognized the "Decline of the West" after World War I and found new hope for realizing a more idealistic peace in the Asia-Pacific region. Through examining their intellectual efforts, which culminated not only in a scientific understanding of the region but also in the development of theoretical and conceptual frameworks for peace, this chapter illuminates the neglected transpacific origins of IR.

ESTABLISHING THE IPR

After the end of World War I, the Asia-Pacific region seemed stable. The Washington Naval Conference successfully limited the size of British, American, and Japanese navies, easing the naval race in the region. Furthermore, the United States and Japan nurtured strong economic ties. Still, there were potential conflicts, like anti-Asian immigration laws in the United States and Australia and the rise of anti-imperialist movements in China.

In order to deal with these potential conflicts, NGOs were established in the region. The IPR was the most important initiative among them. In 1924, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of Hawaii utilized its regional network to organize an international conference of private citizens from Australia, Canada, China, Korea, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States with the purpose of promoting mutual understanding and friendship. As a result, the IPR was established as a permanent organization in 1925, which involved not only YMCA members but also regional leaders, regardless of race, religion, or political status. The headquarters, the International Secretariat of the IPR, was initially located in Honolulu until moving to New York in 1934. National councils were founded in each participant country. The Japan Council, with fifty-five members, was established in 1925.

Many of its members were scholars and businessmen who were actively committed to promoting US-Japanese relations. Among them were prominent figures, like Eiichi Shibusawa and Junnosuke Inoue, as well as Inazō Nitobe and his disciples from academia.

After becoming a permanent organization, the IPR's original Christian coloring soon faded and it developed into a secular organization designed to offer a multilateral forum for discussing practical issues pertaining to regional peace. Its membership was not restricted to transpacific nations, as members came from Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Hawaii, New Zealand, the United States, Korea, the Philippines, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the Soviet Union. It also included observers from the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. Until its closure in 1961, the IPR held international conferences every two or three years, drawing together a total of one thousand five hundred leading intellectuals from both the Asia-Pacific region and Europe. A total of thirteen conferences took place: Honolulu (1925, 1927), Kyōto (1929, 1954), Shanghai (with a special session in Hangchow, 1931), Banff (1933), Yosemite (1936), Virginia Beach (1939), Mont Tremblant (1942), Hot Springs (1945), Stratford-upon-Avon (1948), Lucknow (1950), and Lahore (1958).

In comparison to its Anglo-American counterparts, the Council on Foreign Relations and Chatham House, the IPR had a stronger idealistic tendency and transnational orientation, as the former mainly found their mission in preserving a world organized around basic Anglo-American cultural values (Parmar 2002). In contrast, the IPR was unique in its focus on the Asia-Pacific region, which was neglected by peace organizations at that time. The IPR was also radically different from its Anglo-American counterparts because, while the CFR and Chatham House were policy-oriented, having close governmental ties, the IPR was launched as a "fact-finding body" (Hall and Condliffe 1925: 3), which was expected to engage in scientific investigations, refraining from proposing any resolutions or supporting particular policies. As a fact-finding body, the IPR strictly demanded participants to be detached observers, keeping their autonomy from governments so as to independently pursue an ideal regional order. The formal announcement of the first IPR meeting characterized the organization (IPR 1925: 26–27) as "a body of men and women deeply interested in the Pacific area, who meet and work, not as representatives of their Governments, or of any other organizations, but as individuals in order to promote the well-being of the peoples concerned." At the second conference in 1927, Frederick Whyte (1928: 23) clarified the IPR's mission by saying that "we here are not concerned with the execution of policy nor are we responsible for the diplomatic action of our respective governments. We are therefore able to seek the truth in all things." The underlying assumption was that, in contrast to "national representatives" whose mission would be to

fulfill national interests, participants could be free from nationalism and thus nurture transnational ties in order to realize an ideal regional order.

With the deteriorating international situation in the 1930s, however, the nascent cooperative atmosphere faded and the members of the IPR gradually lost their autonomy from their governments. During World War II, many IPR members willingly served their governments, utilizing the knowledge and expertise about the Asia-Pacific region that they had accumulated by participating in IPR conferences and research activities. As the Cold War intensified, McCarthyism in America cast suspicion on "pro-Communist" organizations, and the IPR became a target. These charges had no ground, yet caused damage to the activities of the IPR's American Council, which had played a central role in the activities of the organization. Although the IPR continued to operate after World War II, holding four additional conferences, it no longer attracted as much international attention, and funding sources and membership continually declined. As a consequence, the IPR was dissolved in 1961.[1]

It is only recently that the IPR's history has garnered academic interest. Especially in academia in the United States, the IPR had long been regarded as a mere tool of US cultural imperialism under the mask of transnationalism (Arnove 1982; Fisher 1983; Berman 1983). Certainly, its research activities depended on the Rockefeller Foundation, one of the largest philanthropic organizations in the United States. It is estimated that the IPR received between $1.5 million and $18.8 million from the Rockefeller Foundation to cover its operating expenses and international research program (Woods 1999). Nevertheless, this backing does not necessarily mean that all the IPR's activities were under US control. As will be discussed, the IPR was distinctively idealistic and transnational in its approach to international politics, especially in the 1920s.

The unprecedented rise of NGOs in the Asia-Pacific region after the end of the Cold War finally made scholars aware of this important precedent. Pioneers such as Paul Hooper (1995), Michio Yamaoka (1999), and Nobuo Katagiri (2003), utilizing an abundance of archival materials, challenged previous views on the IPR and emphasized its positive contributions to regional cooperation. Although these scholars admitted that the 1920s were the golden age of the IPR in the sense that it was most faithful to its original transnational ideals, they were also sympathetic to the IPR in the 1930s, which gradually lost sight of its original transnational goals in the midst of rising international tensions. Defending the nationalist turn of the IPR in the 1930s, they stressed that in a world where nationalism had become the dominant ideology, IPR members had no choice but to follow national policies.

In the 2000s, however, scholars began to analyze the IPR's history more critically. In *Internationalizing the Pacific*, Tomoko Akami (2002) analyzes

not only the organization's activities, but also the members' dominant ideology. She concludes that the majority of the members had conservative ideas about race, gender, class, and the nation-state. Akami also challenges previous arguments about why IPR members ultimately discarded their original transnational ideals and instead chose to follow national policies after the 1930s. While earlier works emphasize the predicament of IPR members, who hardly had any other choice but to follow national policies during the mounting international crisis of the 1930s, Akami (2002) argues that these members, the majority of whom were national elites, did not have serious doubts about serving their country and even regarded it as their mission. It was only natural that at a time of international crisis they did not hesitate to follow national policies. Akami (2002: 13–14) critically points out that the "status [of the IPR] as 'non-governmental,' 'non-official,' or 'private' did not mean much unless one examines whom they were ultimately serving. . . . The IPR's agenda as a non-state agency did not mean setting challenging alternative channel for state-to-state relationships." Akami stresses that the members of the IPR voluntarily, rather than reluctantly, chose to promote what they regarded as the interests of their nation-states in the international arena. In particular, Japanese members strengthened their ties with the government after the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and became defenders of their national interests.

While this chapter shares Akami's critical view of the Japanese members' subordination to their government, it sheds new light on their continued struggles toward finding a new conceptual framework for regional peace. What the Japanese members denied was not "peace" itself but what they regarded as an old concept of "peace," which equated peace with preserving the status quo. At IPR conferences in the 1930s, Japanese members argued for the necessity of overcoming the static concept of peace, which had prevailed in the 1920s, and developing a more dynamic concept that corresponded to the new realities of the time; that is, peace through *changing* the status quo into a more equal and just order.

This chapter also addresses the enduring dilemma of the NGOs: staying *out of politics* in order to pursue higher ideals or engaging *in politics* to realize even just a few aspects of their ideals in the policy-making process. In the 1920s, when optimism for a new regional order was shared widely among the members of the IPR, their mission was to maintain autonomy from their own governments and independently pursue a transnational regional order. Facing the deepening international crisis of the 1930s, however, many members gave up their initial ideal of realizing a more transnational regional order and strengthened their ties with their own governments, finding a new mission in contributing to national policies with their knowledge and expertise on the region.

THE IPR IN THE 1920s: PEACE AS PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO

What distinguished the IPR from similar institutions was its strong idealism, which derived from a long tradition of internationalism in its birthplace of Hawaii (Hooper 1980; Rehbock 1988). For the first international conference held in 1925, 109 national delegates from Australia, Canada, China, Japan, Hawaii, New Zealand, the United States, and some colonized countries, like Korea[2] and the Philippines, as well as thirty-one official observers gathered in Honolulu. The second conference, with 137 delegates and observers from the League of Nations and the International Labor Office, was held again in Honolulu in 1927 (Hooper 1994: 112–13). These two conferences spoke of optimism for a more peaceful regional order. Many participants expressed hope for a newly emerging peaceful Asia-Pacific region in contrast to the "old politics" in Europe, which had disqualified itself through World War I. At the second conference, one member from each country gave a statement on their vision for the future of the Asia-Pacific region. While their diverse views reflected their different backgrounds, the members shared a basic vision of a forthcoming "Pacific Century," highlighting the future importance of the Asia-Pacific region. Masataro Sawayanagi (1928: 30), president of the Imperial Educational Association of Japan, declared that

> The Pacific Ocean is gradually becoming the center of the world, and Japan is firmly lodged in the thinking of internationally minded people as one of the important Pacific Powers. As such, Japan's future is inseparably linked with the slowly unfolding destiny of the great Pacific area.

British delegate Frederick Whyte (1928: 27) also stressed, "it has become a commonplace in recent times to say that the future of peace and war lies in the Pacific." Frederick Eggleston (1928: 4) from Australia argued that the Asia-Pacific region should become a "pacific" sea just as its name suggested:

> It is frequently said that the Pacific is the area in which the next war will take place. In my opinion such a statement is as misleading as it is mischievous. . . . The Pacific nations are widely separated by the ocean. They are not crowded together like European countries. Do not let us argue from European analogies or be dominated by a European psychology in these matters. The spaciousness of the Pacific is a factor of safety. If there is no bankruptcy of statesmanship, the Pacific should be made an arena pacific in fact as well as name.

Among the members of the IPR, the Americans were the most ardent idealists. Herbert Croly (1928: 582), the well-known editor of the *New Republic*, stressed that the IPR should be regarded as the embryo of a future "Pacific

Community," whose members on its shores would all enjoy some measure of political security, autonomy, and equality.

In the 1920s, even the Japanese national council, which received one-quarter of its funds from the Foreign Ministry and maintained strong ties with the government, shared these transnational idealistic visions with the other participants. Yasaka Takagi (1925: 67), a pioneer of US history in Japan who taught at the Tokyo Imperial University, emphasized the significance of the IPR as

> a product of the modern civilization called the Pacific age. . . . Some people seem to regard the goals of the IPR as a mere fantasy, yet from my experience . . . I became convinced that the purposes of the IPR is one of the greatest human enterprises, and it will make significant contributions to advancing human civilization at the most appropriate time.

Even at the third conference, which was held in Kyōto immediately after Wall Street collapsed on October 24, 1929, their optimistic views remained unchanged. For example, Nitobe (1929: 685) expressed his hope for the rise of the Asia-Pacific age, referring to thalassic and oceanic civilizations in the Atlantic as its predecessors.

However, it should be noted that none of the members provided details on how and when these ideals would be realized. In fact, Croly (1928: 582–83) practically admitted that the realization of a Pacific community would be a distant goal stating that

> no doubt powerful maritime nations . . . would continue to possess legal rights in the territory of Pacific islands in Eastern Asia, which derived from predatory expeditions of the past, and the beneficiaries of these pockets of imperialistic politics would have an interest in contesting the future development of a Pacific society of nations. But these powers . . . have consented to the first essential step. The peoples of the Pacific are partially protected in theory against any further aggression, and in this sense they are by way of forming a community of political equals which are obligated to consult one another about their common political and economic difficulties and policies.

For Croly, even if Western colonial rule was unjust and needed to be abolished, it was unrealistic to expect immediate action. Therefore, what the IPR could do was promote the ideal of a Pacific community, hoping that the Western powers would voluntarily abolish their colonial rule in the future. Croly's statement clearly reveals the essentially conservative nature of the IPR. Certainly, the nascent IPR had some anticolonial elements, as shown by its inclusion of Korea and the Philippines among its founding members. For China, the IPR was a rare venue to challenge the unequal dealings of the

other great powers in their own country. However, the majority of IPR founders came from colonial powers that wished to maintain the colonial status quo.

The proposals for regional peace at the succeeding conferences were equally unprogressive. At the second conference, James Shotwell proposed with J. P. Chamberlain (1928) a "Draft Treaty of Permanent Peace," which consisted of two main parts: the renunciation of the war on one hand and arbitration and conciliation on the other. Despite its idealistic appearance, however, peace in the context of the treaty was no different than old-fashioned great power peace. Commenting on the text of the treaty, they stated that "a treaty of this kind will hardly be found suitable for application with nations which have widely different conceptions of political institutions and varying degrees of political development," "the Draft Treaty has been prepared with an eye to its possible application as between civilized powers equal in sovereignty and capable of ensuring respect for law and treaty obligations." Given these comments, how could "civilized" countries cope with "uncivilized" countries, which would not stop waging illegal wars? In answering this question, Shotwell and Chamberlain (1928: 507–508) admitted that the only way for a "civilized" country to deal with an "uncivilized" country would be "measures of an international police."

In the eye of the so-called have-not nations, however, permanent peace as proposed by Shotwell was nothing more than the perpetuation of the unequal and unjust status quo. As one Japanese member pointed out, far from being idealistic, Shotwell's draft treaty was quite realistic in the sense that, while forbidding signatories to change the status quo by force, it said nothing about how to remove or mitigate oppressed peoples' discontent with it, which could drive these countries to undertake an illegal war as a last resort to change their miserable situations (Aoki 1927).

THE IPR AFTER THE 1930s: SEARCHING A RENEWED CONCEPT OF PEACE

The international crisis changed the atmosphere of the IPR significantly after the Great Depression began in 1929. Countries raised tariffs and increasingly turned toward national autarchy. The IPR's initial hope of regional cooperation faded away in the 1920s, as members began to behave like diplomats defending their national interests. In particular, Japanese members were heavily influenced by their government, which began to regard the IPR as an important forum for an internationally isolated Japan to justify its military adventure in China. Consequently, Japanese members increasingly found it difficult to express different opinions from the official ones. Before the third conference in 1929, Nitobe, as the Japanese chairman, received a message

from Foreign Minister Kijurō Shidehara and a briefing from Vice Minister Shigeru Yoshida.

Even at this stage, however, cautious attitudes toward the IPR's politicization did not entirely disappear. At the Kyōto conference, IPR members confirmed that

> the Institute of Pacific Relations is not a diplomatic body. It has no official connection in any way with governmental policy. Its genius is educational rather than political. None of its officers or members holds positions of official responsibility. . . . The fact must also be restated emphatically that the Institute, as such, does not engage in the search for solutions of pressing political problems. (IPR 1930: 212–13)

They also stressed that the members should not "use the new light gained from their fellow members in the round-tables to bring whatever influence they have in their private capacities to bear on their home governments." Before the fourth conference, the IPR produced a handbook to clarify the history, purposes, and methods of the organization, which stressed that the IPR "merely provides a forum for frank discussion of controversial topics and steadily adheres to its policy of taking no corporate action of any kind beyond the concerted advancement in understanding of the problems." The handbook also reaffirmed the founding principle that each national council should refuse official backing or sanction and receive only modest funds from private subscriptions (Condliffe 1932).

The heightened political tensions between Japan and China, which eventually led to the Manchurian Incident in 1931, made it almost impossible for the Japanese IPR members to refrain from politics. Before the conference in Shanghai in 1931, which took place only one month after the incident, Japanese members tried to exclude the Manchurian issue from the conference program. By employing almost the same arguments as the official imperialistic views about the Manchurian problem at the Shanghai conference, their attempts eventually failed (Katagiri 1994; 1999). As Sandra Wilson (1992: 521) points out, the Japanese members were not necessarily forced to follow official positions because they saw no contradictions between advocating for international cooperation and defending Japan's "legitimate interests" in China. After Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, IPR conferences became more important for the government as one of the few diplomatic channels left. As a result, the Japan Council was increasingly subjected to government influence.

By the late 1930s, the Japan Council lost trust in the IPR entirely. Facing the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Secretariat launched a new research project called "Inquiry" with the purpose of clarifying "objective" facts about

the conflicts between Japan and China and promoting a shared understanding. Although the Japanese members reluctantly agreed to the project at first, increased suspicion of the IPR and heightened political tensions eventually made them leave the organization.

While the Japanese members were increasingly isolated in the IPR, they did not give up searching for a new ideological foundation for peace that would correspond to the new realities of the 1930s. They insisted that to overcome turbulent political tensions and restore stability in the Asia-Pacific region, the IPR should invent a new concept of peace, that is, "peace through change," instead of "peace through preserving the status quo." Before the fifth conference, which was planned to be held in Banff in August 1933, Takagi and Kisaburō Yokota jointly submitted a preliminary paper entitled "Some Considerations on the Future Reconstruction of Peace Machinery in the Pacific," which was eventually developed into a formal report titled "Security Pact of the Pacific," and was submitted at Banff. In these papers, Takagi and Yokota (1933a; 1933b) argued that the fundamental reason for the current instability in the Asia-Pacific region lay in the lack of an effective regional peace mechanism for alleviating economic and political injustice between "have" and "have-not" nations. They insisted that peace could be restored only by devising a new regional framework with a peaceful procedure for modifying the status quo to realize a more equal regional order. While condemning the Japanese military's attempts to change the status quo in Manchuria through violence, other participants recognized the significance of the Japanese members' claims about peaceful change, which resulted in several important reports on this topic, such as Henry Angus's (1937) *The Problem of Peaceful Change in the Pacific Area*.

A more fundamental criticism of pursuing peace by preserving the status quo came from the colonized countries' members during World War II. Near the end of the war, the future abolition of colonialism and imperialism in the Asia-Pacific region was seriously debated at the IPR conferences. On August 14, 1941, US president, Franklin Roosevelt, and British prime minister, Winston Churchill, released the Atlantic Charter, which included self-determination as an important principle for the postwar international order, yet the scope of its application was intentionally left unclear. At the conference in Mont Tremblant (1942), non-Western members, driven by a long-oppressed desire for independence, strongly demanded that the principle of self-determination should be applied to all peoples without any reservation. The Indian members, in particular, criticized the qualifications of the Atlantic Charter made by Churchill and insisted that Britain should issue a clear-cut statement on the immediate independence of India (IPR 1943: 87).

Due to the increasing contributions of colonized countries to the war effort, members from colonial powers could no longer simply dismiss these

anticolonial claims. When one British member defended Churchill by saying, "you cannot apply self-determination to people who are not qualified in any of the principles of government," the other members immediately criticized the imperialistic British attitude. Moreover, they insisted that Britain make an appropriate declaration which would dispel any existing uncertainties concerning its acceptance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter in all its terms and in relation to all areas. Facing criticism from every corner, British members finally had to admit that "the people of Great Britain today have no reservations whatsoever about the application of the Atlantic Charter to every part of the world," and "we have no qualifications in our own mind in regard to India or to any of our dependencies" (IPR 1943).

The outbreak of World War II fundamentally changed the non-political stance of the IPR. The two international conferences held during the war, the eighth conference in Mont Tremblant and the ninth in Hot Springs (1945), were regarded by the governments of the Allied nations as an important forum for discussing the coordination of wartime policies and postwar planning. These meetings were attended by many government officials, including Stanley Hornbeck, an adviser to the US Department of State, at the Mont Tremblant conference, and George Sansom, a well-known British/Japanese specialist, at the Hot Springs conference. Although these officials attended in a private capacity, they were considered by other attendees as representatives of their countries (Woods 1993: 32), and the conference documents and roundtable reports were sent to their governments for reference. The preliminary report for the Mont Tremblant conference emphasized that the coming conference would become "an important departure from previous IPR practice," in the sense that it would have many persons holding government positions, and applauded the IPR's politicization (IPR 1943: v–vi).

After the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, the IPR, as the largest research-oriented institution specializing in the Asia Pacific region, was highly regarded by the US government as an important source of knowledge and expertise. On December 17, 1941, Robert Sproul, the chairman of the American Council, made a statement outlining the American Council's fundamental wartime policy and emphasized the "fresh opportunity" that the war gave to the council.

> The officers and staff of the [US] Council . . . believe that the war situation . . . lends new and crucial importance to its program of study and widespread discussion of the issue at stake; that such activities, in fact, form a vital party of a democratic war effort . . . the American Council . . . believed that its years of efforts, developed to building up a body of knowledge and a group of persons with a broad understanding of the Far East, will now make possible a unique contribution in the emergency. (IPR 1946: 8)

Finding that Washington was "woefully unprepared" to meet the immediate and pressing wartime need for factual data, expert opinions, and linguistic competence in relation to the Asia Pacific region, the American Council provided significant intellectual and human resources to government agencies and contributed to the formulation of the government's wartime and postwar policies. During 1941 and 1942, IPR research was published in fifty volumes, which were widely circulated among government and defense agencies. Sales of IPR publications by the American Council alone rose from $11,800 in 1941 to $25,000 in 1942. The members of the American Council were recruited into official advisory positions on East Asian problems. Close relationships between the IPR (1946: 9–10, 15) and government agencies ultimately led to the establishment of a joint office in Washington, DC, with the purpose of liaising between the IPR members, government agencies, embassies, and other Allied countries.

It should be noted that the IPR was never a truly people-oriented organization. In principle, the IPR emphasized the diversity of its membership, saying that "each [national] group aims to represent a cross-section of interests in its own country . . . an effort is made to include women as well as men, business as well as academic leaders, labor men and capitalists, social workers and men of affairs" (Condliffe 1932: 522). Yet, in reality, the majority of IPR members belonged to an elite class that included former prime ministers and other high-ranking government officials. In fact, they had much stronger ties with the government than the public. Although IPR members advocated that people, not governments, should be central players in the efforts to create a new regional order, what they meant by people was only a handful of educated intellectuals. Nitobe (1938a: 391) insisted that "it is not upon the largest number of people we can depend for the maintenance of peace, but upon the thoughtful few who can lead the masses."[3] Nitobe's elitism was widely shared among other IPR members. They believed that only elites were able to handle the vital issues of the nation; thus, the uneducated and unenlightened "masses" should be excluded from the policy-making process. This strong sense of elitism and distrust of the "masses" prevented IPR members from nurturing grassroot support for the activities and goals of the organization within their own countries.

THE IPR AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

In the twenty-first century, the Japanese are again seeking a new concept of peace. Since returning to office in 2012, Prime Minister Shinzō Abe has insisted that the security environment of Japan fundamentally changed after the end of the Cold War (cf. Rösch and Watanabe 2017). He has subsequently undertaken a series of measures that have resulted in significant changes to Japan's security policy. The National Security Council (NSC) was established

in 2013, and a package of security-related bills was passed in the midst of a huge controversy in 2015, which enabled Japan's Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to engage in a wider range of missions, including the defense of other countries.

Prime Minister Abe has pursued these efforts under the banner of "proactive contributions to peace" as an essential element of the security discourse of the current government. However, having often been translated into Galtung's "positive peace," Abe's slogan of "proactive contributions to peace" (*Sekkyokuteki Heiwashugi*) has resulted in severe criticism both within and outside Japan about the misuse of this seemingly similar concept. In fact, Galtung himself has criticized Abe's new security policies, insisting that the purpose of positive peace is to remove structural violence. However, the Abe administration has placed more emphasis on proactivity, rather than peace, by advocating for the larger role of the SDF as Japan's "proactive contribution" to peace. As a result, Abe's policies have prevented rather than realized positive peace, according to Galtung's reasoning.

Many people in Japan, including critics of the Abe administration, agree that the country should make sufficient contributions to world peace that are commensurate with its national capabilities and international standing. Still, we need further deliberation and discussion as to *what kind* of peace Japan and other actors in international politics should pursue and *what kinds* of contributions should be undertaken toward realizing this peace. In this sense, although interwar Japanese intellectuals could not bring concrete results during their own age, their struggles toward finding a new framework for peace still continue.

Amitav Acharya and Barry Buzan (2010) question "Why is there no non-Western international relations theory?" insisting that IR scholars should pay more attention to the non-Western IR tradition and its theoretical possibilities because Western IR is both too narrow in its sources and too dominant in its efforts to influence the social world in which we live. By examining interwar transpacific intellectuals and their visions of peace, this chapter has shown that rather than being a merely transatlantic affair in its formative years, IR was already global in scale. Certainly, their efforts eventually broke down in the late 1950s, essentially turning the global idea of IR into a Western one. However, they still provide us with a model for creating a truly global IR.

NOTES

1. For an overview of the IPR's history, see Hooper (1994).
2. Eventually, Korean members of the IPR had their membership revoked because the Japanese members opposed their participation, arguing that participants should be limited to those from "independent nations."
3. Similar statements are to be found in Nitobe (1938b; 1938c).

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Chapter 6

Rethinking the Liberal/Pluralist Vision of Japan's Colonial Studies

Ryoko Nakano

Through the reading of Japanese liberal/pluralist thinkers in colonial studies, this chapter sheds light on the dilemma of humanitarian aid and development assistance as a vehicle to sustain the liberal international order. In particular, it focuses on Inazō Nitobe (1862–1933) and Tadao Yanaihara (1893–1961), both of whom reached prominence in colonial studies in their time and continued to gain public respect even after the end of the Japanese empire. Colonial studies are a "forgotten discipline" in international relations (IR; Schmidt 1998: 124–25), and those of Japan tend to be dismissed by Western IR scholars because they are viewed as part of an infamous legacy of Japanese imperialism and Pan-Asian expansionism. Yet, in Japan, Nitobe and Yanaihara's political thinking and careers have been associated with liberalism and internationalism. Nitobe is an international public figure both for his seminal writings, such as *Bushidō* (the Way of the Warrior), and his service as an under-secretary-general in the League of Nations. Yanaihara is known as a liberal academic who opposed Japan's military-led expansionism despite the thought control and censorship of the 1930s. While both men were Christian, their writings are secular enough to convince readers that their works contain wisdom and scholarly insight that should be studied even today.

As I will illustrate in this chapter, Nitobe and Yanaihara support the core values of a "civilizing mission" and development. Concepts such as *jisshitsuteki shokumin* (de facto population migration) and *jishu* (autonomy) bring liberal normative values like the free movement of people and democracy to the fore. They focus on cosmopolitanism and global civil society to emphasize the importance of voluntary, self-motivated, and bottom-up social and political reconfiguration of the international order. However, they also present critical insight that direct our attention to the dehumanizing effects of policies encouraging capitalist development and the "standard of civilization."

The philosophical and spiritual dimension of *jishu* illuminates the desperate need for an active commitment from people, both colonizers and colonized, to the creation of an inclusive, multiethnic society. Nitobe and Yanaihara were concerned with the welfare of the colonized and wanted to pursue an alternative to state-led development and regionalism, though they understood that the world could not escape from the logic of power politics.

Describing Nitobe and Yanaihara merely as liberal intellectuals may miss a wide range of political and colonial thinking that evolved from the Meiji to Taishō eras. As Tetsuya Sakai (2003) suggests, a large group of liberals, internationalists, and socialists in the interwar period cannot be reduced to "liberalism." To overcome this limitation, I add pluralism to liberalism here. Even in the Meiji period, when the entire nation was geared toward the development of a modern nation-state, there was interest in the expansion of civil society and the respectful and moral treatment of other nations and ethnic groups. Entering the Taishō period, the need to engage the new realities of ethnic and cultural diversity in colonies created an opportunity to imagine a larger society of the Japanese empire as pluralistic and multiethnic (Nakano 2013). This did not mean that Nitobe and Yanaihara responded to diversity in the most acceptable way known today. Yet, they recognized the importance of dealing with diversity with care.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into five parts. The first covers the evolution of colonial studies in Japan. The second focuses on the emergence of Japan's civilizing mission discourse, which most vividly appeared in the conceptualization of population migration as *jisshitsuteki shokumin* (de facto population migration). The third explains how Nitobe and Yanaihara identified the dehumanizing effects of policies encouraging capitalist development. The fourth examines the versatile use of *jishu* to put forth both the institutional and normative changes in the reconstruction and reconfiguration of society beyond Japan's national borders. The final section extends the liberal/pluralist ideas in Japanese colonial studies to illuminate the recurrent problems in the provision of humanitarian aid and development assistance in the liberal international order after 1945.

COLONIAL STUDIES IN JAPAN

Encountering the European international system of states, Japan entered the race to create a strong modern nation-state in the late nineteenth century. This meant a step into the path of imperialism, which was characterized by economic and military expansion beyond the national borders and sustained by the idea of a "standard of civilization" (Suzuki 2009; Akami 2013). Japan began a new chapter of colonialism by including Ezo (as Hokkaido) in its

national territory in 1869. As this territory evolved as a place for settlement and economic exploitation of natural resources, colonial studies began, oriented largely toward agriculture in the newly established Sapporo Agricultural College in Hokkaido. In 1879, the Ryūkyū Kingdom, China's tributary state and Satsuma's (a Japanese domain under the Tokugawa rule) vassal state, also came under the control of the Meiji government. These "internal colonies" were Japan's first step into the complex field of bureaucratic jurisdiction, economic exploitation, and the management of cultural differences beyond the national homeland.

When Japan acquired Taiwan as spoils of victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), it faced multiple challenges for governing the culturally and ethnically diverse groups of people, such as the Han Chinese and indigenous populations who inhabited different parts of Taiwan. With "polite cynicism and scorn," the architects and directors of Japan's colonial system assumed that the "welfare of Formosa [Taiwan] and its peoples had no meaning apart from the interests of the mother country" (Kublin 1959: 77). The use of military force to suppress revolts by the original inhabitants was considered necessary. Japan's colonial policy was geared toward the creation of order and economic development in the best interest of the homeland. As Shimpei Gotō, then civil governor of Taiwan, famously noted, the colony was also a testing ground for Japan to demonstrate its governance ability as a first-rate nation to Western powers (Peattie 1984: 84). The welfare of the colonized people was a secondary issue for Japanese officials and technocrats, who were interested in the international reputation of Japan.

Academic courses on colonial studies were offered in Japanese higher educational institutions after the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). Colonial studies lectures had been given at Kyoto Imperial University since 1903, and the first colonial studies course was established at Tohoku Agricultural College in 1907, followed by Tokyo Imperial University in 1909 (Kaneko 1985). The inclusion of colonial studies in the academic curricula at the national universities was a means to train future bureaucrats and administrators of Japan's newly acquired territories. With his own funding, Gotō set up the chair position of colonial studies at Tokyo Imperial University and recruited Nitobe, who had formerly worked for him as a technical advisor in Taiwan. Setting up this chair was based on Gotō's conviction that Japan as a colonial power would need to accumulate the knowledge to effectively manage both labor and resources across the Japanese empire.

However, those in charge of teaching colonial policy did not necessarily provide strategic or technical lessons for their students. Indeed, Nitobe published a number of articles on the concept of colonization and agricultural development in colonies, but at Tokyo Imperial University he was more inclined to tell anecdotes of colonies than impart theoretically refined and

managerially useful knowledge of colonial governance. Because Nitobe himself did not provide a comprehensive overview of colonies or colonial policy, his lectures only became available after they were recorded by a student of his, Yanaihara, and published in 1942. Miono Yamamoto, professor at Kyoto University, with no fieldwork experience in colonies, depended on the existing literature on colonial governance written by Western authors such as Paul Reinsch. Yamamoto wrote a textbook, *Shokumin Seisaku Kenkyū* [The Study of Colonial Policy], but it was mostly a typological account of existing colonial policies (Oguma 1998: 184–87). In this early era, the academic program of colonial studies did not provide a systemic account or develop a consistent and concrete theory of colonies.

It was during the interwar period that the depth and breadth of Japanese colonial studies gained prominence. A number of books and articles were published, but Yanaihara's *Shokumin oyobi Shokumi Seisaku* (Population Migration and Colonial Policy) most comprehensively dealt with the issues of population migration, colonialism, and colonial policy. Based on his fieldwork and statistical data, Yanaihara also published *Teikokushugi-ka no Taiwan* (Taiwan under Imperialism), the first academic and most accredited book on the political economy of colonial Taiwan. In the Taishō era, the treatment of the culturally and ethnically diverse colonial societies became a point of contention. Unlike Western colonial powers, Japan developed a distinct notion of colonies, based on its geographical and cultural proximity to Taiwan and Korea (Peattie 1988). After Japan's victory against Russia, the notion of a Japanese mission for the brotherhood of Asia emerged. From 1919, Japan set forth "assimilation" (*dōka*) as a principle for governing Korea and Taiwan. For colonial bureaucrats, politicians, and educators, this principle meant only cultural assimilation and became a convenient device to disguise political discrimination. Yet, an increasing level of intellectual freedom in the Taishō era turned Japanese colonial studies in a different direction. While the Taishō democratic movement primarily demanded the expansion of political rights and the improvement of social welfare in Japan, it also advocated Japanese cooperation with fellow Asians as a way of restructuring the Japanese empire. Akira Izumi, professor of colonial policy and international law at Meiji University (1914–1927), with Yanaihara, supported the Taiwanese (Han Chinese in Taiwan) political and cultural campaigns for self-rule, which can be seen as an extension of the Taishō democratic movement.

In the 1930s, the study of colonial policy was replaced by the study of Asian regional order. Once the creation of a Pan-Asian bloc was set as an ultimate goal for Japan, colonial governance fell under military commanders and regimentation. *Kōminka*, the "imperialization of subject peoples," justified the mass mobilization of all the emperor's subjects under Japanese rule. The emergence of totalitarianism, thought control, and censorship placed

Japanese academic freedom on hold. Socialist and liberal scholars whose ideas were considered critical to the *kokutai* (state polity) system were forced to leave the university. Yanaihara was no exception: he left Tokyo Imperial University because of his remark at a Christian meeting that "Japan should be buried." Those in the intellectual advisory bodies and think tanks associated with governmental bodies, the military, and a few private institutions, could continue their research activities but mostly for the purpose of realizing a Pan-Asian ideal.

CIVILIZATION AND GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Just as most involved in the Meiji government's efforts for modernization, Nitobe believed that the fate of Japan and its colonies would depend on modernization and economic development. Having studied at Sapporo Agricultural College, Nitobe saw the "agrarian way of life as the basis of civilization and peace" and hoped that the Japanese would bring civilization to the Ainu (the indigenous population) (Miwa 1995: 164–65). He studied agricultural economies at Johns Hopkins and Bonn Universities and earned a doctoral degree in agricultural economics from the University of Halle-Wittenberg. He published the best-selling book, *Bushidō*, and was asked to work as a technical advisor for agricultural development in Taiwan. From 1901 to 1903, Nitobe offered his advice regarding sugar production in Taiwan to Gotō at the Governor-General's Office. His inspiration for colonial economic development was Frederick the Great, who was interested in land use and ordered his subjects to grow potatoes to help feed the people of Prussia (Nitobe 1969a: 221–22; 234). Nitobe's practical, almost technocratic, advice led to a remarkable increase in sugar production in Taiwan (Myers and Ching 1964).

Inspired by American political economist Henry George, Nitobe (1969c: 371) regarded land as a common property of humankind and justified agricultural development and colonization in terms of wealth development and common opportunities. Following classical liberals such as John Locke, he ultimately supported colonization for economic purposes. Nitobe also referred to Paul Reinsch's words, "colonization is a spread of civilization," to explain that civilization has a moral dimension. From this viewpoint, Nitobe (1969d: 471–78) identified the cultivation of the South Pacific Islands (today's Micronesia) as a possible area for Japan's economic endeavors. Though not considering military or political domination, he regarded the tropical islands in the South Pacific as a niche region that no colonial powers except Japan would come to cultivate.

Nitobe occasionally argued that a civilized population has a greater moral obligation for the colonized. He argued that a colonial power should improve

the hygiene and health environments in colonies. However, Peattie (1984: 94) suggests that Nitobe was proof that "there were Japanese in these years whose views were a good deal more liberal than those sometimes found in European colonial systems." Recognizing the lack of consent from the colonized, Nitobe (1920: 120–21) aimed to establish legitimacy in colonial governance on the basis of "give and take." Like Reinsch, Nitobe was opposed to forced assimilation and suggested segregation as a way of governing a different group of lower culture (Oguma 1998: 182–84). He did not consider those colonized people a subject of national self-determination, but rather a subject of protection from civilized nations. Yet, to bring the benefits of land cultivation and development, Nitobe reserved a liberal viewpoint in which civilized nations can positively influence colonies.

Nitobe's view of colonization as the spread of civilization was reorganized and developed by his student Yanaihara. As the successor to Nitobe's academic position at Tokyo Imperial University, Yanaihara wrote a textbook, *Shokumin oyobi Shokumi Seisaku* (Population Migration and Colonial Policy; 1963b), in which he explains that there are two types of *shokumin* (population migration or colonization): *keishikiteki* (formal) and *jisshitsuteki* (de facto or actual). An example of the former is a new territory that the state acquires and administers for its own interests, while the latter is actual population migration with or without state order and initiatives. While the conceptualization of *keishikiteki* migration fitted the state-centric attitude of conservative scholars at Tokyo Imperial University, Yanaihara favorably describes *jisshitsuteki* migration as the expression of people's autonomous will for survival and development. His focus on voluntary, self-motivated, and bottom-up movements derive from the fact that he discerned Zionism, the Jewish movement for settlement in Palestine, as an historic event of salvation for both the Jewish settlers and strangers, for its civilizing and economic effects (Tanaka 2011). In this conceptualization, Yanaihara advances a preliminary idea of a global civil society in which culturally or ethnically distinct groups of people migrate, cultivate, and interact with others (Nakano 2006). This idea corresponds with the broader scope of an empire, which goes beyond a nation-state model and incorporates the dynamics of socioeconomic development on a global scale.

DEHUMANIZING EFFECTS OF COLONIZATION AND COLONIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Thus far, we have seen how Nitobe and Yanaihara justified colonization on the grounds of developing agriculture and spreading civilization. Their arguments were similar to Western ones at the time: one-sided and too focused on

the positive elements of civilization and modernization, and thus supported capitalist colonial expansion. However, they were not blind to the connection between racial and ethnic distinctions, and the hierarchical structure of a colonial economy. As time went by, a perception gap between the colonizers and colonized became deeper. Uneasiness with this gap vividly appeared in the writings of those Japanese who emphasized the positive influence of *shokumin*. A resolution for this dilemma was needed.

Nitobe's concern rested on the inhumane and unfair treatment of people. He suggested that the dilemma in liberal imperialism came from the inhumane nature of colonial governance. According to Kitaoka (1993), Nitobe suffered from an internal contradiction in writing his doctoral thesis on agricultural development in the capitalist system. On the one hand, the promotion of large-scale farming in a capitalist system was considered inevitable, even though it may impoverish peasants. On the other hand, there was a moral demand to protect the welfare of peasants. A similar contradiction can be found in Nitobe's colonial studies. He knew that once native people were under colonial rule, they were placed in an underprivileged position. His technocratic argument for development clashed with his humanitarian concern over the protection of the uncivilized. He gave respect to the "uncivilized," such as the mountain tribes in Taiwan, and traditional groups in India and Java. With the metaphors of "physiologies" for state matters and "pathologies" for colonial ones (Nitobe 1969e: 63), he implied that the state functions and benefits its own people, but not the colonized. Describing colonial situations as an anomaly, he even suggested that colonies are bound to end, with reference to the Spanish colonies that were terminated after four hundred years. He recognized a sickening element in colonial policy by which their powers intend to further maintain the status of colonies for their own sake.

Yanaihara presented the issues of domination and subjugation more intensively and clearly. The cases of Japanese colonies, such as Taiwan and Korea, were initially *keishikiteki* colonization, and he recognized the gradual process of *shihonshugika* (capitalist development). Yanaihara admitted that Japan's colonial policy and economic activities increased the overall productivity of agricultural products. For instance, Yanaihara (1963d) sketched out how the Governor-General's Office, Japanese banks, and conglomerates contributed to Taiwan's political, economic, and social reorganization for its rapid increase in agricultural production. State intervention was necessary when private businesses were reluctant to invest in an unknown external market like Taiwan. The Governor-General's Office used the funds from Tōkyō to lay infrastructure foundations for economic development, guaranty the security of the region, and create incentives for interested companies. The Bank of Japan also provided financial support for the private sector to initiate investment and business plans. Yanaihara described the Governor-General's Office

in positive terms, particularly the civil administrator Gotō, and the Governor General Gentarō Kodama, for achieving industrialization and bringing political and economic order to Taiwan. Though not mentioned, Yanaihara presumably also praised Nitobe, who worked for Gotō.

However, Yanaihara pointed to critical issues in colonial governance. What he saw as the biggest problem rested on the contradictions embedded in capitalism and the increasing level of state control that suppressed a bottom-up contribution to the legitimacy of the empire. He also suggested that introducing capitalism to colonies was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it would enhance improvements in sanitation and the development of infrastructure for communications, transport, and industrialization for the next phase of growth. Capitalism works as a global socioeconomic force that integrates local economies into one global economy, and increases the productivity of society as a whole. On the other hand, however, capitalism increases economic disparity. This Marxist–Leninist understanding of capitalism was prevalent among Yanaihara's colleagues working on economic and labor issues in the Department of Economics at Tokyo Imperial University. As they associated Japanese labor and farmers' movements with the unequal distribution of wealth, Yanaihara recognized that capital forces inevitably create a socioeconomic hierarchy. In the colonial context, he explained that the introduction of capitalism by imperial states would result in the economic subordination of the colonized. While colonized populations were destined to be "property-less" or "poor" in a new political and economic system, the colonizers were positioned as a rich ruling class at the outset (Yanaihara 1963b: 190–91). The fruits of industrialization and mechanization were primarily economic development and the supremacy of imperial states, and would not be equally distributed to the colonized.

Specifically, Yanaihara described in detail how local peoples were forced to be subjects of exploitation. On Korea's economic development, Yanaihara (1963c) asserted that Korean farmers gained little benefit from the increase of rice production and trade, and some of those who lost their land as mortgages to the Japanese even had to relocate to Manchuria, in the northeast of China. He suggested that the Korean situation was comparable with that of Indian farmers whose standard of living had not improved or had even worsened despite an increase in agricultural production. On Taiwan, he strongly criticized Japanese companies when he obtained a closer look at the development of Taiwan's sugar industry. Taiwan's sugar farmers, lacking labor unions or an equivalent, endured low wages and constantly needed cash to repay debts to the Japanese sugar refining companies. Those who relinquished their land ownership in exchange for market bonds found themselves in unequal landowner-tenant relationships and were essentially tenant farmers or "slaves" suffering from "credit bondage" (Yanaihara 1963d: 448). Yanaihara asserted

that the living conditions of sugar farmers had not changed at all, or had even become worse, as most of the profits from increased production went to Japanese sugar companies.

When Yanaihara closely examined the collective efforts of the Japanese state agents and private companies to integrate the economy of the newly acquired territories into Japan's market and capitalist economy, he found that capitalism lacked a mechanism to modify the unjust redistribution of wealth, and imperialism consolidated the political and economic hierarchy in favor of imperial states. Therefore, he criticized Japan's contribution to the unequal land distribution and widespread poverty among the colonized populations. Similarly, he observed India under British imperialism. While the British Commonwealth system remarkably allowed the white dominions to have autonomy within the British Empire, he was alert to the pretension of this system that disguised the British ambition for imperial world leadership. Yanaihara never followed Smuts and Zimmern's vision that the League of Nations was synonymous with the British Empire, nor the ideas of British liberal intellectuals, such as John Stuart Mill, who never considered the application of the universal logic of representative government to India and Ireland. Yanaihara, instead, pointed to this contradiction embedded in the British Empire. For him, the real value of the British dominion system can be found in its ideal, that is, a respect for autonomy (*jishu*).

AUTONOMY OF THE COLONIZED

Before we examine how Yanaihara used *jishu* in his writings on colonial governance, let us begin with the fact that there was a more popular term, *jichi* (self-rule), in Japan. Izumi was an ardent supporter of Taiwan's *jichi* and contributed several articles to the Taiwanese bilingual magazine, *Taiwan Seinen* or *Tai Oan Chheng Lian* (Youth Formosa), published in Tōkyō. He endorsed the formation of British self-governing colonies, by which he meant semi-independent states that retained elected governments and diplomatic authority for signing treaties with other countries. Izumi argued for the establishment of a local parliament and a cabinet responsible to the parliament in colonies, to represent the voice of the colonized. His argument reflected the era of the Taishō democratic movement in Japan. In the 1910s and 1920s, political activists, journalists, and students demanded that the government represent the voice of the people (albeit males only), regardless of economic wealth and power. Although this did not challenge the emperor's authority, it significantly impacted academics and students. While Izumi was not directly involved in this movement, his respect for the voice of the people in colonies was synthetic to this democratic norm. As he had close contact with

Taiwanese student activists who demanded the creation of a local elective parliament within Japan's imperial framework, he could base his argument on the consent of the Taiwanese whom he was teaching at Meiji University. Those Taiwanese students initiated political campaigns for self-rule, namely, the petition to the Japanese government for the creation of a Taiwanese elective local parliament with representation in the Imperial Diet of Japan. Their social vision was liberal pluralism, by which the Taiwanese and other ethnic groups could gain autonomy even in the Japanese imperial governance framework.

Yanaihara occasionally used the term *jichi*, but usually advocated the policy of *jishu* (autonomy). *Jishu* is a key term that he used in various ways. In a colonial setting, Yanaihara (1963b: 249) defined the principle of autonomy as a guide to promoting either colonial self-governance or the adoption of native customs and socioeconomic systems into colonial governance. The former example could be seen in the governance of British dominions, in which those of British origin obtained political and diplomatic power independent of the homeland. This could entail self-rule or voting rights for the colonized. The latter were exemplified in Nigeria and other West African protectorates where the British colonial administration used indirect rule through tribal systems in its governance of native populations. Both suggest a new idea of self-rule that was not imaginable in Nitobe's era, when colonizers were statically positioned as an actual governing authority.

Why did Yanaihara prefer to use *jishu* than *jichi*? Eiji Oguma (1998: 192) suggests that it was mainly for a practical reason: "On the one hand, Yanaihara used *jichi* for non-academic readers in order to persuade [Japanese] public opinion into acceptance of self-governance [in colonies]. On the other hand, he used *jishu* to describe his aspiration [to self-rule with the principle of autonomy]." However, there is some evidence to suggest that Yanaihara preferred this term because of its broader, more expansive meaning that includes the idea of civic activism and an attitude to act on one's own judgment.

First, the concept of *jishu* includes not just the institutionalization of autonomous rule, but the spirit of autonomous nations and individuals. It sits comfortably in the Japanese understanding of self-help and modernization, in general, and Yanaihara's religion and philosophy, in particular. Japan's ascendance as a leading imperial power in Asia produced a national pride and self-perception of Japan as a progressive nation. In this context, even imitation is progress. In the Western-centric international order, Nitobe (1969b: 416) argued the importance of imitation (*mohō*) of advanced civilizations. Identifying *mohō* as the basic way of breaking a hegemonic order, he firmly supported the act of learning as the development of humanity from the advanced as if it was a duty from God. For him, Japan actively practiced *mohō*. Japan's achievements were better described as "Japanization of European influences"

than the "Europeanization of Japan" (Davidann 2007: 31). At the individual level, Nitobe proclaimed the concept of *shūyō* (self-cultivation or self-learning), which was promoted in one of his best-selling books. It was a moral doctrine for an individual to develop their personality through self-discipline and self-cultivation. With Nitobe as mentor and professor, Yanaihara learned the importance of proactiveness and autonomous will for development and modernization. Moreover, as a disciple of Kanzō Uchimura, the founder of non-church Christianity, Yanaihara followed the style of evangelism that emphasized the importance of a spiritual community of willing people called "ecclesia," an autonomous group of Christians who do not offer any political allegiance to secular authorities (Hakari 1989: 227–28).

Second, the spirit of *jishu* was embedded in his support for civic activism in Taiwan. Yanaihara paid attention to the ethnic nation as the political agent of order (Doak 1995). Yet, he supported a particular type of ethnic national activity, which included an element of civic or liberal nationalism, with the aim of limiting the disruptive potential of self-determination. He discerned that favorable ground for a liberal pluralistic society was a common civic identity by which each individual actively and voluntarily becomes involved in politics and social relationships with other ethnic nations. Therefore, he developed a close relationship with Pei ho Ts'ai, a Taiwanese activist and Christian, who was willing to take on the task of development and governance in Taiwan. Ts'ai studied in Japan and served as a member of the League for the Establishment of a Formosan Parliament (Taiwan Gikai Seigan Undō), a political writer for the monthly bilingual journal, *Taiwan Seinen*, and the main leader in the cultural campaign to promote a new common writing system in Taiwan. Unlike the armed revolts by the Han Chinese and the ethnic tribes in the first decade of Japanese colonial rule, and the radical movement promoted by the Taiwanese leftists in the late 1920s, Ts'ai refrained from using force and focused more on the consolidation of a Taiwanese cultural and societal base within Japanese colonial rule. Ts'ai (1920: 21) emphasized the "Taiwanese" identity only to the extent that it would reject the complete imposition of Japanese values on the people of Taiwan. As a citizen of the modernized Japanese nation, he was willing to accept the Japanese empire's framework. Ts'ai's goal was to lay the basis for long-term cooperation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese through the moral cultivation and acculturation of the Taiwanese population. As Ts'ai's political vision engaged the invention of a new polity, not based on ethnic nationalism but on civic nationalism, Yanaihara viewed Ts'ai's movement as a proper way to expand the civic space in Taiwan.

The importance of *jishu* as bottom-up civic activism emerged as a way of escaping from the imperial order, which Nitobe and Yanaihara understood as dominated by power politics. They suggested that "unacculturated"

peoples should conform to the "standard of civilization" to escape their position of underprivilege while preserving their cultural distinctiveness. Referring to Adam Smith's *On Colony*, Yanaihara (1963a) argues that the culture of "unacculturated" ethnic groups could be protected only by upgrading the level of their civilization. They need a modern military force, advanced socioeconomic infrastructure, and diplomatic expertise to organize resistance to capitalist penetration and military encroachment. An attempt to seek autonomy without power and knowledge of civilization would be futile because it could easily be trumped by the logic of power politics. Only when ethnic groups gain the power and knowledge to overawe their ruler could they enforce the necessary adjustments to create a civic space of their own and contribute to the creation of a multiethnic, pluralistic society. Therefore, Yanaihara had a better prospect for the acculturated populations such as Taiwanese activists in Tōkyō, while assuming that the "unacculturated" would have to endure an alien rule until they met the "standard of civilization."

Although Yanaihara's argument was utterly modernist, it could be contrasted with the idea of state-led development and power maximization promoted by another modernist scholar in Japan, Masamichi Rōyama. When Japan launched its military endeavor for de facto control of Manchuria, Rōyama, a professor of law at Tokyo Imperial University, developed a functionalist approach to regional integration while pursuing an approach of cooperation among great powers. Yanaihara criticized the lack of attention to the welfare of indigenous populations in Rōyama's discussion on the Japanese rule of the South Pacific Islands and asserted that the focus of a "new South Pacific policy" should be the development of relations between the "people in the homeland" (*hongokumin*) and the "native population" (*genjūmin*) (Imaizumi 2001: 42). Yanaihara felt that the term "internationalism," should not disguise the fact that the welfare of indigenous populations gets little attention. The paths taken by Rōyama and Yanaihara split. As one of the core members of the intellectual advisory body, *Shōwa Kenkyūkai*, for Fumimaro Konoe, who became the prime minister in 1937, Rōyama developed the idea that prioritizes regionalism over nationalism, and advocated economic development and cooperation initiated by Japan's strong leadership rather than constitutional democracy (Sakai 2007: 137–49). In contrast, Yanaihara (1963e) affirmed the progressive and moral value of the liberal norms embedded in the mandate system, and continued to assert the importance of a space for the "natives" to get involved in new social relationships with other nations. Although both were liberal modernists, Rōyama was drawn to a Pan-Asian ambition to construct a new regional order, whereas Yanaihara retained his vision of the development of international institutional arrangements to protect the wealth of stateless people.

PROMOTING AUTONOMY IN THE LIBERAL INTERNATIONAL ORDER

After Japan's defeat in World War II, their empire dissolved. On the surface, this was the end of Japanese colonial studies and Pan-Asianism. However, the ideas of modernism and developmentalism survived in Japanese foreign policy. Rōyama maintained his theory of regional development and functional cooperation in his argument for collective aid initiatives for economic development, such as the Colombo Plan (Sakai 2007: 145–49). He valued the role of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, one of the specialized institutions of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, as a place where Asian economists were educated for economic development. Regarding Japan's modernization as a model for other Asian countries, he suggested that Asia's nationalism be restrained so as not to progress and be dragged into a communist bloc in Asia. His stance became closer to the US-led modernization initiatives. Similarly, Yoichi Itagaki, professor of colonial policy at Tokyo University of Commerce (today Hitotsubashi University), worked as a researcher for Japan's military rule in Southeast Asia. His social democratic idea of development in Asia and Japan's role in that development derived from his pre-1945 works (Karashima 2015). Although both men initially advocated democratic socialism for the importance of the welfare economy as the main aim of development, they soon abandoned this path in the face of the increasing divide between the United States and the Soviet Union. In the end, their compromise was to prioritize development over democracy and to tolerate governance under dictatorial leadership. This strategic focus on development, even at the expense of democracy, became the backbone of Japan's aid projects on modernization and industrialization in Asia, which also fit well in the US-led liberal international order.

Nitobe's and Yanaihara's writings shed light on a different direction in post-1945 Japan. Yanaihara's disciples, such as Katsumi Yanai and Tadashi Kawata, were more critical of economic development at the expense of the welfare of local populations. The main theme of both scholars was imperialism in disguise. While Yanai (1959) highlighted the US intrusion into Latin America, Kawata examined the structure of economic hierarchy mainly in Asia even after the independence of nations. Underlying their argument was a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on capitalist development. Kawata (1996), in particular, proposed colonial studies as the foundation of development studies, area studies, and international economy in post-1945 Japan, and saw an inkling of peace studies in Yanaihara's work. A skepticism toward the liberal international order characterizes those works.

In Japan's economic aid to other countries, "self-help" (*jijo doryoku*) arose as a way of escaping the logic of domination and exclusion. Like *jishu*,

self-help has a positive connotation in which bottom-up efforts make survival and prosperity possible. Reflecting the fault of Japanese colonialism and imperialism, Japan took the stance of giving aid on the basis of requests from recipient countries and allegedly reduced an intrusive element of Official Development Assistance (ODA). In the aid context, "self-help" emphasizes the importance of national ownership in humanitarian and development projects. In 2003, Japan formally adopted self-help as the most important pillar of its ODA policy. However, it is a mistake to regard self-help as a less paternalistic and more bottom-up policy toward development, because the subject of Japan's self-help approach is not people but recipient governments (Udagawa 2017). If one considers the philosophical and spiritual dimensions of *jishu* that Yanaihara suggested, empowerment is probably the right word to highlight the necessity of people assisting the oppressed or deprived in overcoming their situation. The concept of *jishu* illuminates the desperate need for people's active commitment to the creation of a good society in the liberal international order.

More broadly, the liberal pluralist vision of Japanese colonial studies brings our attention to the challenges in international humanitarian aid and development assistance in the post-1945 liberal international order. Reflecting the Western experiences of humanitarian operations, Michael Barnett (2011: 12) argues that humanitarianism is "partly paternalism—the belief that some people can and should act in ways that are intended to improve the welfare of those who might not be in a position to help themselves." International organizations, aid agencies, and non-government organizations have become increasingly involved in international humanitarian operations for helping and protecting the people whose lives are at risk in conflicts or famines, or whose bodies are in danger of being harmed for unjustifiable reasons. However, gaining consent from people on the ground is sometimes compromised for the greater purpose of humanitarianism. For this reason, despite good intentions and a sense of care, humanitarian governance cannot escape the logic of power and domination (Barnett 2017). In considering development aid to the "less developed," Barry Buzan (2014) argues that the "standard of civilization" is a durable analytical concept, even after 1945. He asserts that it is applicable to contemporary discussion on the forms and obligations of states. States are differentiated, and often discriminated, by Western standards of modernity, such as human rights, democracy, capitalism, environmental stewardship, and development. Western criteria for development and modernity have been so dominant that the historical particularities of culturally diverse societies have been not sufficiently appreciated in the last two centuries. Like those scholarly works that acutely point to the dehumanizing element of international operations to assist others, revisiting the liberal pluralist vision of Japan's colonial studies demonstrates that in creating a

unified multiethnic society and enhancing development without the consent of others, the dilemma rests not outside but within.

CONCLUSION

Colonial studies in Japan are a product of imperialism, which has grown and prospered with the expansion of the Japanese empire. However, it is not too late to draw a lesson from this. Themes such as economic development and the protection of cultural diversity remain today. Nitobe and Yanaihara shared a moral and humanitarian concern for unprivileged and discriminated populations that were forced to enter an alien system. Both recognized the logic of power politics behind Japan's integration of nearby places, not to mention Western territorial aggrandizement. However, they were hesitant to follow this logic. Although they did not necessarily reach a viable solution, they acknowledged the continuity of the structural and normative problems in the Japanese colonial system, no matter how much the discourse on inclusion and coexistence and the themes of civilization and development evolved in Japan.

Challenges to humanitarian aid and development assistance in the post-1945 world are reminiscent of the dilemma that Nitobe and Yanaihara faced. International operations for helping vulnerable populations develop the skills for self-rule and autonomy are mostly based on the inbuilt hierarchy of the liberal international order. Consideration of the dehumanizing effects of capitalist development and globalization is necessary to expose such a paradigm. The labels such as "self-help" and "national ownership" in economic and humanitarian assistance should accompany the substance, lest the idea of a multiethnic, pluralistic society of humanity become more like a facade.

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Part III

LOCAL(IZED) JAPANESE POLITICAL CONCEPTS FOR TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Chapter 7

Who Are the People?

A History of Discourses on Political Collective Subjectivity in Post-War Japan[1]

Eiji Oguma

On May 18, 2009, Yukio Hatoyama, leader of the oppositional Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) at that time, claimed that his party represented the views of *shimin* (市民 citizens). Having been informed by journalists about Hatoyama's remark, Tarō Asō, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and Japan's then prime minister, replied, "*Shimin*? I think it should be *kokumin* [国民 nationals]" (K 2009). The preference for *kokumin* over *shimin* might sound trivial, but shortly thereafter it contributed to the LDP's defeat in the general election on August 30, 2009, after which Hatoyama replaced Asō as prime minister. This was the first time since its inception in 1995 that the LDP lost the House of Representatives election.

In international relations (IR), discussions on political subjectivity have increased in recent years (cf. Campbell 1998; Hansen 2006) in the context of the rise of fundamentalism as well as regionalism, the right wing, and social movements. It has, therefore, become a critical imperative to investigate the ways in which politicians or activists construct a collective "we." However, these investigations require careful contextualization, as terms commonly used in English, such as nationalism or civil society, do not necessarily exist in the same way as in other linguistic and cultural contexts. If they do, they might have different meanings.

Consider as an example, the German term *Volk*. As Reinhart Koselleck (1992) has shown, although the term can be translated as folks, commons, people, or nation in English, they do not convey the German political and historical contexts that are encapsulated in the term in German (*Volk*). Likewise, *bürgerliche Gesellschaft* and *Öffentlichkeit* have different connotations than "civil society" and "public" in English. Hence, just in every society, Japan,

too, has its unique, historically conditioned situations to characterize forms of human sociation, and terms such as *shimin* and *kokumin* are difficult to be translated precisely.

This raises questions on what kind of terms the modern Japanese language offers for human sociation. Below are excerpts from the *Kōjien*, the most widely used dictionary in Japan (Iwanami Shoten Jiten Henshūbu 2008):

Kokumin (国民): People under a sovereign rule; people that constitute the state; a person that holds a nationality; a person who is liable to the state.
Shimin (市民): (1) Residents in a city; a constituent member of a municipality. (2) (In English—citizen, in German—*Bürger*) *Kokumin* who hold a status to participate in state affairs; in a broader sense, people who independently and voluntarily take part in the formation of public sphere, (3) A translation of the French term *bourgeois*.
Minzoku (民族): A group of people that share a sense of belonging that is historically formed around the affinity which derives from a communion of culture and/or a place of birth.
Jinmin (人民): (1) People that form a state and/or a society, particularly the ruled in regard to the rulers. (2) People who hold no governmental post. Common man.
Taishū (大衆): (1) Many people; *taishū, minshū*; Particularly the general working class such as farmers and laborers. (2) In sociology, an unorganized human collective that is composed by many people from different backgrounds and attributes.
Shomin (庶民): (1) Various people; *jinmin*. (2) Ordinary people, in contrast to nobles.

There are no precise corresponding translations for these terms in English, but they could be adumbrated as follows:

Kokumin: nation, people
Shimin: citizens, urban residents, bourgeoisie
Minzoku: nation, ethnos, race
Jinmin: people, commons
Taishū: commons, mass
Shomin: commons

In this chapter, the focus will be on the history of the use of *kokumin* and *shimin*. For Japanese intellectuals, translating English (and other foreign) terms such as "citizen" and "nation" has been a contentious issue since Western modernization began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868. To take the case of "citizen," the well-known Meiji intellectual Yukichi Fukuzawa translated

the term as *kokujin* (国人), while the journalist Chōmin Nakae preferred the term *shi* (士, samurai) in his 1882 translation of *citoyen* in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *The Social Contract* (Tsuzuki 2003: 56). These differences in translation reflect the shifts in political participation since the Meiji Restoration. Until the end of the Tokugawa shogunate, political participation was limited to the samurai class, but was gradually afforded to all Japanese in the wake of the modernization processes. While Fukuzawa focused on the extension of citizenship as a feature of modernity, Nakae's view was different, as he stressed the importance of the quality of participation, which for him meant spiritual nobility. In light of the transformation of Japan's society through internal and external processes since the Meiji Restoration, such terminological disputes continue today.

Building on my earlier reflections in *Minshu to Aikoku* (Oguma 2002), this chapter investigates considerations made by Japanese political parties, intellectuals, and social movements on changes in terminologies that denote human collectives after World War II. Such discussions remained cursory in my earlier work (Oguma 2002), as that book focused on Japanese intellectual history from the 1940s to the 1960s. Since then, Simon Avenell (2010) has addressed this question in his study on postwar Japanese thought and social movements. Avenell, consulting my study, identifies the use of *shimin* by center-left intellectuals, a point that I will cover in the third section of this chapter. However, he has not discussed terminological choices by party politicians and Marxist intellectuals. Therefore, this chapter will investigate, with a particular focus on the development of the term *shimin* and *kokumin* as concepts that describe political subjectivity, how intellectuals, including Marxists, selected their concepts.

KOKUMIN, MINZOKU, AND *SHIMIN*: COMMUNIST DISCOURSES, 1945–1955

After World War II ended in the Asia-Pacific region in August 1945 and the US military occupied Japan the following month, leaders of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP) were released from prison in October of the same year. Sanzō Nosaka, one of the founders of the JCP and later its chairman, was able to return to Japan in January 1946. Since 1931, he had been living as a refugee first in the Soviet Union and then in China. Shortly after his return, Nosaka gave a public speech, asking "who was a real patriot?":

> Who caused our *minzoku* [ethnos] to suffer this ultimate humiliation called defeat and to plunge into the abyss of catastrophe? It was the Emperor, military factions, *zaibatsu* [company syndicates], reactionary bureaucrats, politicians

> and groups, who killed millions of young people in the battlefield. It was indeed them, unpatriotic traitors, who jeopardized our home country and humiliated our *minzoku*. . . . By contrast, what did we—the communists—do during the war? . . . We exposed the imperialistic and predatory character of the war, explained that the war could violate our national interest . . . and opposed the war. For these reasons, thousands of party members and sympathizers were detained since the Manchurian Incident, and hundreds of them were massacred by the police. Indeed, the actions of communists were those out of love to the *jinmin* [people] and their state. (1968: 256–57)

This speech provoked a lively debate because *minzoku* [race] had been used by ultranationalists during World War II. The widely-read Japanese newspaper, *Yomiuri Shimbun* (1948), for example, opined that the JCP "in nearly every situation . . . employs the old and familiar tactics that the Japanese ultra-right abused not so long ago: appealing to the shared blood among [the same] *minzoku* [to appeal for the needs of solidarity]."

Emphasizing patriotism was an official strategy of the international communist movement to mobilize the masses. Since 1935, communist parties in Europe had advocated the *Front Populaire* to oppose fascism, and later, some of its members fought in countries occupied by Nazi Germany. In its party journal *Akahata*, the JCP published a translated article originally published in the journal of the Soviet Communist Party, *The New Times* (*Новое время*), which supported this strategy in Japan in the name of patriotism (Baltisky 1946).

Despite favoring such a strategy, Japanese communist intellectuals rejected relating "*minzoku*" to racism. Historian Kiyoshi Inoue (1951: 4) maintains, "it [*minzoku*] falls under 'nation' in English and has absolutely no connotation to race." Likewise, novelist and upper house member Shigeharu Nakano (1948: 42) states that "*minzoku* refers to 95 percent of the population" except the privileged, and therefore has no connection to "race issues." Japanese Marxists argued that the notion of "nation" as a political community, comprising all social spheres and smaller geographical regions, was established after the French Revolution by overthrowing the ancien régime. This illustrates that the JCP used *minzoku* affirmatively as a translation of "nation," hinting concurrently at the abolition of imperial rule. Inoue (1951: 15) argues that "the assertion that the Japanese have kept 'ethnic' [*minzoku*] national unity under the Emperor opposes historical facts. This quasi integrity in fact has inhibited a true ethnic [*minzoku*] unity, as well as the healthy development of ethnic [*minzoku*] consciousness."

How did the JCP use the term *kokumin* [nation], which is the subject of this chapter? While *kokumin* was used extensively as a term to evoke patriotism by the government during the war, intellectuals used it as a translation

of "nation." The JCP also used the terms *kokumin* and *jinmin* [commons] to translate Western concepts such as "nation" and "people." For example, directly after the war, the JCP (1971: 322) translated *Front Populaire* as the Democratic *Jinmin* Front. However, following a decision of the Central Party Committee in March 1948, "*Jinmin* Front" was replaced again with "*Minzoku* Front." In addition, the Fifth JCP National Council in October 1951 amended the party constitution and made the decision that every use of "the term '*jinmin*' must be replaced with '*kokumin*'" (JCP 1957: 215).

There were two reasons for this decision. First, *jinmin* as a translation of "the people" was unfamiliar to farmers and the working class in general. The second reason was related to trends within the international communist movement. During the mid-twentieth century, Asian communist parties—among them the JCP—in line with Soviet and Chinese expectations, engaged in the antifascist popular front to support anticolonial independence movements under the slogan of ethnic consciousness and patriotism. Given that the JCP perceived Japan to have been colonized by the United States, it was encouraged to oppose the occupation forces, particularly during the Korean War when Japan functioned as a US military hub. Although this policy strangely resembled that of the government's during the war, it also affected labor unions, as indicated in the anthem of the Japan Teachers' Union (Imai 1951).

ああ民族の独立と　　自由の空にかかる虹
ゆるがぬ誓いくろがねの　　力と意志をきたえつつ
勝利の道をわれら行く　われら　われら　われらの日教組

Oh, the independence of our *minzoku* [from the USA], the rainbow that appears across the liberated sky
Our pledge will never be shaken as we forge our power and will into black iron
We walk the high road toward victory, we the Japan Teachers' Union

But what about *shimin* [citizen], the other topic of this chapter? Until the mid-1950s, the JCP and communist intellectuals had used *shimin* as a translation for the French term *bourgeois*. Consequently, the term was used pejoratively to identify people as "*shimin*" (Doi 1987: 4).

Non-Marxist intellectuals, by contrast, merely drew on *shimin* to identify Japanese citizens, as *shimin* for them represented the Westernized, highly-educated, city dwellers. However, during the 1940s, Japan was far from the affluent state that it has become during the second half of the twentieth century. According to statistics from the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (1947: 15–17), estimated monthly income was less than one hundred US dollars in 1946. This was only marginally higher than in British Ceylon and the Philippines, which had an average monthly income of ninety-one and

eighty-eight dollars, respectively. Furthermore, according to the 1945 census, only 28 percent of the Japanese population lived in urban municipalities.

For this reason, the term *shimin* was considered inappropriate for capturing the majority of Japanese society. As educationist Seiya Munakata remarks: "the term *shimin* might be difficult to be generalized in Japan. . . . It indicates city dwellers, and it might be odd to encourage farmers to be good *shimin*" (Munakata and Uehara 1952: 20). Indeed, Masao Maruyama (1995: 69) used *kōmin* (公民) but not *shimin* as a translation of *citoyen*. Even Makoto Oda (1995: 7), who contributed to familiarizing the term *shimin undō* (civic movement), stated in 1965 that "*shimin* was not used widely, and was the vocabulary only of professors who lectured on the French Revolution. It was a term that came with a connotation of smugness." Oda went on to argue, "for 'the leftist bloc which aimed for revolution,' the term *shimin* was not immune to discriminatory terms such as '*puchi-buru*' and '*shō-shimin*' [both meaning *petite bourgeoisie*]." This situation of conceptual equivocality continued until the 1950s.

DIFFERENCES IN PARTY PLATFORMS: 1945–1964

Until the early 1960s, political parties used different terms to refer to "the people" as a concept. Conservative parties preferred *kokumin* [nation] and *minzoku* [ethnos], but unlike the JCP, conservatives recused the term "class" and emphasized the harmony of the society as a whole.

In 1955, almost all existing conservative parties merged into the LDP (1966: 124), claiming that "our party is not a party that exists for a specific class or represents the interest of a particular social class . . . to induce domestic divide"; "we are *kokumin* [the national] party"; "our aim is to attain the prosperity of our *minzoku*." Conservative parties used the term *taishū* [commons] and *kinrōsha* [workers], the latter having officially substituted the former in wartime labor mobilization, to refer to people other than the affluent classes,[2] since both terms did not imply class differences.

By contrast, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) often used compromising and imprecise terminology. Although the JSP stressed that they represented a particular class and were mainly supported by major labor unions, most Japanese at that time were farmers and self-employed workers, rather than *rōdōsha* (employed workers, translation of laborers). Consequently, the party became a reservoir for a diverse group of politicians with Marxists on the left and non-Marxists on the right. Among them were also many legislators whose support circles included farmers' unions and associations of self-employed workers. This diversity caused imprecision in its terminology.

For example, the original JSP (1966a) platform from 1945 claimed that "our party, as a union of *kinrō* [working] classes, ensures political freedom, thereby aiming the establishment of a democratic system." The expression "the union of *kinrō* classes" was a compromise between the left wing, which emphasized the working class, and the right wing, which was supported by farmers and self-employed persons. The JSP won the general election in 1947 and formed a coalition cabinet with the conservative Japan Democratic Party (JDP), but fell from power in 1948 when internal conflicts between the left and the right escalated.

Similarly, the JCP used *minzoku* and *kokumin* partly because Japan did not have a large industrial sector at this time and because labor unions tended to support the JSP. Consequently, in contrast to the JSP, the JCP's rhetoric focused less on class terminology, which is why the JCP's terminology coincided with the terminology of conservative parties.

After the JSP lost the elections in 1949, its members debated about the principal orientation of the party. Junzō Inamura, a left wing JSP member, insisted that the party should be for *rōdōsha* [laborers]. By contrast, a right wing representative, Tatsuo Morito, asserted that the party was "for *kinrō kokumin taishū* [working national commons]" and that "any hegemony of a particular class" was unacceptable (Satō 1977: 12–13). This debate continued with the left looking for a class-based party and the right promoting a *kokumin* party that included all Japanese.

Even so, the left wing in the JSP knew that they needed support from farmers and self-employed workers. It was for this reason that Inamura (1949) argued for a JSP as a "class-based party for the working [*rōdōsha*] class." For him (Satō 1977: 12), the "working class" meant "*kokumin* other than the ruling classes such as capitalists, high-ranking bureaucrats, large landowners, who exclude them [i.e., the working class] and fight against them," and therefore, as the "*kinrō taishū,* they [the working class] dominated the majority of *kokumin*." In other words, the working class was almost equal to what the JCP called *minzoku* that is, "ninety-five percent of the population" excluding the ruling class. However, the terms *minzoku* and *jinmin* were rarely used in the JSP platform because they wanted to differentiate themselves from the JCP.

In 1951, the JSP split into two parties. The left wing formed the LJSP (Leftist Socialist Party of Japan), announcing that the "LJSP is not just a party for the working class but also that for the *kinrō taishū* [working commons]"; "[it is] a party for the working classes aiming to establish a socialist society, with the farmers and other social classes as their allies" (LJSP 1978: 26). In 1955, when the RJSP (right wing Socialist Party) and the LJSP reemerged, they drafted another platform, which suggested that "it is a class-based *taishū* party whose core is the working class but includes the wider working *taishū*"

(JSP 1966b: 120). However, the party split up again in 1960 and right wing JSP members formed the Japan Democratic Socialist Party (JDSP). The JDSP (1977: 261) adopted a platform, arguing that it is "a party for *kokumin*" in which "all working people" can join.

A similar tendency of employing comprehensive conceptualizations of sociation can be found in the *Kōmeitō*. This party was formed as the political branch of the *Sōka Gakkai*, a Buddhist movement. Its support base was the unorganized lower working classes, consisting of the workforce at small and midsize firms and self-employed persons struggling to make ends meet. Its platform maintained that "it is a *taishū* party that can include all people in every class in contemporary society" (Kōmeitō 1966).

These intensive debates about how to word "people" in Japanese might seem futile at first, but they greatly influenced discourses within the public at large. For example, demonstrating the influence of the JCP and the JSP, "The Code of Ethics for Teachers," drafted by the Japan Teachers' Union in 1952, asserted that the organization aimed for the "independence of *minzoku*" by "bringing the power of *kinrō taishū* mainly consisting of the *rōdōsha* classes" (JTU 1984[1952]: 484, 486).

As shown above, there were two tendencies in the word choice by political parties: first, their platforms tried to differentiate each other by clarifying their support base; however, at the same time, their attempts were significantly limited due to the social structure at that time. Despite their aspirations for differentiation, the fact that workers were relatively scarce in Japan forced them to adopt a broader appeal by also speaking to farmers and self-employed people. Consequently, in their efforts to differentiate themselves from each other by using *kokumin* (conservative parties), *minzoku* (JCP), *kinrō taishū* (JSP), and *taishū* (Kōmeitō), they ended up referring to the same group of people with different words.

In the 1940s and 1950s, *shimin* (citizen) did not appear in any of the parties' platforms with the exception of the 1955 JSP (1966b) platform in which it criticized the "*shōshimin* [(little s*himin*; petite bourgeoisie) for being] content with the old order." The JDSP (1977: 260) platforms from 1962 stressed the importance of "*shiminteki jiyū* [the freedom of *shimin*]," but emphasized that "we are not a party that represents a particular class." As noted above, *shimin* in this context was a translation of the French term *bourgeoisie*.

THE RISE OF *SHIMIN*: 1960–1970

The situation began to change from the 1960s when the Japanese economy gradually recovered and its GDP rose by 10 percent each year. This economic boom was accompanied by significant societal changes.

Urbanization increased as people flocked from villages to cities to search for work. According to the national census, the percentage of population of urban municipalities increased from 27.8 percent in 1945 to 72.1 percent in 1970. The agricultural sector by contrast decreased dramatically, as farmers merely made up 17.9 percent of the total workforce in 1970, comparing to 45.1 percent in 1950.

However, these changes did not lead to a formation of class consciousness among workers because, in their diverse work arrangements, such as being self-employed or working in small or midsize firms, they did not necessarily see themselves as part of a working class. Consequently, the organization of labor unions declined, as evidenced in the statistics by the Health, Labor, and Welfare Ministry, although the number of employed people increased during economic growth. Labor union membership rate was highest in 1949 (55.8 percent of the total employees), and had since decreased to 35.4 percent in 1970, and 30.8 percent in 1980 (for an overview, see Kōrō-shō n.d.).

Furthermore, along the increasing number of urban white-collar workers, people with low income tried to imitate the lifestyle of the urban middle class and became less conscious as labors. Sociologist Hidetoshi Katō (1970: 50) maintained in 1957 that everyone in Japan was joining "the new cohort of *shimin*" and the image of "muscular workers in working uniforms" became empty. In this way, the word *shimin* lost the connotation of the *bourgeoisie* and city dwellers, and instead became a general term for the wider public.

Since then, the ways to use such terminologies by intellectuals, social movements, and parties began to transform. In 1958, when a protest campaign against a legislative bill that aimed to expand police authority arose, the JSP, labor unions, and pacifist organizations formed the National (*kokumin*) Conference on the Poor Revision of the Police Duties Execution Law. "National conference" (*kokumin kaigi*) has been a moniker frequently used by parties to form protests by cooperating with unions and other organizations since the early 1950s. However, although they employed the term *kokumin*, the 1958 national conference released a manifesto titled "We would ask you, *shimin*, to rise up together" (JSP 1966a). Although *kokumin* had been previously used in JSP and JCP party platforms due to its connotation of social harmony in the domestic context, the 1958 national conference started to use the term *shimin* because, in order to prevent the bill from passing, they not only had to address members of labor unions, but also the public at large. Indeed, using *shimin* helped them fight their cause, and they eventually succeeded in stopping the bill.

Shimin was also used in a campaign against the amendments of the Security Treaty between the United States and Japan (*Anpo Tōsō*) in 1960. From April to June, thousands of people protested every day outside the Diet building and 5.6 million people took part in a general strike on June 4, 1960.

In this movement, many voluntary groups, which had no relation to existing organizations, were formed. One of these groups, The Voice that Has no Voice (Koenaki Koe no Kai 1966[1960]), stated:

市民の皆さんいっしょに歩きましょう
五分でも百米でもいっしょに歩きましょう
格別立派な意見があるわけではないし
主張をいいたてる大きな声も持たない私たちだけれど
“声なき声”にも何が正しいかを見わける分別はあり
不当な政治に抗議する意志のあることを
いっしょに歩いて静かに示しましょう
仕事は毎日忙しいし、その上
デモに参加するなんて気はずかしいと思うけれど
今、ここで私たちがあきらめて黙ってしまっては
日本はいつまでたってもよくはならない
いつか、私たちの子供に“あの時みんなどうしていたの”と
きかれてもはずかしくないだけのことはしておきたい

Let us, the *shimin*, walk together
Let us walk together, be it fifty or a hundred meters
We may not have a particularly brilliant opinion
We may not have a voice loud enough to assert our beliefs
But even “the voice that has no voice” can tell good from bad
We have the will to protest against politics that is not right
Let us show this quietly and walk together
We are busy working every day, and indeed,
It may be embarrassing to take part in demonstrations
But if we give up and shut our mouth here,
Japan will never improve as a country
We ought to do what we can, so that we shall not be ashamed
When, one day, we are asked by our children,
“what were you all doing at the time?”

Many people, having no previous dealings with political parties and labor unions, took part in these groups. The political scientist, Kan’ichi Fukuda (1960: 71), stated that “at the bottom of it, each of us became one party. It was the spirit of *shimin*.” The philosopher Shunsuke Tsurumi (1976: 55) equally recorded that “it struck me that the actions of those *shimin* showed that it was possible for us to create a new order, which was the basis of a people’s government.” It was this movement that initiated the use of *shimin* as a term for those people who participated in social movements without prior organizational affiliations.

In 1965, the *Beheiren* (*Shimin*’s Alliance for Peace in Vietnam) was formed as a peace movement among intellectuals who previously were not

politically active. Cofounded by the novelist Makoto Oda, this movement regularly attracted thousands of participants to their demonstrations, and even helped US army deserters seek asylum in Sweden. The *Beheiren* marked a change in the organization of social movements in Japan because, until then, demonstrations had been mainly organized by labor unions and student associations, attracting mainly workers and students. However, the demonstrations organized by the *Beheiren* were able to attract diverse groups of people who had no particular attributes except their critique of the Vietnam War, such as "ordinary housewives, ordinary teachers, ordinary boys, the *ordinary unemployed*," "someone who can only be expressed by the phrase 'ordinary *shimin*'" (Oda 1974a: 11; italics in the original).

In this way, *shimin* became the alternate way to denote social activists in this era. In the late 1960s, protests against environmental pollution and the deterioration of public spaces in urban settings underwent an evolution. These protests, organized by local residents, were initially called *jūmin* (inhabitants) movements, but were gradually referred to as *shimin* movements. This was partly because many of them took place in urban areas. However, the main reason for changing their name was that the participants had no particular attributes and had no prior affiliation to political parties.

Even local branches of political parties responded to these transformations. For example, when the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS *Enterprise* berthed at the Sasebo Port in southern Japan, a group called the *Shimin* Conference for the Resistance against the Port Call of Nuclear Carriers was formed against it (Havens 1987: 22). According to Oda (1974b: 315), however, this was a *shimin* movement organized by the JSP and the JDSP, and was therefore different from the *Beheiren*. Nonetheless, this showed that political parties also began using the term s*himin* to attract urban inhabitants.

However, this terminology of *shimin* did not take root in Japanese society during this period because it was not used much beyond activist circles, and beyond its conventional meaning as city dwellers. Hence, as a translation of *citoyen*, it was unfamiliar to many people. Yoshimi Takeuchi (1981: 192), a scholar of Chinese literature, states that "the term *shimin* is quite primitive" and "although among intellectuals there exists a common understanding [of the term] . . . there are a lot of people who do not identify themselves as *shimin*." Indeed, even among members of the *Beheiren*, the term *shimin* was not thoroughly established, as evidenced in the US-Japan People's Treaty signed by Japanese and US social movements in Tōkyō in August 1966 against the Vietnam War. During these meetings, a debate on whether to translate "people" in the treaty as *jinmin* [commons] or *shimin* developed. According to one of the participants, the US participants "did not understand what the issue was and looked surprised" "because there was no exact Japanese translation of English *people*, and all translations, such as *shimin, jinmin,*

taishū, minshū, and *shomin*, had slightly different nuances" (Komatsu 1974: 140).

The limitation of *shimin* to speak to the society at large is further evidenced in the decline of political awareness throughout the times of economic growth, when people merely supported a national consciousness of Japan being an economic powerhouse. A survey conducted by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute in 1951 shows that, when being asked if the Japanese were superior or inferior to Western people, 28 percent replied superior, while 47 percent answered inferior. By 1963, these figures had reversed: 33 percent considered Japan to be superior and only 14 percent saw Japan as inferior to the West.[3] In addition, the survey indicated the rise of individualistic attitudes among the Japanese. The institute concluded the survey by saying that two different trends simultaneously appeared: "the Japanese have regained confidence as a '*minzoku*'"; and "a private-oriented lifestyle has been established in Japanese society" (NHK Hōsō Yoron Chōsajo 1975).

These tendencies, however, went against the expectation of intellectuals. The political scientist, Keiichi Matsushita (1959: 24), characterized this development as "*taishū* [mass] nationalism," rather than *shimin* nationalism. For him, the rise of *taishū* nationalism was the result of the economic boom, paired with a sense of "confidence as a *minzoku*" or "pride of the *kokumin*."

In this way, terms like *shimin* and *kokumin* were used differently than in the 1950s. While the communists used the terms to denote people's solidarity (*kokumin*) and to criticize an egoistic petite bourgeoisie (*shimin*), both terms were used interchangeably in the wake of the *Anpo* movement during the 1960s. The incipient economic boom since the 1960s, however, led to a further change, as *kokumin* was used to denote mass nationalism, while *shimin* became the term for political participation.

TWO CONNOTATIONS OF *SHIMIN*: 1970–1996

Given that *shimin* only had a limited public appeal during the 1960s, political parties continued to use *kokumin, taishū*, and *kinrōsha* [worker] in their platforms. However, dissatisfied with the inability of the ruling LDP to respond to rapid urbanization, a new conservative party, the Neo-Liberal Club (NLC), was established by legislators who split from the LDP in 1976. Speaking to a rising urban middle class, this party deliberately referred to *shimin* as its supporters.

Until then, the LDP had relied on rural communities for its electoral success, but this voter base gradually decreased due to rural depopulation. To stop depopulation, LDP politicians tried to alleviate such structural change in demographics by supporting industry resettlement in rural areas and setting

up public infrastructure funds to improve living environments. However, not only did these activities induce environmental destruction and corruption in rural areas, but unfair budget allocation also disadvantaged urban areas. In these rapidly growing areas, the lack of public facilities and the deterioration of the urban environment stirred the development of social movements, as explained above. As a result, the LDP could no longer win gubernatorial elections in big cities like Tōkyō since the late 1960s. Rather, candidates supported by the JSP and the JCP would win by utilizing the term *shimin* to appeal to urban voters.

The LDP's nepotism dissatisfied the increasing urban white-collar voter base, but it did not mean that such voters would turn to support socialism. While they were discontent with the LDP's partiality for rural areas, they were equally unhappy with the JSP-supported labor unions, since they were expecting the provision of efficient public services and lower taxes. It was in this context that the NLC was established and that its focus on *shimin* allowed it to gain many seats in the 1976 election of the House of Representatives. Its platform criticized the centralization of power and aimed for "neoliberalism [*shin-jiyūshugi*]" that aspired for "a creation of a vibrant and liberal society" (NLC 1977).[4] In this sense, the NLC's *shimin* was qualitatively different from the *shimin* seen in the social movements in the 1960s.

In 1977, another party emphasizing *shimin* appeared. It was formed by activists of social movements and legislators who split from the JSP. This new party called themselves as the Social *Shimin* Federation, later renamed as the Socialist Democratic Federation (SDF) in the following year, to address an electorate beyond labor unions. The party constitution was titled "Towards an Establishment of an Innovative Party for *Shimin*." In doing so, it tried to differentiate itself from the JSP (SDF 1978), but unlike the NLC, this party employed the word *shimin* in the same context as in the 1960s.

The emergence of the two parties that beckoned *shimin* suggests a social change: the increase of urban population. Both parties temporally formed a parliamentary faction in 1981, but the LDP and the JSP were still powerful, and hence the success of the NLC and SDF was only transient. The former was absorbed into the LDP in 1986, and the SDF was dissolved in 1994.

Despite the disappearances of these two parties, Japanese society continued to change rapidly. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union brought about the downfall of communism. As a consequence, the JSP changed its name to the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in 1996, and turned into a minor party. The LDP split in 1993 and fell from power for a short period but returned by forming a coalition with the JSP in 1995 and then with *Kōmeitō* in 1999.

In 1996, the DPJ was newly formed by LDP and JSP dissenters as well as former members of the SDP and the SDF. Its slogan was "this party regards

shimin as the leading actor of society," and the 1998 platform criticized "a centralized government" and insisted on decentralization "towards *shimin*, the market, and regions" (DPJ 1998). In addition, it stated that "we are on the side of the people who have been excluded from vested interests, those who earnestly work and pay taxes, those who are aiming to be independent despite difficult situations. In other words, we represent the *seikatsusha* [people living an ordinary life], taxpayers, and consumers."[5] *Seikatsusha,* a term coined by urban intellectuals in the 1920s, was used to label participants in consumer movements organized by higher-educated urban middle-class women since the 1970s (Amano 2011). These word choices suggest that the DPJ regarded *shimin* as an urban middle class. This social class, belonging neither to rural communities, which were part of the LDP support circle, nor the JSP-supporting labor unions, were dissatisfied with both parties. Rather, these *shimin* were characterized as citizens involved in social movements, and the urban middle classes were sympathetic to the market economy.

Avenell (2010) counted the usage of *shimin* in Japanese media discourses. His findings suggest that in the *Asahi Shimbun*, the leading Japanese newspaper, "*shimin*" was used less than five hundred times a year until 1987, but since 1989 it started to rapidly increase to close to eight thousand in 1997, the year after the establishment of the DPJ. The Diet Library book collection suggests that the number of books that included the term "*shimin shakai*" (civil society) in the title increased eighteen times from 1995 to 2005. In parallel, the usage of terms such as "volunteer," "NGO," and "NPO" significantly increased. Avenell (2010) does not analyze the reason,[6] but on the basis of the history depicted in the present study, the following two points can be inferred: the increase of the urban middle class that accompanied modernization, as well as the end of the Cold War and the fall of communism. The establishment of the DPJ and the rise of "volunteer," "NGO," and "NPO" concurrently occurred with the degradation of labor unions' organizational power and the dissolution of the JSP.

BACKLASH AGAINST *SHIMIN* AND THE RETURN TO *KOKUMIN*: 1996–2009

The year 1996 not only saw the formation of the DPJ, but also that of another organization: The Japan Society for History Textbook Reform (*Atarashii Kyōkasho o Tsukuru Kai*). It aimed to reconstruct "the history of *kokumin*." Along with democratization processes in former communist countries in Eastern Europe, the despotic regimes in the "Western" world like the Philippines, Taiwan, and Korea also experienced processes of democratization. These processes liberated those critical voices that had been suppressed under despotic

governments. Among them were those of war victims. As these voices rose to the surface, conservative resistance also formed, as evidenced in the Japan Society for History Textbook Reform. It was established to popularize their textbooks of history and civics in which the atrocities by the Japanese military were deleted and instead "traditional" morality was emphasized.

This organization, asserting for "the history of *kokumin*," disapproved of the term *shimin*. One of the coauthors of the civics textbook wrote that "these few years, in our nation (*wagakuni*), the term *shimin* is used very frequently. Books that have *shimin* in the title are frequently published and a political party supporting 'politics for *shimin*' has appeared" (Saeki 1997: 10). On the basis of such an understanding, Takahiro Ōtsuki (1998: 7–9), its executive director, criticized the term *shimin-sama*[7] as follows:

> There are people working for organizations and groups of social movements who are introduced as *shimin* on TV and newspapers. They are precisely the "*shimin-sama*" . . . [they] suddenly start to yell "human rights," "liberty," and "environment." . . . They speak about "social issues," although they have only smattering knowledge. They are addicted to admiring "the weak" like "women," "immigrants," and "children." They . . . gather together peers that have a similar "smell." . . . "*Shimin-sama*" is the expression of "Correctness" with a capital C. They almost unconsciously embody a sort of "political correctness."

Ōtsuki (1998: 220, 229) further identified in *shimin-sama* "the acceptance of a foreign-made 'the global standard,' which is Americanism." It was for him the "trait of the *shimin-sama*": "We have to be nice not to smoke in front of someone. It is getting difficult to casually say to a girl 'Can you please make a cup of tea for me?'"

After the Cold War, Japan was deprived of its status as the "factory in the Far East" when China entered the market. Since 1991, the Japanese economy stagnated, and many manufacturing industries moved their factories to China. From its peak in 1992, the workforce in the manufacturing sector declined by two-thirds in 2013. Throughout this demographic change, the gap between the higher-educated urban middle class and those living in rural areas widened. The backlash against *shimin* and the revisionist movement to *kokumin* took place in this context.

With the rise of the DPJ, conservative politicians even became hostile toward *shimin*. Former prime minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone (LDP), for example, stated in an interview with Hatoyama, the copresident of the DPJ (Nakasone and Hatoyama 1997):

> I don't really understand DPJ's banner of *shimin.* I guess the notion was introduced because Mr Kan [Naoto, the other co-president of DPJ] was from Musashino-shi [in Tōkyō], where there lots of *interi* [intellectuals][8] are living.

> I call the constituents "*shomin*" [commons]. They, like carpenters, greengrocers, and fishmongers, are the people lower than *shimin*, and are the basis of politics. The LDP has cherished this belief. By contrast, *shimin* sounds like a thin mixture of various elements. The right wing has its responsibility. The left wing has its own as well. However, *shimin* has neither responsibility nor place of registry. It is like a notional ghost out of affiliations such as companies, regions, and labor unions.

The underlying idea of Nakasone's remarks is that humans must belong to "companies, regions, or labor unions." Moreover, while the LDP on the right had to represent companies and regions, the JSP on the left had to act for labor unions. Nakasone contrasted *shimin* and *kokumin* in this way. Nakasone said to Hatoyama, "it appears to me that the DPJ uses *shimin* on purpose, so as to avoid *kokumin*. *Yūai* [fraternity; another DPJ slogan] can be generated not out of *shimin* but out of brotherhood premised on the state and community. Moreover, such a community in reality stands on the basis of history and tradition" (Nakasone and Hatoyama 1997).

During the 1960s *Anpo* movement, *shimin* and *kokumin* were not used as confrontational concepts. During the rise of the DPJ, by contrast, conservative politicians and activists opposed the use of *shimin* and preferred *kokumin.* However, what Nakasone calls "community" was in further decline due to globalization. Unionization in Japan, which was 30.8 percent in 1980, dropped to 25.8 percent in 1990 and 17.3 percent in 2016. The LDP's party membership declined from 5.47 million in 1991 to 730,000 in 2012 (Sankei 2016). At the same time, the DPJ made major gains as it attracted disgruntled voters with the LDP. This led to the LDP's defeat in the 2009 general election by the DPJ.

AND THE PRESENT: FROM 2009 TO TODAY

The DPJ had little experience maintaining a stable government administration, which therefore eroded the party's credibility. This was further highlighted by its failure to respond properly to the tsunami and the nuclear power accident in Fukushima in March 2011. Consequently, the DPJ lost the election in December 2012. Although the number of votes obtained by the LDP was fewer than that in 2009, it regained power not only because the DPJ had split, but also because many people who used to vote for the DPJ abstained from voting, reducing the overall turnout at the ballots. Having lost power, the DPJ joined a coalition with other parties to form the *Minshintō* (DP, Democratic Party). Its charter stated that "once, we were unable to respond to *kokumin*'s trust, which we deeply regret. . . . We, supported by the trust of *kokumin*, aim

to become a party for *kokumin* in the truest sense, which will progress together with *kokumin*" (DP 2016). In this statement, *shimin* was not even mentioned.

In summer 2015, the LDP administration changed its security policy, causing the formation of a resistant movement, similar in size to that of the *Anpo* movement in 1960. Rather than being supported by political parties or labor unions, this movement organized itself through social media, promoting slogans such as "Don't take *kokumin* for a fool!" Certainly, this was partly because the Japanese Constitution, drafted by US occupation forces, translated people as *kokumin*. However, it also symbolized the decline of the *shimin*-emphasizing DPJ.

This slogan was criticized by Japanese citizens with Korean ancestry, and the debate further intensified online. Those who supported the slogan included the term *kokumin*, insisting that the movement was for people as the sovereign (Doro 2015). Some argued that they used *kokumin* because there was no "alternative for expressing the entirety." As one activist with Korean ancestry stated, "*Jinmin, taishū, shimin, watashitachi, minna* . . . I do think these could be better alternatives to express the people [than *kokumin*]" (Kokuminyamero 2015). Here, *shimin* is no longer *the* alternative, but merely one of the terms.

In 1968, Rokurō Hidaka (1974), a sociologist who supported the *Beheiren* movement, wrote:

> When it comes to the subject of social movements, several terms have been used: *jinmin, kokumin, minzoku, kinnrō taishū, rōdōsha-kaikyū, rōdōsha-kaikyū o chūshin to suru kokumin shokaisō, rōdōsha, nōmin, seinen, gakusei, fujin* . . . and finally, *shimin*. My opinion is that rather than thinking about which moniker is suitable, building the real subject is more important. The fact that there is yet no suitable moniker that can convince the majority reveals that the subject per se is uncertain and ambiguous.

I will conclude by returning to the initial inquiry of this chapter. In Japan, after 1945, concepts that can identify collective subjectivity were debated among intellectuals, political parties, and social activists. It was an effort to establish a new political subjectivity during social change like economic growth, urbanization, and globalization. These efforts are common in any society and they are still ongoing.

NOTES

1. Translated by Atsuko Watanabe and Michael Tsang.
2. The Democratic Party (founded in 1947) used the term *kokumin taishū*, while the Kokumin Kyōdō Party employed the term "*seishinteki narabi ni nikutaiteki kinrōsha*" (clerical and physical labor).

3. In 1968, even 47 percent considered Japan to be superior.

4. The term *shin-jiyūshugi* has been used as the Japanese translation of neoliberalism since the 1980s. However, it is unclear whether the NLC employed the term with this meaning in 1976.

5. "Taxpayers" in this context denote those who were frustrated by LDP's policy to allocate more money to farming communities.

6. Avenell (2010) identifies the 1995 Great Hanshin Earthquake as a significant moment. The work of NGOs and volunteers were highlighted in media coverage of the earthquake's local communities (the support base of the LDP) and the JSP-supporting labor unions were unable to provide disaster relief (Oguma 2013).

7. "Sama" is an honorific title that is used to express higher courtesy.

8. This term indicates college-educated people as a "social class" with a slightly scornful nuance.

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Chapter 8

Amae as Emotional Interdependence

Analyzing Japan's Nuclear Policy and US-Japan Nuclear Cooperation Agreement

Misato Matsuoka

While there are increasing attempts to include non-Western perspectives by decolonizing/democratizing International Relations (IR) theory, others recognize the difficulty in taking an approach to learn from other viewpoints (cf. Jones 2006; Acharya and Buzan 2007; Tickner and Wæver 2009; Chen 2011; Hutchings 2011). When it comes to dependency theory, it has even been argued that "dependence is dead" (Frank 1974). While dependency theory was originally developed by Latin American scholars such as Raúl Prebisch and Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the scholarship thus far has not deeply examined the mutual interdependence between the dependent and the dominant states. Taking this neglect into account, this chapter is interested in the structure of dependency, which is sustained by the interdependence of dependent and dominant countries, and which cannot be solely explained economically. To comprehend interdependence, this chapter introduces the concept of *amae*, stemming from the work of Japanese psychiatrist Takeo Doi. While *amae* can be translated as "dependence" in English, this chapter regards *amae* as emotional interdependence and uses it analytically to explain the sustainability of dependency by examining state behavior. In doing so, it argues that the concept enables IR scholars to understand why dependency sustains regardless of changing international environments.

To demonstrate the applicability of *amae* to dependency theory, this chapter selects the case of Japan's nuclear energy policy and its relationship with the United States. Specifically, it focuses on the period of Yoshihiko Noda's administration and the US-Japan nuclear energy cooperation agreement. The chapter concludes that emotional interdependence underlies the formation process of this agreement. In other words, it will be argued that not only

is nuclear energy promoted for economic reasons, but that the direction of energy policy is also affected by the emotional interdependence between policymakers. In this regard, *amae* is an important variable for understanding the ways in which US-Japan experts support nuclear energy in spite of the fact that Japan's decision to possess plutonium stockpiles poses risk for nuclear security and is economically unbeneficial considering the cost for processing plutonium waste.

To give evidence to this argument, this chapter first illustrates the trajectory of dependency theory. The issue with dependency theory is that, while it has been developed as a reaction against the Western perspective on dependent states (i.e., modernization theory), it thus far has not focused on a political relationship between the dependent and the dominant states that would allow us to understand the reinforcement of the dependency structure. In this regard, this chapter argues that *amae* as a notion describes emotional interdependence, allowing political actors from both dependent and dominant states to harness asymmetrical political relationships. Second, the concept of *amae* is explained through a comparison with the notion of dependence, discussing whether and how *amae* can serve as an analytical concept for dependency theory. Third, *amae* is applied to the case of Japan's nuclear energy policy and its relationship with the United States through examining Japan's introduction of nuclear energy since the postwar period. This chapter shows how the *amae* among US-Japanese relations experts strengthened their support for nuclear energy regardless of a growing perception that nuclear power plants were an environmental risk and economically unbeneficial.

DEPENDENCE AND DEPENDENCY IN IR

Dependency Theory

Dependence has been a key notion in development studies for critiquing the structure of unequal economic relationships between states. Although dependency theorists provide a different "language" for dependence (Leys 1977) and their approach is based upon different traditions that refer to aspects of relational asymmetry in international relations (Duvall 1978), there is a general agreement that the term "dependence" refers to asymmetric relationships. Dos Santos (1970) defines dependency as a historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy that favors some countries but limits the development possibilities of the subordinate countries; Sunkel (1969: 33) argues that dependence is "an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences—political, economic, and cultural—on national development policies . . . dependence is structurally inherent in underdevelopment." Equally, for Sekhri (2009), dependence refers to a

condition in which element A is highly reliant on element B. Hence, even if both elements are involved in an interdependent correlation, element B is not severely constrained by this interdependence whereas element A is powerless in overcoming this asymmetrical situation.

Dependency theory, or *depedencia*, emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, stemming from Latin American experiences as a criticism of modernization theory for explaining global economic inequalities. It provides explanation for the logic of dependent states being incorporated into the capitalist system. The basic assumption of this theory is that resources flow from peripheral underdeveloped states to core wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. In other words, poverty experienced by dependent states is regarded as the result of unfair exploitation by wealthy states, which prevent poorer states to develop properly. Dependency theorists argue that this unequal economic relationship hinders underdeveloped states from becoming independent. Singer (1950) and Prebisch (1950) elaborate on the conditions of dependent states, explaining that the resources of these states are unfairly extracted by developed states especially on the balance of trade. They argue that trade between the center and the periphery is characterized by unequal exchange, which has resulted in underdevelopment of peripheral states.

Dependency theory has been further developed by Baran (1957) and Frank (1971), who not only consider the trade balance between dependent and dominant states, but also examine the historical transition process from classic dependency to the contemporary form of imperialism (e.g., Galtung 1971),[1] arguing that it is impossible to disregard the historical contexts of the dependent states. Specifically, it is argued that developing countries have never experienced *under*development due to the constrained economic system, although they have experienced being *un*developed (Frank 1971; Baran and Sweezy 1966). Underdevelopment is therefore not just the failure to develop. The only solution for developing countries to end such asymmetrical relationships, paradoxically, is to make use of the capitals offered by the developed states. Furthermore, Amin (1972) remarks that colonial exploitation is central in understanding the way in which the postcolonial international system emerged, while Baran (1957) argues that colonization had prevented industrialization in colonial countries. Some scholars have even remarked that such insight into the historical trajectory on the formation of an asymmetrical economic system has contributed to the development of postcolonial studies (Coronil 2004).

Although dependency theory has been criticized for its structuralist view on the unequal economic relationship between states (Smith 1979), some dependency literature have attempted to produce analyses that focus on the interaction between social, economic, and political structures at local and global levels. Some even explore the ways in which local elites and states in

developing countries play key roles in internalizing capitalist logics for the sake of facilitating foreign domination. Cardoso and Faletto (1979) attempt to broaden the analysis of dependency by giving consideration to the role of the state, governments, parties, bureaucracies, militaries, and social classes. Evans (1979: 32) also notes that "dependent development is a special instance of dependency, characterized by the association or alliance of international and local capital. The state also joins the alliance as an active partner, and the resulting triple alliance is a fundamental factor in the emergence of dependent development." According to Evans (1979), this is based upon the idea that partial development is allowed but still under the control of the dominant states. Zimmerman (1978) also argues that the elites in dependent states do not seek to reduce their dependency because they profit from this political alliance.

These early insights further allow scholars to examine the structure of dependency, especially IR scholars who use dependency theory to explain existing asymmetrical relationships between dominant and dependent states. Although it is argued that the rapid economic development of some countries like Taiwan challenges dependency theory (Barrett and Whyte 1982), subsequent interpretations of the economic miracle in East Asia do not entirely reject dependency theory because they take into consideration the interaction between external and local institutions (Evans 1989; Agbebi and Virtanen 2017). Bayart (2000: 330) argues in this regard that "relationships of dependency are never completely straightforward and there will always be '"strategies for the weak' available, turning dependency from immobility to a mode of action." Hence, according to subsequent studies of dependency theory, dependency as a structure is not only created by dominant states, but also by dependent states as well.

Remaining Questions on Dependency Theory: Interdependence within the Structure of Dependency

Dependency theorists have so far challenged the structure of unequal economic relationships between dependent and dominant states by identifying the amount of capital flowing from dependent states into dominant states/actors, which contributes to further economic underdevelopment of the dependent states. However, one key point yet to be explored is the interaction between dependent and dominant states. For instance, Dos Santos's (1970) insight into the relationship between dominant and dependent states is mainly economic. This stems from the fact that dependency theory has developed out of historical structuralism in the case of Latin America (Prebisch 1950; Baran 1957). As Chilcote (1982: 14) points out, "dependency theory has not provided us with any new theory of imperialism" because its main purpose was

to show the role of local elites in dependent countries. Lomnitz (2012: 120) is aware of the circulatory nature in the dependency argument, as "dependent countries are those that lack the capacity for autonomous growth and they lack this because their structures are dependent ones."

In other words, dependency theory has explained the way in which unequal economic relationships were built in favor of politicians and business elites, both in dominant and dependency states, but dependency theorists have not identified the ways in which dependency has been sustained, even after the economic relevance of sustaining the asymmetrical state relationship has disappeared. Furthermore, Hirschman (1981: 29) notes that *dependencia* theorists are too content with dependency relations, when in fact the "system might contain the 'seeds of its own destruction' or might otherwise be subject to some changes." Thus, it can be observed that, even though IR scholars become increasingly aware of the role of local elites in dependent states in harnessing the structure of dependency, they have not studied in detail the relations between elites of both dependent and dominant states. This may be due to the tendency of dependency theory to rely on the dichotomized categories of dependent and dominant states (Hammer and Gartrell 1986). Although this chapter does not completely dismiss this category, it shifts the critical attention to the relations between dependent and dominant states in order to explain the sustainability of these asymmetrical relations.

To explain these relations, I introduce the concept of *amae*, understood as emotional interdependence. Different from (economic) interdependence introduced by Keohane and Nye (1977), the term *amae* looks not into the material, often economic, relations between states, but rather in the relations between actors involved in long-standing diplomatic relations. Given the connotation of *amae* as *emotional* interdependence, actors are encouraged to deepen their relations, and decisions are influenced by taking into account the other actors. By introducing and explaining this concept, the following section illuminates its relevance in understanding the continuing dependency nurtured between states.

AMAE: EMOTIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE

The concept of *amae* emerged from the work of Takeo Doi, a Japanese psychiatrist (Doi 1956, 1967, 1973). Since then, it became widely recognized both domestically and internationally in the postwar period, initially being introduced as one of the key characteristics of Japanese society. Given that *amae* was employed to describe the nature of Japanese society, some scholars criticize the theory of *amae* because of the underlying essentialism of *Nihonjinron* (Japanese-ness). According to Ryang (2004: 176), *amae* portrays

Japan as "the land of the Japanese," with no recognition of the roles that postwar institutions, such as schools, language, the law, and media, play in producing a sense of homogeneity. Other scholars have refuted Doi's claims to Japanese uniqueness and presumption of homogeneity by challenging the validity of his linguistic analysis as a window into cultural mentalities, as well as the validity of extracting cultural portraits from psychiatric cases. Conversely, however, some argue in favor of *amae*, saying that it was "erroneously thought to have been unique to Japanese culture" despite the difficulty in defining *amae* precisely in English (Berton 1998: 151). Bester, who translated Doi's work *The Anatomy of Dependence*, notes that this concept has been strangely neglected by Western thinkers even though it can be summed up in one word to describe the sense of dependence (Doi 1973).

Doi introduced the concept of *amae* for the first time in a paper entitled *Japanese Language as an Expression of Japanese Psychology*, published in 1956. Although initially Doi (2005) limited its application to Japanese contexts, he introduced this notion in a paper given at the International Psychoanalytical Association's 1999 symposium to go beyond the Japanese context. While the Japanese notion of *amae* tends to be translated as "dependence" or even "indulgence," it is difficult to find English words that have an equivalent meaning. Since *amae* is an emotion that emerges in relationality in the context of asymmetrical political relationships, this chapter redefines *amae* as emotional interdependence between the dependent and dominant sides. As explained below, the feeling of *amae* creates a oneness that establishes interdependent relations.

The Concept of *Amae*

Amae is the noun form of the Japanese verb *amaeru*, which can be translated as "to depend and presume upon another's love" (Doi 1956: 91). As Doi (1956) points out, this word has the same root as *amai*, an adjective which corresponds to "sweet"; in other words, *amaeru* has a distinct feeling of sweetness. The nature of *amae* has been further explored by scholars in the field of psychiatry. Morita (2011: 341) notes that *amae* is a notion that describes the "deepest psychological and emotional needs of children requiring continuity and stability in their relationship with parents; a relationship that can be the key factor in their eventual development of mature, personal freedom." The notion of *amae* emerged from Doi's personal culture shock when he was studying abroad in the United States. He writes that

> the "please help yourself" that Americans use so often had a rather unpleasant ring in my ears before I became used to English conversation. The meaning, of

> course, is simply "please take what you want without hesitation," but literally translated it has somehow a flavor of "nobody else will help you," and I could not see how it came to be an expression of good will. (Doi 1973: 18–19)

In other words, his experiences in the United States made him realize his sentiment of relying on others with specific expectations. Behrens (2004: 2) explains that *amae* can be described in various forms, and notes that it "always consists of some expectation or assumption on the part of the *amae* doer of being understood and accepted, whether it is for pure affection or instrumental needs, either within intimate or non-intimate relationships." Doi explains that it is generally used to express a child's attitude toward an adult, especially to the child's parents.

> I can think of no English word equivalent to *amaeru* except for "spoil," which, however, is a transitive verb and definitely has a bad connotation; whereas the Japanese *amaeru* does not necessarily have a bad connotation, although we say we should not let a youngster *amaeru* too much. I think most Japanese adults have a dear memory of the taste of sweet dependence as a child and, consciously or unconsciously, carry a life-long nostalgia for it. (Doi 1956: 91)

It is also remarked that *amae* is not only used for mother-child relationships, but also other forms of asymmetrical relationships like teacher-student. In other words, it is within an unconditional relationship that *amae* emerges. Following Doi's work on *amae*, Takemoto (1986) extends this concept to the periods of childhood and adulthood, as he believes that *amae* emerges through human interactions after infancy. According to Takemoto (1986: 535), *amae* is based on a mutual agreement, which may deviate from ordinary rules of behaviors.[2] Furthermore, it is not only the powerless who would take the initiative to use *amae*, but also the powerful as well. For instance, Lebra (1976) notes that, regarding the child-mother relationship, the mother can take an active role in creating *amae* by instigating physical closeness.

Furthermore, the feeling of *amae* fosters a sense of oneness. Maruta (1992) argues that the key to successful *amae* is to interact in a mutually comfortable manner. The psychology of *amae*, which operates on the trust that there are others on whom one can rely for coping with existential anxiety of being alone, the withdrawal of the warm arms of indulgence is a powerful motivation for conformity (Bradshaw 1990: 73). Behrens (2004: 2) also notes that *amae* is always relational and often involves the desire to be accepted for asking for something that one is perfectly capable of doing oneself. In other words, *amae* is an emotional attitude that influences the counterpart's actions.

Amae psychology is also intimately related to issues of power because it refers to feelings of vulnerability. Doi (1973: 21) observes that American psychiatrists were slow to acknowledge *amae* in their patients and were

"extraordinarily insensitive to the feelings of helplessness of their patients." In his view, the acceptance of authority in *amae* is not a blind obedience, but rather an acceptance of the legitimacy of hierarchy and a trust that one will be cared for; he further clarifies that authority is "there primarily to sustain people." He argues that there is a seemingly natural "reciprocity between the exercise of authority and people's need" (Doi 1967: 262). In this regard, the relationship between the dominant side and the dependent side, although unconsciously created, requires an emotional interdependent feeling to reinforce their unequal relationship.

Amae as emotional interdependence is a concept that can explain the process of strengthening dependency (Yamaguchi 2004: 28). As Lomnitz (2012) remarks, dependency is the routinization of power relations. *Amae* is an important factor in harnessing dependency, which is the structure of asymmetrical power relationships. In IR, the logic of *amae* is considered an important psychological factor in the cases of US-Japan and Sino-North Korean relations. In terms of the latter, Roh (2012) notes that, although the relation between the two countries is asymmetrical and one-sided, North Korea utilizes *amae* by means of its military agreement with China to tailor favorable conditions.

In the following section, this chapter illustrates the way in which *amae* as emotional interdependence is applicable to dependency theory. Japan's nuclear energy industries are chosen as the case study since they were closely related in their creation to the United States after World War II. Additionally, this case study will illustrate dependency relations between the United States and Japan by looking into the role of the political actors. It enables IR scholars to understand that it is not necessarily economic interdependence that harnesses asymmetrical relations between states. Instead, it is the diplomatic interaction between them that decides the direction of Japan's energy policy. In this regard, the rest of this chapter describes the way in which *amae*, or emotional interdependence, has contributed to harnessing dependency or asymmetrical political relations between the United States and Japan.

JAPAN'S NUCLEAR ENERGY AND THE UNITED STATES

This section examines the way in which *amae* is used to sustain asymmetrical power relations between a dependent state and a dominant state. Since the postwar period, Japan has been part of the United States' nuclear extended deterrence, commonly referred to as the "nuclear umbrella." While Japan depends on the US nuclear deterrent for its own security, it has pursued the development of a civil nuclear power industry. Civil nuclear energy

engagement between the United States and Japan is one area of the bilateral relationship that is wide, deep, and interdependent (Nakano 2012). The following section illustrates how the US nuclear umbrella has shaped Japan's posture toward nuclear energy. After presenting the background of Japan's nuclear industry as well as its relationship with the United States, this section demonstrates the ways in which *amae* as emotional interdependence has harnessed dependency by looking into the Noda administration, when the administration initially indicated the possibility for a nuclear phase-out policy. In addition, this section looks into the reaction of the United States regarding the renegotiation of the US-Japan nuclear energy agreement.

Origin of the American Nuclear Umbrella and Japan's Nuclear Policy

After the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, the United States increasingly relied on nuclear weapons during the Cold War as well as on its civilian use of nuclear energy. Along with the American Atom for Peace campaign, the Atom for Peace exhibition in Japan highlighted peaceful applications of nuclear energy for generating electricity and advancing scientific research, projecting a positive image of nuclear energy. Although the nuclear contamination caused by the Castle Bravo hydrogen bomb test in May 1954, during which Japanese fishermen aboard the *Daigo Fukuryū Maru* were heavily irradiated, the United States by and large tried to promote the peaceful use of nuclear energy in Japan. In early 1955, US Representative Sidney Yates introduced legislation suggesting a joint US-Japan project to build the first electricity-producing nuclear power plant in Hiroshima (Kuznick 2011). Alongside nuclear energy promotion, the Japanese government began funding a nuclear research program since 1954 and passed the Atomic Energy Basic Law that led to the establishment of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) in December 1955.

In the same year, the United States and Japan concluded the "Agreement for Cooperation between the Government of Japan and the Government of the United States of America Concerning Civil Uses of Atomic Energy," a nuclear cooperation agreement also known as the "123 Agreement." This agreement allows for American technology assistance, including the provision of enriched uranium, research reactors, and staff training at laboratories in the United States. Since the 1970s, the Japanese nuclear power program has been plagued by a number of nuclear accidents, such as Tōkai-mura in September 1999 and Fukushima in 2011. As a result of the revised 1988 agreement, it is said that Japan has built up a stock of approximately forty-four tons of separated plutonium. It is argued that the separation and recycling of plutonium in Mixed Oxide (MOX) fuel in light-water reactors (LWRs) was uneconomical compared to the purchase of equivalent quantities of

low-enriched uranium fuel, and this situation would not change for a decade. Japan officially abandoned its Monju prototype breeder reactor in 2016 after two decades of failed efforts to restore it to operation after a 1995 leak and a resulting fire.

While the first nuclear reactor in Japan was built by the UK's General Electric Company (GEC) in 1966, Japanese utilities purchased designs from US vendors and built them with the cooperation of Japanese companies by receiving a license to build similar plants in Japan. Japanese companies like Hitachi, Toshiba, and Mitsubishi Heavy Industry developed the capacity to design and construct LWRs, and, during the 1960s and 1970s, Japan was one among others in the key market for US reactors and equipment (Nakano 2012). Since the early 1970s, the Japanese government has promoted the construction of nuclear power plants (Rösch 2013). Furthermore, close alignment of business interests between US and Japanese nuclear industries lies behind a series of efforts by the two governments to conclude the nuclear cooperation agreements. Hymans (2011: 180) notes that "Japan now sits at the epicenter of the global nuclear energy industry. Given the economic stakes involved, the government simply cannot ignore the manufacturers' nuclear policy preferences."

However, nuclear scientists and governmental officials, both in the United States and Japan, have expressed their concern with plutonium stockpiles. For instance, Takubo and von Hippel (2017: 1) argue that Japan's breeder program, the original justification for its reprocessing program, is virtually dead, and that "the separation and use of plutonium as a fuel is not economically competitive with simply storing the spent fuel until its radioactive heat generation has declined and a deep underground repository has been constructed for its final disposal." Tetsuya Endo, a retired Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) official, who led the negotiations in the 1980s that resulted in the present US-Japan nuclear agreement, agrees that Japan needs to have a clearer future vision for its reprocessing policy including a reduction in the role of private enterprise. Furthermore, Thomas Countryman, who worked as an assistant secretary of state in the Barack Obama administration, remarks that Japan needs to be concerned about its accumulated plutonium (*Nikkei Asian Review* September 25, 2017). In early 2017, the PuPo (Plutonium Policy) conference was held in Tōkyō to raise awareness for the serious problems of Japan's plutonium policy with the aim to rethink the nuclear fuel cycle.

Nuclear Phase-Out Option for Japan? *Amae* and Harnessing Dependency between the United States and Japan

While Japan has developed its own nuclear industry, its energy policy has been affected in the view of the United States. In this regard, *amae* as emotional

interdependence is considered a factor in harnessing dependency between the United States and Japan, which is not explainable by economics alone. After the 2011 tsunami and the ensuing nuclear meltdown, the US think tank, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), released a report entitled "Partnership for Recovery and a Stronger Future: Standing with Japan After 3.11," (2011) which discusses the need for nuclear energy in Japan as a result of the aftermath of natural disasters and the nuclear meltdown.

During the Noda administration, the Democratic Party of Japan's (DPJ) working group on energy and environment made a recommendation to the government to phase out nuclear power by the early 2050s. However, the US side expressed concern, including former US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta, who requested a new nuclear policy from Japan. It has been reported that US intervention hindered Noda's announcement on nuclear phase-out (*Tokyo Shimbun*, September 22, 2012). Furthermore, *amae* emerges between experts from the United States and Japan, who are often affiliated with think tanks in Washington. John Hamre from the CSIS, who is also the United States' former deputy defense secretary, explains that it is important for Japan to continue to develop nuclear technology (Iida 2017). Michael Green also from the CSIS expressed that "zero-nuclear" Japan will be a serious concern, stressing that nuclear energy is "a strong reliable supply of base energy" (Kitazume 2012). Nakano (2012: 61) further notes that "[o]ccasionally, Japanese use of plutonium and its commercial reprocessing program have become a source of contention with the United States. However, it was essentially Japan's status as a key US ally in the Asia-Pacific region that allowed Japan to pursue a range of fuel cycle technologies."

Considering the above interaction between the United States and Japan, creating a consensus about nuclear energy in Japan can be regarded as nurturing *amae* between the two states, particularly as its members consist of mainly Washington think tank members. The Japanese administration's change in its nuclear energy policy also shows how *amae* affected the attitude of the United States. Furthermore, the immediate response of the Japanese government to shift back to the original energy policy also shows its asymmetrical relations with the United States. In this regard, *amae* displays ways in which dependency between these two states is being harnessed not based on the logic of economics, but through emotional interdependence.

Extension of US-Japan 123 Agreement

The initial period of the 1988 agreement expired in 2018, after which either party may terminate it via written notice of six months, providing an opportunity for the US government to re-raise the issue of nuclear reprocessing with Japan. In spite of nuclear security concerns raised by both the United States

and Japan, as of October 2017, US Deputy Secretary of Energy Dan Brouillette has already expressed the American intention to extend the nuclear cooperation agreement with Japan without renegotiation. *Nikkei Asian Review* (2017) reported that "because the Japanese government is demanding the extension, the deal is on track to be automatically extended now that the US side has clarified its position." It also stated that "both Tokyo and Washington may be inclined to delay addressing Japan's plutonium problem. After all, Japan's nuclear bureaucracy is currently focused on trying to restart the country's fleet of idled reactors and on remediation work in the aftermath of the Fukushima Daiichi accident." This also exemplifies how *amae* allows the continuity of the US-Japan nuclear energy cooperation.

CONCLUSION

To instill diverse viewpoints on IR, this chapter examined the willingness of dependent states to rely on asymmetrical relations, which has not been fully explored in dependency theory literature. While dependency theorists emerged as a reaction against the Western perspective on dependent states, the dependency approach received criticism on the understanding of dependence and on the lack of explanation about the cause of persisting asymmetrical relations. While this chapter acknowledges that dependency theorists have so far attempted to present answers for sustaining the structure of unequal economic relations between dependent and dominant states, it also presents the interaction between dependent and dominant states as a key point. In order to demonstrate the interdependence of states that is not based upon the logic of economics, this chapter closely examined the concept of *amae* as emotional interdependence, introducing it as an analytical concept for explaining the sustainability of dependency. In doing so, it argues that the concept enables us to understand why dependency sustains regardless of changing international environments.

To exemplify *amae*, the Japan nuclear energy industry and its relationship with the United States was examined to explain the maintenance of the asymmetrical status quo. The way in which consensus about nuclear energy in Japan was reached can be regarded as nurturing *amae* between these two states. Furthermore, the Japanese government's response to the US reaction on Japan's nuclear phase-out plan shows the continuity of Japan's dependency on the United States. In addition, the decision to extend nuclear energy cooperation without renegotiation certainly shows the way in which *amae* matters considering the comment given by the United States. With this case study, this chapter demonstrated the applicability of *amae* in explaining how dependency is sustained.

NOTES

1. Galtung (1971: 125) argues that political, military, communication and cultural imperialisms supported an exploitative North–South global structure. Neoliberal regimes would perpetuate and deepen the conditions of structural dependency to the detriment of the populations, if not elites, of Third World countries.

2. *Amae* can be induced in the interactions between dependent and the dominant actors (Kumagai and Kumagai 1986).

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Chapter 9

The Pitfalls in the Project of Overcoming Western Modernity

Rethinking the Lineage of Japanese Historical Revisionism

Hiroyuki Tosa

In 1995, on the fiftieth anniversary celebrating the end of the Asia-Pacific War, Japan's prime minister, Tomiichi Murayama, stated,

> during a certain period in the not-too-distant past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused enormous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly those of Asia. In the hope that no such mistake will be made in the future, I regard, in the spirit of humanity, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology. (Okuno and Dore 1995)

That same year, Seisuke Okuno, a right-wing politician of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP), gave a different account saying,

> at the time of the birth of the state of Manchukuo, there was a slogan such as "Five Races under One Union (*gozoku kyōwa*)." [These races were] Japanese, Korean, Manchurian, Chinese, and Mongolian. These five races lived together. Later we rushed into the war with the US. Then I thought that we would construct the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. It was for the stability of Asia. We had to liberate Asians from the white colonial rule. It [regionalism] also became our slogan. Although we were defeated (in the war), all Asian countries were liberated. (Okuno and Dore 1995)

The latter is an example of "reckless remarks" that have been harshly criticized by neighboring Asian countries. Okuno and other conservative politicians, including Shinzō Abe and Tarō Asō (both became prime ministers),

gave similar accounts in order to "rectify" the "masochistic view of history (*jigyaku shikan*)" that they found in speeches like Murayama's. To support their agenda, these politicians formed the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform in 1996 and the Group of Young Diet Members for Thinking the Future of Japan and Historical Education in 1997, providing them with a platform through which they worked toward a revisionist account of Japan's history in order to downplay Japan's war crimes and human rights abuses like the comfort women issue.

Almost one decade later, this revisionist urge resurfaced. In October 2008, Toshio Tamogami, Japan's Air Self-Defense Force (ASDF) chief of staff, was dismissed due to an essay in which he argued that depicting Japan as an aggressor state during World War II was a false accusation. Rather, Japan was drawn into the war by Chiang Kai-shek and Franklin D. Roosevelt through a decoy that allegedly had been set up by the Comintern. Speculations arose why Tamogami had been appointed the ASDF chief of staff by Abe in the first place, as his cabinet promoted "a departure from the post war political structure." The *Japan Times* conjectured that by appointing him, the administration intended to gradually disseminate such views to the public, despite official apologies by prime ministers (Hongo 2008). Thus, the revisionist discourse reappeared in Japanese political discourses.

According to Stanley Cohen (2001: 76–116), the official denial of human rights abuses by the state usually evolves as follows: (1) outright denial (it didn't happen); (2) discrediting (the organization is biased, manipulated, or gullible); (3) renaming (yes, something did happen but the state was not involved or it was not massacres); (4) justification (it was morally justified). The root of these discourses, promoting the idea of Japan as the liberator of Asia, can be traced back to the ideology of Pan-Asianism during the 1930s and 1940s. In this respect, accusing revisionist remarks as thoughtless does not provide a comprehensive answer to the question as to why the discourse had appeared intermittently. This complexity arose because the Asia-Pacific War for Japan had a dualistic character, differentiating Japan from other colonial powers. Whereas Japan was an imperialist state, as it undeniably invaded other Asian countries, the underlying idea, which prevailed in Japanese intellectual life during this period, was to overcome Western modernity (i.e., Japan confronted Western discourses of superiority). In order to understand this duality, the idea of Asianism as a means to overcome Western modernity needs be revisited.

In recent years, Western scholarship returned to Carl Schmitt's work in his critique of the Anglo-American neoliberal global order (cf. Scheuerman 2006; De Benoist 2007). Whereas Schmitt's ideological contribution to Nazism is well-known, his accusation of Anglo-American universalism is still of relevance today. He states that this international order tends to aggravate antagonisms, as politics tends to be confrontational. In the same

vein, Japanese intellectuals' wartime counterhegemonic discourse is worth reexamining because, although justifying Japan's imperial expedition is to be criticized, a thorough reconsideration can provide useful insights into understanding the difficulty of critiquing contemporary Western hegemony. For Japanese intellectuals at that time, the important task was to present an alternative international order against the "universal" West, examples of which the chapters of Seiko Mimaki, Ryoko Nakano, and Tetsuya Toyoda in this volume provide. For this purpose, Japanese intellectuals tried to develop a dialectical sublation (*Aufheben*) between the East and the West, considering the possibility of a new regionalism.

The idea of an alternative international order is gaining prominence in International Relations (IR) in its investigation of more pluralist world orders (Acharya 2014; see Watanabe in this volume). In this context, it is safe to say that overcoming Western modernity is still in progress and it is in this regard that Japan's wartime experience can provide insights for contemporary world politics. To understand Japan's wartime attempt to thwart Westernism, this chapter first revisits Hegel's Orientalism, which Japanese intellectuals tried to challenge in the first half of the last century. In doing so, then, the idea of Pan-Asianism in Japan is reviewed by focusing on the Kyoto School discourses.

A REVERSAL OF SUPERIORITY: THE EMERGENCE OF WESTERN "UNIVERSALITY"

In *The Philosophy of History*, Hegel (1956: 17–18) provides the first systemic inquiry into Western universalism by asserting that the essence of the spirit is freedom and that universal history is gaining consciousness about this spirit in a rational process. With regard to the "Orient," he insists that "the Orient has not yet attained the knowledge that spirit—Man as such—is free; and because they do not know this, they are not free. They only know that one is free" (Hegel 1956: 18). He continues:

> The History of the World travels from East to West, for Europe is absolutely the end of History, Asia the beginning. History performs no circle round it, but has on the contrary a determinate East. . . . The History of the World is the discipline of the uncontrolled natural will, bringing it into obedience to a Universal principle and conferring subjective freedom. The East knew and to the present day knows only that *One* is Free; World knows that *All* are free. The first political form therefore which we observe in History, is *Despotism*, the second *Democracy* and *Aristocracy*, the third *Monarchy*. (Hegel 1956: 103–104)

This passage indicates Hegel's teleological view in which he maintains that rationality will gradually supersede irrationality, eventually achieving

freedom for all. This view is closely related to Hegel's Christian faith, as it resonates with his mode of treating history as theodicean (a justification of the ways of God) (Hegel 1956: 15). In this respect, the struggle with Oriental despotism had for Hegel a specific meaning like a just war of crusaders. He explains this point by drawing on the case of the wars with the Persians.

> Greater battles, unquestionably, have been fought; but these live immortal not in the historical records of Nations only, but also of Science and of Art. . . . For these are World-Historical victories; they were the salvation of culture and Spiritual vigor, and they rendered the Asiatic principle powerless. . . . In the case before us, the interest of the World's History hung trembling in the balance. Oriental despotism . . . a world united under one lord and sovereign . . . on the one side, and separate states . . . insignificant in extent and resources, but animated by free individuality . . . on the other side, stood front to front in array of battle. Never in History has the superiority of spiritual power over material bulk . . . been made so gloriously manifest. (Hegel 1956: 257–58)

For Hegel, Oriental despotism represented an irrational premodernity to be overcome by the Spirit of Freedom. For him, the most premodern polity was China. Hegel (1956: 113) further defines Oriental despotism by stating that "the third important form—presenting a contrast to the immovable unity of China and to the wild and turbulent unrest of India—is the Persian Realm. China is quite peculiarly Oriental; India we might compare with Greece; Persia on the other hand with Rome."

In Hegel's (1956) view, Chinese civilization marked the lowest level of world-historical development while European civilization was positioned at its highest level. The Chinese were nothing more than "people without history." Rather than simply dismissing this crude binary, however, attention should be paid to the fact that his Eurocentric worldview still overshadows Western politics in the West as evidenced in Robert Kagan's (2008) claim of "the return of history." In fact, Hegel's Orientalism was one of the byproducts of an ahistorical European modernity. Before Hegel, it was rather Sinophilic sentiments that had been dominant in Europe. For example, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1994: 45–46) expressed positive views about China in his *Novissima Sinica* (*Latest News from China*), arguing that "the Chinese Empire, which challenges Europe in cultivated area and certainly surpasses her in population, vies with us in many other ways in almost equal combat, so that now they win, now we" (also Perkins 2004). Thus, Leibniz believed that the Chinese exhibited a higher level of civility and law than the West. He saw them as the likeliest candidates for a conversion to Christianity. Leibniz (1994: 46) further states that

> in the useful arts and in practical experience with natural objects we are . . . about equal to them, and each people has knowledge which it could with profit

> communicate to the other. In profundity of knowledge and in the theoretical disciplines we are their superiors. . . . The Chinese are thus seen to be ignorant of that great light of the mind, the art of demonstration, and they have remained content with a sort of empirical geometry, which our artisans universally possess. They also yield to us in military science, not so much out of ignorance as by deliberation. For they despise everything which creates or nourishes ferocity in men, and . . . they are averse to war. They would be wise indeed if they were alone in the world. But as things are . . . even the good must cultivate the arts of war, so that the evil may not gain power over everything. In these matters, then, we are superior.

Adam Smith (1976: 680–81) viewed China as being ahead of Europe writing that

> the great extent of the empire of China, the vast multitude of its habitants, the variety of climate, and consequently of production in its different provinces, and the easy communication by means of water carriage between the greater part of them, render the home market of that country of so great extent, as to be alone sufficient to support very great manufactures, and to admit of very considerable subdivisions of labor. The home market of China is . . . not much inferior to the market of all the different countries of Europe put together. A more extensive foreign trade, however, which to this great home market added the foreign market of all the rest of the world . . . could scarce fail to increase very much the productive powers of its manufactures of China, and to improve very much the productive powers of its manufacturing industry.

As Giovanni Arrighi (2007: 59) points out, this criticism did not suggest that China should have followed the European path, but in neglecting foreign trade China could not follow its natural development. Hence, Smith's main aim was to argue that each country should follow its own path of development. Thus, Smith was still a far cry from Hegel's Orientalism. Even Montesquieu (1989: 310), who influenced Hegel's view on China, did not take such an excessive view like Hegel, stating

> many things govern men: climate, religion, laws, the maxims of the government, examples of past things, mores, and manners; a general spirit is formed as a result. To the extent that, in each nation, one of these causes acts more forcefully, the others yield to it. Nature and climate almost alone dominate savages; manners govern the Chinese; laws tyrannize Japan; in former times mores set the tone in Lacedaemonia; in Rome it was set by the maxims of government and the ancient mores.

While Montesquieu certainly emphasized negative aspects about China, his point was to stress the instability of absolutism to promote the reform of French monarchy.

In fact, the formation of Hegel's Orientalism required some other important preconditions. One of them was the reversal of superiority between the East and the West. Another was the transformation of European politics from absolute monarchy to a bourgeois democracy. These transformations preconditioned the Hegelian philosophy of teleological history (Blue 1999; Hung 2003). Although Orientalism and sinocentrism seemingly share a similar cognitive center-periphery structure, they are in some respect different from each other. While sinocentrism has been a symbolic regional order with a long history, Orientalism is a byproduct of Western conquest and colonization of Asia. Recent developments suggest that the domination of the West in world politics has come to be less salient and that the Orientalist perception gradually weakened. However, as long as the West keeps its relative political superiority, the East still has to struggle with Eurocentric "universalism." Ironically, this struggle looks like the well-known dialectic between the master and the slave that Hegel (2004) depicts in his *Phenomenology of Mind*. Here, the question is: How can the colonized or semicolonized periphery achieve its freedom against Western domination? Early in the twentieth century, Japan, which overcame a peripheral status of Chinese tribute-trade relations and became the only non-Western imperial power, tried to overcome Western modernity not only materially but also ideationally. In this context, Pan-Asianism in Japan was a philosophical challenge against Western superiority.

OVERCOMING MODERNITY AND PAN-ASIANISM AS A RHETORIC

Pan-Asianism was a political challenge to overcome as well as Asian premodernity and European modernity by aiming to sublate (*aufheben*) the dialectical opposition between the East and the West. However, this philosophical venture gradually degenerated into a rhetoric justifying Japanese imperial expansion in Asia and concealing the abuse of military violence. Today, Pan-Asian solidarism counters the slogan "casting off Asia, and joining the West (*datsua nyuo*)" that was declared at the beginning of the Meiji era (Matsumoto 2000: 47–52).[1] While perceptions of European countries and the United States as the most civilized states were imposed upon the Japanese, China and other Asian states were perceived to be half-civilized in Japanese intellectuals' eyes at that time. As Shogo Suzuki (2014: 56) notes, "in this context, Asia became Japan's 'uncivilized other': rather than something to identify with on the basis of a shared culture/civilization, it was something that Japan now identified against, and used to accentuate modernized, 'civilized' Japan's 'difference.'"

Japan attempted to extricate itself from Asia through consecutive modern wars that began with the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Following the victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) that ironically awaked anti-Western imperialist nationalism among colonized Asian peoples, Japan consolidated an identity as the first non-Western modern nation-state and simultaneously as one of the Great Powers. Despite winning these wars including the Asia-Pacific theater of World War I (1914–1918), Japan encountered Western racism, as highlighted by the "Yellow Peril" discourse and the American Immigration Act (1924), realizing with a sense of humiliation that Japan could not exit from Asia (Suzuki 2014: 60–62). On the other hand, while strengthening its confrontational attitudes toward the Anglo-American hegemony, Japan could not restrain imperialistic violent impulses and plunged into the Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937, which triggered waves of anti-Japanese and Chinese nationalism, and finally into the Pacific War in 1945. Lasting half a century, the idea of Asianism gradually turned into a dangerous intellectual weapon to conceal the dualistic character of Japanese imperialism (an imperial power like Western major powers and a self-professed leader of the Asian nations against Western imperialism). As a culmination of this gradual development, two roundtable discussions were held in 1942–1943, epitomizing the "overcoming modernity" movement, in which Japanese intellectuals insisted that Japan had to surpass Western modernity to lead the construction of a better world (Harootounian 2000: 34–94; Williams 2004: 46–60; Calichman 2008).[2]

After the defeat in the Asia-Pacific War, however, Japan was submerged into the American Asia-Pacific security system. During this postwar period, notable scholars like Yoshimi Takeuchi began to oppose "Casting off Asia" by comparing the postwar development to Meiji discourses to escape from the community of despotic Asian countries. In this way, they rediscovered the idea of Asian solidarism, but this time to criticize pro-American policy (Sakai 2007: 234–81). In this context, postwar Asianism was a byproduct of the ideological struggle between the pro-American and pro-Chinese camps during the Cold War. In other words, this new Asianism reflected intellectuals' desires to idealize the origin of Asianism. By contrast, during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War, Asianism was utilized as a convenient signifier to support the war against Asians. Among the intellectuals contributing to this debate, it was particularly Kyoto School[3] scholars who tried to refute Hegel's philosophy of history by presenting a new philosophy of history to justify the Pacific War. One Kyoto School scholar, Masaaki Kōsaka (1939: 38–39), for example, wrote:

> The principle of Oriental philosophy is nothingness. By contrast, the principle of Western philosophy is existentiality based upon the nature, the God, or the

> human. Here is uniqueness in the nothingness of the Oriental philosophy. . . . Although Japan, China, and India had intense cultural exchanges with each other, they did not form one world. In the East, we could not find the progressive development which the West had experienced from the ancient Greek civilization throughout the medieval period to the modern civilization. . . . That is one of the reasons why Hegel considered Oriental history as a pre-history of the world history (*Vorgeschichte der Weltgeschichte*). The East did not experience the Western type of development. But it does not mean that the East has neither principle nor history. The Oriental history was the foundation of world history as well as its pre-history. This was the reason why oriental history did not come to the surface. However, the world is now encompassing the East as well as the West. So it is reaching at the stage of one world . . . Japan now has to take initiatives for promoting this kind of change in the world order.

This statement seemingly challenged the Hegelian philosophy of history. However, as Wataru Hiromastu (1989: 57) points, Kyoto School arguments, including Kōsaka's in fact, had no substance and their terms such as "oriental nothingness" are too vague to be something more than rhetoric. The Asia-Pacific War as the decisive battle between the East and the West had a similar meaning for Kyoto School scholars as the Persian War did for Hegel. This battle in the interpretation of Kyoto School scholars was neither that between despotism and democracy nor that among imperialist powers. For them, it was a decisive battle through which a new world order should be established. Iwao Kōyama (2001: 376–77), another Kyoto School scholar, characterized the Pacific War as follows:

> Although the idea of liberalism, which became a main principle of the modern European society, aimed at harmonizing the reality with the ideal, the actual liberalism estranged the former from the latter. On the one hand, the free competition leads to a world where the weak are the victims of the strong and inequality deepens. On the other hand, the principle of freewill is considered to be as an ideal of formal morality. Thus, the principle of liberalism led to a disorganized coexistence of the hollow ethical idealism with the brutal reality of power politics. It did not allow any moralistic power to be involved that could bring the eternal peace to the world.

Kōyama states that "the Anglo-Saxon world order" would collapse sooner or later and would be replaced by a new world order. Kōyama (2001: 396–97) claims that the new order would not be a confederation of states or an empire, but "the world of particularities (*Tokushuteki-sekai*)" that was composed by co-prosperity spheres (*Kyoei-ken*) or large blocks (*Großraum, Koiki-ken*). Kōyama (2000: 246–47) further explicated this idea of expansive regionalism as

> statism and one-worldism (cosmopolitanism) have coexisted in modern world-history. The principle of state sovereignty leads to statism while the principle

> of individualism leads to one-worldism. However, we are now facing a new historical conjuncture that cannot be understood by these principles. It is the phenomena of the co-prosperity sphere or the expansive region. The venture to construct an Asian Co-prosperity Sphere as well as a larger European block is a part of this new world order. . . . Other large blocks will follow this path. Thus the abstract confrontation between statism and one-worldism will disappear.

A similar idea of regional community—the East Asian Community *(Toa kyodotai*)—had been proposed early in the 1930s by members of the Shōwa Kenkyūkai Research Association (*Shōwa Kenkyūkai*) like Kiyoshi Miki, Hotsumi Ozaki, and Masamichi Rōyama. It has been argued that the idea of the East Asian Community was invented and refined to legitimize the Second Sino-Japanese War after the China Incident of 1937. For these intellectuals including Kōyama (2000: 382–87), however, the incident as well as the Pacific War had world-historical significance. Rōyama explains that the idea of the East Asian Community ventured to overcome the limit of Western modernity. Pointing out that Western nationalism cannot provide the ultimate principle for world peace, he writes:

> We must give birth to the unity of the East by overcoming nationalism. However, where does the power source come from? We notice the main engine in the expansion of Japanese Nationalism over the Asian continent. . . . The principle immanent in the Japanese launching into the continent is not Western imperialism but regionalism for protecting and developing Asia. . . . As the world is now dividing into several equilibrium regions of organic unity combining nature with culture, a new world order based upon regional communities is emerging. That is not an extension of the balance of power logic that had been fashionable during the nineteenth century. It is rather the construction of a new world civilization that would correct the unevenness of the world and provide the foundation for welfare for all. (Rōyama 1941)

In the end, by employing this reasoning, they merely legitimized Japan's imperialistic expansion in Asia. While the idea of Asian regionalism might contain the possibility to become an intellectual way to overcome the Hegelian philosophy of history, it only resulted in another ideology to conceal Japan's desire to be the hegemon in Asia. In other words, the seemingly noble idea of Asianism was swallowed not only by its hollow ideal, but also the harsh reality of power politics.

THE LOGIC OF VIOLENT PATERNALISM IN ASIANISM

Why did the efforts of overcoming Western modernity degenerate into a reproduction of violence? One reason is because it fell into a "Hegelian trap,"

in which the slaves as rebels followed the master's violence, reproducing another master-slave relation. In this way, the venture to overcome Western modernity and construct a new world order resulted in an unfinished vicious circle, as Japan resorted to modern violence and tried to become the master in Asia. In this regard, Kitarō Nishida, founder of the Kyoto School, made an interesting comment on the prospect of the Japanese philosophy, while conversing with Miki.

Miki: We did not have our academic philosophy in Japan. If we have it in the future, how should it be?
Nishida: We must break through the Western philosophy. Philosophy should take the academic form. Although there are Confucianism, divination lore, and something like that in China, we cannot find a breakthrough from them. Buddhism has some good elements, but there is also a blockade. So we must break through the Western philosophy and get to the heart of the matter. Why is the Japanese military now strong? It is not because of Japanese traditional military tactics because we learnt Western military strategy and tactics. Why not does academic philosophy not the military? As we adopt the Western military strategy, we must at first do philosophy in the Western way. Then, we have to break through it thoroughly. (Miki and Nishida 1968: 486)

This dialogue indicates the fundamental difficulty that Japanese intellectuals were facing. Indeed, the irony was that overcoming modernity was only possible by following the path of modernity. Only by thoroughly mastering the Western way, Nishida's reply seems to indicate Japan can overcome Western modernity. In doing so, their venture was caught in the Hegelian trap and the effort only reproduced and strengthened modern violence.

Even more ironically, this modern Japanese identity was consolidated by paternalistic reasoning. Kyoto School scholars emphasized that a superior Japan had the destiny and the responsibility to protect inferior Asians from Western imperialism. In this way, they validated Japanese rule in Asia. However, Kōyama (2001: 372) argues that

> If we lack critical self-reflection about our culture and strong self-reliant spirits to support it, it is impossible to nurture the powers of resistance against invasions by Western great powers. But Asian countries including India lack this critical self-reflection and self-reliant spirits. China is also short of them. Only Japan has them. That is the reason why Japan has the special mission to play a pivotal role in the transformation process of world history. In this sense, the modernization of the Japanese state in Asia should have *world-historical significance*.

Despite the emphasis of the importance of self-reflection, Kōyama praised the superiority of his own culture. This paradox was often repeated in

overcoming modernity discussions. While intellectuals insisted that Japan invading Asian states was different from Western imperialism, it still was a reproduction of European imperialism. By aiming to surpass the Western problem, Japanese imperialism ended up exposing its own backwardness. In order to camouflage violence, they repeated the logic of paternalism by insisting that Japan has the destiny to protect "backward" Asian countries through its military might. In the Asianism discourse, some Marxist intellectuals such as Ozaki and Miki equally adopted this paternalist attitude in their argument about the East Asian Community. While they admitted that this community should be based upon horizontal cooperation among nations, they emphasized that Japan needed to play a leading role in it (Ozaki 2004: 205; Miki 2007: 53). In the end, regardless of ideological differences, their common desire was to ensure Japanese hegemony by arguing for Pan-Asianism and renouncing Asian nationalism.

The struggle to overcome modernity came to an abrupt halt after Japan's defeat in 1945. However, the myth of "the Pacific War for liberating Asia against Western imperialism" ironically survived in Japan under the protection of the American world order partly because of the Cold War. Conservatives share the historical perception that Japan had been defeated only by the United States, but not by Asian anti-Japanese nationalisms. This limited perception provided the condition for the reemergence of historical revisionism to deny Japan's responsibilities for their wars in the Asia-Pacific region. Thus, the myth of "the Pacific War for Asian liberation from Western imperialism" was resurrected with the rise of revisionist right-wing populist movements since 1995 to which I have already referred in the introduction. The irony is that because of this movement, Japanese identity as part of Asia became even further ambiguous because of Japan's hostility toward China and Korea.

CONCLUSION

What was Western modernity for those who advocated the idea of Asianism? Kyoto School scholars insisted that atomic individualism, liberalism, and the Anglo-Saxon world order had created modern problems such as alienation and inequality. According to them, the new world order had to be established to solve these problems. As Rōyama (1941) points out, the East Asian Community was needed in order to overcome nationalism and the Western system of modern nation-states. By contrast, the East Asian international order like the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere was supposed to be an alternative order to the Anglo-American hegemony-led unjust one. However, overcoming modernity was just a change of rhetoric, not of substance.

While a failure, the problem they identified was certainly inherent in Western modernity and some European intellectuals, such as members of the Frankfurt School, shared this consciousness. Moreover, most of those problems, particularly the inherent contradictions of the system of modern capitalism and nation-states, remain. It is even possible to argue that this *problématique* has worsened under the proliferation of neoliberalism, following the end of Fordism. Post-Fordist neoliberalism imposes flexibility on each subjectivity while promoting dissolution of the social safety net and brings about high degrees of social uncertainty. Increasing ontological anxiety eventually leads to right-wing populist politics of exclusion (e.g., anti-immigration), which resembles racist discourses like the "Yellow Peril" at the beginning of the twentieth century. This highly disciplinary tool of social control and exclusion of marginalized people sometimes leads to a state of exception where people have to endure bare lives as a *homo sacer* in Agamben's words. Neoliberal governmentality creates an informal sector at an enormous scale, which leads to failed governance in which vicious cycles of violence becomes normal in resonance with the War on Terror (Tosa 2009). As a reaction to such a situation, the project of overcoming Western modernity is still in progress.

What was wrong with the Japanese venture to overcome Western modernity? As we have seen, it was partly due to their reproduction of violent identities of Western modernity. As they tried to break through Western modernity by relying on Western modernity, they brought about even more violence, in which we notice similarities with recent Islamic Jihadist movements. As far as we try to respond to the logic of power politics by power, we will continue to be held in captivity of it. Related to this point, Spivak (2008: 246–49) mentions similar points in her *Other Asias.*

> These intra-national and international, economic and geopolitical divisions within our continent require the kind of critical regionalism we are taking out. If we do anything on the model of national sovereignty in the name of by now archaic nationalist struggles we are going to get replicas of the global game except now, truly in a same way, confined to our region. . . . Anti-colonial struggles are a thing of the past. . . . We cannot take national liberation as a model of anything more. . . . In the name of anti-colonialism you get the kind of national identity politics that can lead to fascism. . . . I want a critical regionalist world, but I don't want these slogans . . . colonialism and national identity . . . to be avoided for us to use.

A simple anticolonialism only reproduces the logic of exclusionary national identity. If we want to truly overcome the brutality of exclusionary nationalism, open regionalism can be an option. However, we cannot overcome

power politics by following it. Kyoto School scholars made this mistake because they tried to overcome Western universalism by emphasizing the idea of Asian regionalism. The denial of Western "universalism" led them to another Orientalism or a mere "anti-Western Euro-centrism" (Wallerstein 2006). In order to aim for a better dialogue it is necessary to negate rather than affirm the negative. According to Theodor Adorno (1973: 158), "a negation of the negative is not an affirmation itself and that to equate the negation of negation with positivity is the quintessence of identification." Indeed, the Japanese movement of overcoming modernity was the negation of negation with positivity. It proposed the idea of Asianism against Hegelian absolute Orientalism in order to construct a new world order. In doing so, however, Japan merely became a mirror image of the West. In order to avoid this trap, we need to have a consistent sense of non-identity (Adorno 1973: 5).

However, it is not easy to keep having such a consistent sense of non-identity. We then tend to exclude the heterogeneous other and reproduce violent collective identities in accordance with logic of the modern territorial states system. Now deterritorial neoliberal globalization paradoxically brings about the politics of reterritorialization like right-wing populism including Japanese historical revisionism that seeks for national dignity against the so-called *Jigyaku-Shikan* (masochistic view of Japanese history). Many people easily entrust themselves with the politics of exclusionary identification because they cannot put up with the uncomfortable situations with the heterogeneous other. In order to promote the project of overcoming modernity properly, we need to keep the consistent sense of nonidentity by reintroducing the excluded heterogeneous narratives. In doing so, we hopefully will be able to avoid a Hegelian trap and open up the possibilities for a better "regionalism" in Asia.

NOTES

1. Maruyama (1996: 214–19; also Watanabe in this volume) criticizes the popular interpretation that Yukichi Fukuzawa had advocated "casting off Asia, and joining the West" as too simplistic and wrong.

2. With regard to some of the arguments at the "Overcoming Modernity" symposium in 1942, see its English translation (Calichman 2008). Harootunian (2000: 34–94) interpretes the arguments as substanceless fantasy by situating it in the context of the cultural war of the Japanese spirit against materialist Americanism. On the other hand, Williams (2004: 46–60) criticizes Harootunian's interpretation as "a monument to the intellectual disarray of neo-Marxism" while defending the Kyoto School. It seems that both interpretations are partly right and partly wrong, as we need to pay attention to the positive and negative side of this debate.

3. Jun Tosaka (2007) uses the "Kyoto School" for the first time in order to criticize Kitarō Nishida and Hajime Tanabe's philosophy as "bourgeois metaphysics" from his own Marxist perspectives. In this sense, "Kyoto School" implies negative connotations. In addition, as Saburo Ienaga (1974: 103–17) points out, both Kōyama and Kōsaka played a crucial role in justifying the Asia-Pacific wars as the *right-wing* Kyoto School, which was different from Nishida and Tanabe's positions. For English introductions into the work of the Kyoto School, see Heisig (2001) and Goto-Jones (2005).

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Part IV

FORMING AN IMAGINED COMMUNITY, YET REACHING PEOPLE GLOBALLY?

JAPANESE POPULAR CULTURE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Chapter 10

From Failure to Fame

Shōin Yoshida's Shifting Role in the Mythology of Modern Japan

Sean O'Reilly

Shōin Yoshida, one of Japan's most revered national heroes, has been repeatedly invoked in Japan as the paragon of loyalty and patriotism. During World War II, his writings—particularly his passionate poetry—were constantly in the newspapers, on soldiers' lips as they marched into battle, and posted on the walls of schools (Van Straelen 1952: 107, 113, 115–16, 135). Indeed, a search of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* reveals that in the period from 1941–1945 there were far more articles about Shōin than there were about any of his Restoration-era contemporaries, even the Satsuma hero, Takamori Saigō, himself.[1] And starting in the latter half of the Meiji period, he also appeared in elementary and middle school textbooks, not only in the history section but also in "moral training" and of course "patriotism" sections (Tanaka 2001: 82–91). Hundreds of books, many of them hagiographies, have been written about Shōin, quite a few of them during the early Shōwa period, when his name became synonymous with patriotic zeal.

Shōin was a would-be reformer born in Chōshū (modern-day Yamaguchi Prefecture) in 1830. A precocious student, he had begun to win some local renown for his erudition, but as a young man was seized with a kind of wanderlust, which brought him to the area near the capital of Edo at precisely the time Matthew Perry made his grand entrance. Shōin snuck onto Perry's flagship and demanded to be taken on board so he could go see the United States, but the Americans refused, since the Tokugawa shogunate had informed them of the law then forbidding native Japanese from going on this sort of escapade. As a result, they sent him back to shore, where he was promptly arrested. After a brief stint in an Edo jail, he spent the next five years mostly under house arrest back in Chōshū, teaching a group of students

at his famous school, the *shōka sonjuku* (the village school under the pines) and hatching a plot with them to assassinate a shogunal official sent to Kyōto in 1858; when summoned to Edo to explain himself for an unrelated matter, he blurted out his plan to murder this official, and so in a sense talked his way into execution.

Given this life history, it is clear Shōin made quite an unlikely candidate for a national hero, and indeed his elevation to heroic status was delayed by more than thirty years. In the orthodox view of Shōin, however, his uncompromising spirit was an inspiration to many contemporary and later patriots, notably to his student-disciples—many of whom became very high-level statesmen during the Meiji period. We hear stirring if possibly apocryphal anecdotes of Shōin's patriotism—for example, when he built a dirt model of the Imperial Palace during his boyhood and imagined restoring it to its proper glory (Tokutomi 1908: 34)—and his austerity when he refused to eat an expensive fish meal prepared for him by an acquaintance (Masaichi Kagawa in Van Straelen 1952: 132). His unflinching loyalty to the emperor, and his willingness to accept even death in service to the imperial cause, was probably most inspiring—and useful—to subsequent generations.

There is, however, a significant problem with this romanticized view of Shōin: it is a later fabrication, based more on wishful thinking than on Shōin's actual life and deeds. In fact, he spent the entire period from 1854 to his death in late 1859 bouncing between house arrest and prison. In 1858, he hatched a plot, which never materialized, to assassinate Akikatsu Manabe, an official cracking down on loyalist activities in Kyōto; arrested and sent to Edo, Shōin freely admitted this plot to his interrogators, and was soon beheaded.

Yet did he boldly proclaim the truth of this plot in a brave and conscious stand against tyranny, or accidentally say too much and then try to backtrack? And what had he accomplished that would make him a fitting national hero? Why was he so revered in Japan during the Fifteen-Years War? What we learn from early biographies and his own writings is that Shōin neither willingly sought a death sentence during his interrogation, nor accepted it gracefully when he provoked it. We know, furthermore, that he was a failure in every one of the major acts of his life, and thus accomplished nothing at all, at least directly. Shōin doesn't even meet the minimum criterion—initial success—of Ivan Morris' (1975: 344) "noble failure" archetype. His life story required skillful massaging before he would be able to assume the role of national hero.

In this chapter I will examine the process by which the singularly unsuccessful man known as Torajirō Yoshida was transformed into the martyr-hero Shōin. Sociopolitical changes in the mid-1880s to mid-1890s created an environment such that Shōin came to be regarded, for the first time, as a martyr worthy of emulation. His apotheosis into hero-patriot would never

have happened at all had the circumstances of the 1890s and 1900s not been ideal for the reappraisal of forgotten figures like Shōin, while key aspects of his life and work helped ensure his legend would survive the test of time. In the first section, I analyze the earliest extant biographical writings on Shōin over a twenty-year period starting in 1869—when the first such writing was published—arguing they focused on Torajirō's two most graphic failures, when he tried to board US ships at Shimoda in 1854 and when he accidently provoked his own execution in 1859. In section two, I identify how, when, and why Shōin became a hero, arguing that it was primarily thanks to a confluence of factors and the intervention of the influential journalist and historian Sohō Tokutomi that Shōin achieved fame.

PART 1: NAMES, VIGNETTES, AND FAILURE

What's in a Name?

The earliest biographical writings about Shōin are not in a sense about "Shōin" at all, tending as they do to use his given name, Torajirō, instead of his assumed name Shōin. Men living in mid-nineteenth-century Japan typically had multiple-use names, pen names, and aliases that they frequently used interchangeably; nevertheless, which name history chooses to remember can have genuine symbolic significance. In Yoshida's case, the shift from Torajirō to Shōin carries weight. When he began to be called Shōin, no longer was he being portrayed as a man, per se, but as a persona: a writer and a teacher (and ultimately a hero).

Shōin did not become the preferred name until after the Shōin shrine in Tōkyō was created by the Meiji government. This was also the occasion of the first significant mention of Yoshida in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (June 18, 1882: 1). But on November 22, 1883, his name appears again in the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and this time the name used is Shōin, not Torajirō. The article describes a gathering of influential government officials—his former students, of course—at a secular celebration displaying Shōin's writings and honoring his life.

The state, in addition to signaling their support of Yoshida as a potential national hero, had effectively sanctioned use of the name Shōin, a trend that greatly accelerated (the number of references to "Shōin" in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* skyrocketed since the 1890s) after Tokutomi's biography entitled *Yoshida Shōin* began to be published serially in December 1888. The failure Torajirō was converted into the hero Shōin. But in the early Meiji period, before Shōin reached prominence, the earliest biographies had a different story to tell.

When we speak of the "image" of Torajirō/Shōin gradually improving from failure to hero, in some cases the term can be taken literally. Robert Louis Stevenson (1909: 162–63) claims that he cut an exceedingly slovenly figure. Charles Lanman (1883: 251–55) also did so in his book *Leading Men of Japan*. Each gives a remarkably similar portrait—including many of the same factual errors—of Yoshida as a shining hero, a willing martyr, ending in fact with the same "stepping to death with a noble sentence on his lips" quotation. But their efforts to characterize Torajirō's death as noble or heroic are unconvincing, since in the *Ryūkonki*, Yoshida revealed he incriminated himself by accident.

Stevenson's description of Yoshida contradicts the account given by the Americans who described him as well-dressed in 1854 (Hawks 1856: 484–86). The Americans saw him at one of his most impressive moments, and may have missed evidence of slovenliness due to their assumption he was a great man—much like many later biographers in Japanese and English have done in a more figurative sense, focusing only on his most seemingly impressive moments and ignoring hints of doubt or wavering in his thought. In fact, World War II–era writings concerning Yoshida and his image also tend to reject any perceived slight on the outward appearance of their hero, and unflattering characteristics are rarely mentioned outside of Stevenson's account (Yutaka Hirose in Van Straelen 1952: 26). Instead, he was identified by many war-era Japanese as a great inspiration, even as the "foremost martyr of the Restoration" (Oates 1985: 121).

Yet valuable though it might be to determine the truth among these contradictions, better still would be to reflect on why certain legends were privileged to enter common knowledge and others were forgotten, as well as how and why Yoshida's various biographers chose the final version of his legend to privilege in their books. The earliest written accounts of Yoshida are of great interest in this respect because most of them portray a figure that bore only superficial resemblance to the shining hero of Tokutomi's biography. Many of the earliest sources, written between 1869, when the first publication about Torajirō/Shōin appeared, and 1889, when Tokutomi's new biography reshaped the Shōin canon of myth, reveal a very different picture, and a different trajectory for Torajirō, than the one constructed by Tokutomi. In the earliest biographies, Torajirō appears headed toward minor figure status; it was Tokutomi who placed Shōin on the fast-track to national prominence.

As Akira Tanaka (2001) points out, it is no surprise that myths surrounding national heroes change according to the viewpoint of each successive age. Thus, the Shōin as conceived in the Taishō period is distinct from the one celebrated today. Each era emphasizes certain aspects of the mythological canon and avoids others, according to the political and social realities of the day. But the overall canon was formed by the 1890s, thanks to Tokutomi. Starting

in the mid-1890s, Shōin became quite a popular subject for biographers. Yet why did it take so long for the canon of myth and biography to coalesce? Why didn't Shōin's own students quickly write a biography of their beloved leader, once the tumult of the Restoration had passed?

Tanaka (2001: 3–4) mentions an anecdote that may help to explain this puzzle: one of Shōin's students started writing a biography and showed it to Shinsaku Takasugi, who took one look at it and then, in characteristically hot-headed fashion, tore it to shreds, shouting "You think *this* is worthy to be our teacher's biography?"[2] If the anecdote is to be believed, Shōin's students were too close to their subject for any of them to write a biography they could all agree was good enough. But it is more likely that none of his students could figure out how to surmount the considerable obstacles facing anyone who wanted to claim Shōin was a true hero, and that the circumstances in the 1870s and early 1880s were not yet ripe for an ardently patriotic imperial hero.

The handful of short biographies published of Shōin between his death in 1859 and 1888 are fascinating for their rather unheroic depictions and for the fact that they have largely been ignored. They are of vital importance for what they tell us of Shōin's likely fate were it not for the emergence of a hagiographer like Tokutomi. If no Shōin shrine had been created, and no biography written by a person as influential as Tokutomi, then Yoshida, like his teacher Shōzan Sakuma, would probably be only a footnote in history.

The Mini-Biographies and Torajirō's Memorable Failures

Probably the first extant published work that refers to Yoshida is entitled *Jun'nan sō* (Writing on Martyrs), published in Kyōto in 1869. It is a collection of Shōin's Chinese poetic writing along with a few of his *waka*, and emphasizes he was part of a lineage, the student of then-illustrious Sakuma. However, the pupil has now unquestionably surpassed the teacher in fame. Sakuma—in terms of his contemporaneous fame—is an Antonio Salieri to Shōin's Mozart, in that the latter has completely eclipsed an initially better known contemporary. In early biographies of Yoshida, he is identified as important partly for being Sakuma's student, whereas today when Sakuma is remembered it is often because of his illustrious student, Yoshida.

The *Jun'nan sō* quotes one of his final *waka*, which became especially famous during World War II: "The heart of one who thinks of his parents is no match for his parent's heart; with today's news, what will that parent say?" Also included is a famous Chinese poem (*kanshi*) by him, which reads, "I die now for the sake of our land,[3] a death that goes against neither parent nor lord; all under heaven is calm, I feel my prize resides with the god of clarity." The image of Yoshida as a poet and the evocative power of his death poems appear frequently in these short biographies.

The next mention of Yoshida in print is in *Kinsei seigi jinmei zōden* (Pictorial Biographies of Famous Righteous Men of Recent Times), released in August 1874. After setting the scene, "as he looked upon the executioner," it quotes "the heart of one who thinks of his parents" *waka* quoted above, using it as the textual companion to the startling picture of Torajirō (see Figure 10.1). In the image, his wrinkled kimono and wild, unkempt hair form a startling visual characterization, which stands out in the book; the artist was clearly attempting to distinguish Torajirō from the rest.

The visual portrayal in this 1874 *Kinsei seigi jinmei zōden* is at odds with the other mini-biography to feature a picture, the 1880 *Kōmei zōden* (see Figure 10.2), which features a boyish, handsome young man, sitting peacefully, hair neatly bound and arranged, enthusiastically studying. The artist has airbrushed Torajirō's physical appearance and retouched his image, in a foreshadowing of Tokutomi's heroic treatment. Early portrayals of Torajirō as ugly and disheveled, essentially a competing narrative to the hero storyline advocated by Tokutomi, eventually lost out to the image privileged—or created—by Tokutomi.

The text of the 1874 *Kinsei seigi jinmei zōden* reveals another key theme in the mini-biographies in general: Torajirō's self-destructive lack of caution that led to his accidental death. This is to be distinguished from a noble

Figure 10.1 The Kinsei image (1874). *Source*: National Diet Library. Available at: http://bit.ly/2r0zxcw. Accessed: January 12, 2018.

Figure 10.2 The Kōmei image (1880). *Source*: National Diet Library. Available at: http://bit.ly/2Dpj1Fe. Accessed: January 12, 2018.

and deliberate martyrdom for the imperial cause, which is what Tokutomi and subsequent biographers try to argue. The interrogation is described substantively the same as in other mini-biographies: "the fact that he planned to assassinate Manabe . . . and so forth, he voluntarily admitted to this." The 1874 biography ends with another of Shōin's famous *waka*, often quoted during World War II: "even if my corpse should lie rotting here on the plains of Musashi, evermore shall it remain: this, my Yamato spirit." This is the poem with which Shōin began his *Ryūkonroku*, which he wrote just before his execution, so it is a powerful visual image with which to end a mini-biography. The theme of Torajirō's life therein is more failure than glorious martyrdom.

The other book of mini-biographies to feature pictures, the aforementioned *Kōmei zōden* (Pictorial Biographies of Famous People), also emphasized Yoshida's error in volunteering information about the anti-Manabe plot. This book's title is also instructive; it is not about "martyrs" or "heroes" but simply about famous people, so its biographies, one might imagine, are perhaps less interested in showing each subject to be a genuine hero. The *Kōmei zōden* is critical of Torajirō's blunders, a tone echoed by the 1874 *Kinsei taiheiki*.

There is nothing in any of these descriptions to identify Torajirō as a martyr, if we take the definition of martyr to be someone who takes a principled stand and refuses to recant his or her beliefs even when threatened with death. The *Kinsei taiheiki* says nothing of his nobility or heroism in seeking death. The 1887 *Meiji taiheiki*, whose text is substantially the same, reinforces the interpretation that Torajirō was a man of action who did not, in the end, accomplish anything other than his own inadvertent destruction.

Until the Tokutomi biography, just as Yoshida's name was still in flux, so, too, were many of the details of the pivotal events in his life. Such factual errors help to illuminate that the main purpose of such vignette-style volumes of mini-biographies was not to convey accurate information. The key to the vignette literary tradition in Japan was to entertain, and making an (often melodramatic) impression on the reader was an excellent path to popularity and to increased sales. Details in such books are less important than the creation of a vivid, if brief, portrait of the tragic or otherwise evocative figure being written about, and honing in on what made his story particularly gripping.

Eiretsu iji (Reminiscences of Heroic Patriots), published in Tōkyō in June 1875, features a particularly lengthy entry on Torajirō, the longest ever prior to Tokutomi's work. One passage from *Eiretsu iji* helps show how useful Shōin could be if conceived as an imperial patriot.

> He said, "When I was young I immersed myself only in the Chinese classics, treasuring them, but I greatly neglected the affairs of the Japanese empire, so I feel ashamed in many things . . . from the beginning, the purity of the Imperial bloodline is unbroken and has been transmitted for a thousand ten thousand generations." (Masugi 1875: 8–10)

In the mid-1890s, during the *genbun itchi* movement analyzed by Kōjin Karatani and dealt with in part 2 below, this sort of rhetoric was especially useful. Shōin's words would resonate both with conservative, nationalistic supporters of *kokugaku* (National Learning) calling for a return to a pure Japanese language and with pro-Western reformers anxious to shed or mitigate the cumbersome weight of *kanji* in favor of a simpler writing system.

Most of the rest of the biography consists of quotations from Shōin's writings, though it also discusses the interrogation that led to Shōin's execution. It describes Shōin brashly correcting the *bakufu* officials and admitting to worse

crimes instead. Afterward, the author claims Shōin knew he had made a big mistake and that there was no reason to suspect he would survive, so he wrote letters and poems to family and friends, several of which are reproduced in the remaining pages. The biography also includes one of his *waka*, thereby continuing the theme of Shōin as poet: "If I do as they / did, I will become like them; / recognizing this / it cannot stop or be stopped, this my Yamato spirit." "They" refers to the 47 *rōnin*, whose grave Shōin was passing when he wrote this poem on the way to prison and death in Edo (Van Straelen 1952: 113). Yet in Shōin's actual conduct, there is little that evokes the 47 *rōnin* (Van Straelin 1952: 123). The author of *Eiretsu iji* leaves the matter of Shōin's intentions in revealing these two grave crimes unstated, thus possibly allowing readers to misinterpret this as a heroic act; but the overall impression of Shōin's declaration remains one of miscalculation, since Shōin tried to change his story when he realized he had said too much. He cannot be a true martyr, since he broke one of the basic tenets of martyrdom—accepting the consequences of one's statements and refusing to recant.

In Torajirō's life, there were two features that had sensational value: (1) his bold attempt—even more moving because it failed, particularly to the Japanese, perhaps, who Ivan Morris (1975) argues possess a greater appreciation for the pathos of failure than most—to board a foreign ship and, breaking the edict banning overseas travel, go abroad and learn about the world, and (2) his astonishing blunder in revealing his serious transgressions to the *bakufu* at a point when they knew nothing at all about them, which (along with his earlier infraction of trying to go abroad) led to his execution. If anything, Torajirō is portrayed as someone doomed by his own fruitless and unnecessary frankness, and worthy of pity, not adulation or emulation.

In the early mini-biographies, the fatally earnest Torajirō is also characterized by two general qualities: his identity as a student, particularly in the lineage of Sakuma, a relationship every biography highlights as of critical importance, and his identity as a poet, especially with regards to the pathos-laden *waka* he composed near his end. It took a passionate apologist like Tokutomi, who argued eloquently to dismiss or excuse his more obvious and unnecessary excesses, before Yoshida could be remolded into something of a role model for later generations. Heroes need champions, it seems, to lay the selective groundwork for their apotheosis. Yoshida's emergence suggests that behind most heroes lurks a writer and his pen, reshaping history into "his story."

PART 2: "SHŌIN" BECOMES A HERO

One key issue with Yoshida's life story, as we have seen, is whether he sought martyrdom or simply bumbled into it. Tokutomi, for example, had

great interest in Yoshida, and apparently wished to raise him up as a national hero of the new Japan, but how could he address the matter of his would-be hero's death? The mini-biographies also faced the problem of how to describe Torajirō's interrogation, but as we have seen, most seem to focus more on the pathos or the entertainment value of Torajirō's unprovoked confession.

How could Tokutomi reframe Yoshida's death as heroic? The answer lies in claiming the blurting out of too much information was a deliberate act by Yoshida, who thus was seeking martyrdom, which Tokutomi struggles valiantly but somewhat incoherently to do. Shōin's own words on his interrogation are as follows:

> I have also made a general statement concerning the ambush on the rōchū Manobe [*sic*]. I thought at first that it would be better to make a detailed statement, as these matters must be known to the Shogunate through their secret agents. However during the course of this statement, it became apparent that they were not aware of the facts. (Van Straelen 1952: 123)

Shōin goes on to describe his attempt to backtrack, substituting the term "yōkan" (remonstrate) for "yōgeki" (ambush) in describing his plot against Manabe, who had been sent by Naosuke Ii. Incensed, Ii personally demanded his execution (Huber 1981: 88).

How "Shōin" Compares

As scholars like Marius Jansen (1971; 2000) have shown, sustained interest in elevating national heroes (including perennial favorites like Ryōma Sakamoto) did not begin until the late 1880s and reached full swing in the 1890s, spurred by the first Sino-Japanese War, which is exactly when Shōin finally made the leap from minor figure to national hero. Yet to explain why the late 1880s, and especially the early to mid-1890s, were such a fruitful time in creating national heroes takes more than the influence of heightened patriotic sentiment during the Sino-Japanese War. A more fundamental change was at work, a change that enabled not only ready-made tragic heroes like Sakamoto but even a figure like Shōin to be seen in a new, heroic light. In drama, literature, poetry, linguistics, and by extension in thought itself, a radical new concept was emerging: that of interiority, of an inner self distinguishable from, and both shaping and shaped by, an external landscape, an outer world.

The most dramatic manifestation of this new interiority was in *genbun itchi*, the movement to unify spoken and written language and eliminate the cumbersome parts of the writing system that were not strongly tied to the spoken language, and which had come to function as a class barrier. G*enbun itchi*, Karatani (1993: 61) argues, allowed the "discovery of the self," a new

conception of an interior self that had value and significance in and by itself. Until such a concept had achieved widespread acceptance, a figure like Shōin, whose outer actions had failed, could not be celebrated as a hero for his inner worth.

Why did Tokutomi choose Shōin in the first place? Tokutomi was interested in ways of increasing the national prestige of Japan, even in his early years before the forced retrocession of the Liaodong Peninsula (the result of the mid-1895 Triple Intervention of Western powers to overturn the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki and ensure Russian access to Port Arthur) speeded his transformation into a conservative and made him friendlier toward the government (Jansen 1971: 471). As Sinh Vinh (in Brownlee 1983: 122) argues, Tokutomi had nationalistic goals from the beginning; he sought to use history to advance ideas of how Japan should become great. Hence, even in the first edition of his biography of Shōin, he devoted considerable space to anecdotes, showing Shōin's reverence for the emperor. But in 1908—after Japan had fought two wars and her power on the international stage was on the rise—Tokutomi significantly revised his biography of Shōin, discussing Shōin's expansionist ideas for Japan's future in more detail and also completely altering his characterization of the Meiji Restoration, no longer describing it as a *kakumei* (revolution) but as a *kaikaku* (reform) (Tanaka 1970: 93). Characterizations of "Shōin the revolutionary" disappear from this version, as does a chapter comparing Shōin to the Italian philosopher Giuseppe Mazzini; instead, Tokutomi added several chapters emphasizing Shōin's loyalty and patriotic spirit, for example "Shōin and Views on the National Polity," "Shōin and the Principle of Imperialism," and "Shōin and *bushidō*." Tokutomi had changed a great deal in the fifteen years between the original and this revision, and his mission to nominate Shōin as a national hero is much clearer in 1908. Tokutomi reframed Shōin as a reformer acting out of loyalty to the emperor, not revolutionary fanaticism (Kōsaka 1958: 205).

Attempts to characterize Shōin as a truly "national" hero quickly ran into problems, however. There is evidence of what Albert Craig (2000: 160) calls "*han* nationalism" in Shōin's thought and actions, as, for example, when he advocated assassinating Manabe precisely so that his own *han* would not fall behind the other progressive *han* and seem inferior to them. But Tokutomi sidestepped Shōin's strong focus on his own *han* to argue for his precocious awakening to true nationalism, and indeed for Tokutomi's agenda, Shōin, the national patriot, made for a better hero than Shōin, the provincial zealot. He records the episode when the other *han* revolutionaries were planning to assassinate Ii and Shōin objected, but conveniently ignores the motivation that shame would come to his own *han* if he did not act, claiming that in trying to kill the equally complicit Manabe instead, "all he wanted to do in

this situation was to occupy the position of striking first (in destroying the *bakufu*)" (Tokutomi 1908: 337–38). Tokutomi's omission recasts this episode as a playfully competitive yet cooperative pan-Japan project.

In the 1893 edition but even more strongly in 1908, Tokutomi had two major goals in mind: to convince the reader of Shōin's importance as a—or the—central figure of the restoration, and to argue that Shōin transcended narrow *han* politics, his nationalist vision and reverence for the emperor making him the perfect candidate for the role of national hero. This latter goal inspired Tokutomi's careful attention to anecdotes like the following: "When he was young, he took a lump of dirt and made it into the shape of the imperial Palace, saying 'This is in imitation of Oda Nobunaga's mending of the wild and neglected Imperial residence'" (Tokutomi 1908: 34).

Tokutomi emphasized Shōin's ardent patriotism, claiming that "his spiritual father was his spirit of reverence for the Emperor and defense of the nation, and his spiritual mother the tribulations of the nation's fortunes. That is, it was out of the union of these two that Yoshida Shōin's character, of one who would die for his country and become a martyr, emerged" (Tokutomi 1908: 139). Yet for Tokutomi to make the case for Shōin's critical importance, he needed demonstrable proof of Shōin's success in some area, and latched onto his *shōka sonjuku* school. Tokutomi effusively labeled the school "one of the places of education and cultivation that sowed the seeds of the overthrow of the Tokugawa *bakufu*. It was one of the altars on which burned the flame of the Meiji Restoration reforms" (Tokutomi 1908: 314). Tokutomi admits Shōin was there only two and a half years before asking rhetorically how then he could have had such profound sway over Japan's course. He answers himself: "I tell you, [the answer] was in Shōin himself. I tell you, it was in those circumstances. I tell you, it was in the objectives of his instruction there. I tell you, it was in his method of instruction" (Tokutomi 1908: 316).

Finally, Tokutomi had to address Shōin's self-destructive blunder in revealing his plot to kill Manabe, and the fact Shōin tried to walk back his statement about the assassination plot. Tokutomi (1908: 359) put the following spin on Shōin's hasty correction: that Shōin loved life and wanted to avoid death, but suddenly recognized there was something weightier than death, and in order to achieve that he embraced death. Tokutomi has no choice but to admit that Shōin recanted his statement, but he chooses to ignore the glaring contradiction this represents for his argument that Shōin was a patriotic martyr who in some sense chose death willingly. He tries his best to bury this jarring fact among glowing appraisals of Shōin's virtue and sincerity, and to the incautious reader he probably succeeds. Given Tokutomi's great popularity from the 1880s on, there is every reason to believe his version of events, with the contradiction minimized to the extent possible, and further refined in the 1908

edition, became the standard version for decades to come. Here then is the very moment Shōin was transformed from an incautious blunderer into a bold martyr and a national hero.

The success of his book *Shōrai no Nihon* (The Future Japan) encouraged Tokutomi (1989) to launch a new magazine, *Kokumin no tomo* (The Nation's Coompanion),[4] in 1887, which proved hugely popular (Pyle 1969: 45). The fame and influence of *Kokumin no tomo* suggests just how impactful his Yoshida biography must have been. Indeed, Tokutomi's influence over public interest in Shōin was immediately evident; publications concerning Yoshida skyrocketed starting in 1890, with several each year, whereas in the entire period from 1868 to 1888 there had been only a handful in total. Tokutomi's biography of Shōin reigned supreme, however; it was already in its thirteenth edition by 1908, when Tokutomi revised it as part of a conscious effort to reinterpret the Meiji Restoration and emphasize nationalism and the Imperial institution (Pierson 1980: 292). And Shōin fit the new, more aggressively nationalistic and expansionistic outlook of post–Triple Intervention Japan—an equal ally with Great Britain from 1902—much better than earlier, more cautious (because still hampered by the unequal treaties) expressions of Japanese nationalism on the world stage. He was useful because, as Pierson argues, he can be seen as a personification of loyalism and patriotism—and in some ways, his (according to Sohō) stoic willingness to die for "the cause" represented a grim foreshadowing of the histrionic rhetoric of self-sacrifice many in Japan would be forced to confront during World War II (Pierson 1980: 293).

The unprecedented number of publications in late Meiji on Shōin is surpassed only by the Pacific War boom, when Shōin reached new heights of fame.[5] On the other hand, this is no surprise; it is fair to say the entire publishing industry was in the midst of a major boom after (and partly as a result of) the Russo-Japanese War, with newspaper and journal subscriptions expanding at a record clip as people eagerly consumed news about and analysis of the fighting, then found their reading habits permanently changed by this episode. Nonetheless, authors could expect little success if they adopted a critical tone about the now well-established heroes of the recent past. Indeed, as Conrad Totman (1980: 558) argues with his concept of the "Meiji bias," the process of hero formation in Japan since 1868 had always been positive-sum rather than zero-sum, with supporters of new candidates for national hero status be added to the pantheon *without driving anyone out*, insisting their preferred candidate was just as heroic as the already widely known heroes of the *bakumatsu*.

Hence, with Shōin a relatively new candidate for hero in the early 1900s, the tone in writings about Shōin (including Tokutomi's) tends to be elegiac or downright hagiographic, largely due to influence from the Meiji bias. One

book-length example of such writing on Shōin to emerge from the late Meiji period is Katei Watanabe's *Yoshida Shōin*, which begins:

> Writing the biography of a regular person is difficult, and more difficult still when it is a great person. Yoshida Shōin was a condemned criminal of the Meiji Restoration even as he was the mother who gave birth to so many ardent imperial patriots. His life was pierced through with sincerity, and for him nothing existed outside of it, not treasure, status, friends, family or disciples. His life was extremely short, yet . . . he accomplished a great undertaking beyond the ability of ordinary people. (1910: 1)

This almost histrionic tone of praise, with its origins in Tokutomi's original hagiography, is representative of most Meiji sources on Shōin.

As a matter of fact, Shōin appears *only* to have surged in popularity at times of rising nationalism in Japan, as both the late Meiji and the early Shōwa-era Shōin "booms" attest. The extremely long-lived Tokutomi reappears in the context of the latter boom; his collected works (*Tokutomi Sohō shū)* was released in 1930, just before events on the continent sparked a new wave of nationalism, and his stand-alone biography of Yoshida Shōin was also reprinted yet again in 1934—the same year the collected works of Shōin (*Yoshida Shōin zenshū* [1938; 1939]) was released, and even Tokutomi's autobiography, *Sohō jiden*, was published in 1935. But from 1931 to 1945, several—sometimes more than a dozen—books about Shōin were published every year. And then, following Japan's defeat, only a handful of books on Shōin were published for almost twenty years. In the Taishō era, a valley of sorts between the peaks of patriotic sentiment in the late Meiji and early Shōwa periods, publications on Shōin greatly ebbed. Shōin had been strongly linked to nationalism, and thus writing about him became something of a taboo in early postwar Japan, until interest recovered in the mid-1960s.

CONCLUSION

Many commentators and would-be hagiographers who dealt with Shōin, including Tokutomi, became markedly more conservative as they aged, and indeed, so did the government, which by 1890 was already shifting the priority in education toward instilling patriotism (Pyle 1969: 121). In the 1890s, the Meiji state continued in its drive to create a national ideology, one featuring patriotism and loyalty, duty and obligation as its major pillars. The people were growing more receptive to this message; there was greater political and economic stability, and key concessions toward a more democratic government had been won, including a Constitution and Diet. And a revolution in conceptions of interiority leading to a new understanding of the worth of the

private self, as manifest in the *genbun itchi* movement and in drama, literature, poetry, and thought itself, was underway in this critical period from the late 1880s to the mid-1890s (Karatani 1993: 55–57).

Furthermore, in the mid-1890s, just after Tokutomi's biography first appeared, a new worldview made its debut in Japan, thanks to *Pushing to the Front*, an 1894 best-selling self-help book by Orison Marden that sold more than one million copies in Japan alone (Kinmonth 1981: 265). This signaled the rise of a new ethos, one more about a person's character than his or her actions, an ethos Shōin had himself endorsed (Kinmonth 1981: 327). The idea of judging a person by the perfection of his character, not the success of his actions, found great resonance at that historical moment in Japan, and thus Shōin could now be judged according to his allegedly noble character, not his entertaining failures, the focus of the earliest writings on him. This helped facilitate the late Meiji boom in publications about Shōin: the private self, and one's personality rather than one's deeds, were for the first time in a position to be celebrated, opening the door for nontraditional heroes of personality like Shōin. The Meiji bias ensured his apotheosis would ruffle few feathers, as his supporters claimed he was heroic without demoting any established heroes to do so. Moreover, as Kenneth Pyle (1969: 194) argues, what Meiji Japan needed was a new basis of national unity, and new sacred symbols. Who better to serve as just such a sacred symbol than Shōin: a teacher, patriot, and even a god?

Shōin was also well-suited to survive an ideological shift toward the political right, since he allegedly embodied many of the ideals the right wing cherished: strong loyalty to the emperor and selfless willingness to die for the cause of justice. This helped the Shōin legend subsequently manage to survive the test of time and change along with the transitions to new eras. For example, in the era of Taishō democracy there is one interesting account in which Shōin is compared to the reformer Alexander Kerensky, though, in general, the Taishō period marked an ebb in the tide of publications on Shōin (Tanaka 1970: 108–18). But during the Shōwa period, publications on Shōin exploded.

Robert Pollard (1939: 27) identifies Shōin as one member of the triumvirate of ideological forces responsible for Japan's aggressive manifest destiny.[6] It is noteworthy that during this tense time, as concern was mounting over Japan's increasing encroachments on the continent, the spotlight, even in the Western academic world, was turning back to Shōin as an instigator of that expansion. But if the attention paid Shōin in the West during the pre- and interwar years increased somewhat, it was nothing compared to the flood of publications on Shōin within Japan. His name, poems, and words were ubiquitous—in newspapers, posted in schools, in multiple sections in textbooks—and frequently the message was explicit and exhortatory: Shōin

truly loved our nation, so you should too. Biographies on him were being published every year, right up until 1945—and then suddenly vanished. Overseas expansion and patriotism were now linked with Japan's defeat, and so subjects like Shōin, now considered one of Japan's most patriotic heroes, were avoided.

Shōin weathered this storm thanks to his potentially ambiguous *waka*, two examples of which are given below. Although he did write some poems that referred directly to the emperor, most were about defying death or taking pride in the Japanese spirit, not specifically about revering the ruler. For example, in the politically charged context in which he wrote the "Heart of a child thinking of his parents" *waka*, it is possible to interpret it as an indictment of the *bakufu*, much like his more explicitly political *waka* (Brink 2003: 47). But divorced from that specific context, it becomes merely a beautiful personal lament at the cruel news of death. The short format of the *waka* often keeps Shōin's more radical intended meanings somewhat obscured while leaving the door open for non-patriotic interpretations; as a result, Shōin's fame managed to avoid a one-to-one association with patriotism or imperial loyalty.

Today, 150 years after the end of the *bakumatsu*, publications on (and depictions in popular culture of) Shōin have resumed to a considerable extent, the most radically patriotic components of his image have been expunged in favor of a more congenial depiction of Shōin as scholar, or even patron god of study. Schoolchildren in Hagi still learn some of his writings by heart, but unlike during the war years, it is not his militant loyalty to the emperor but his filial piety and passion for learning that are remembered now.

Regardless of the reality of the life of Torajirō the man, the retouching of the Shōin persona by hagiographers like Tokutomi, the rise of a new concept and ethic of the inner self, and the shift in focus from successful results to intentions and personality was enough to ensure he would enjoy sustained appeal. He was—and still is—seen as a bridge between the values of the traditional past and the revolutionary promise of the Restoration.

たらちねのたまふその名はあだならず 千世萬世へとめよ其名を

The name your mother gave to you, that name is not empty of meaning;
oh let that name be remembered a thousand, ten thousand generations.

世の人はよしあし事も言はばいへ　賤が誠は神ぞ知るらん

You people of the world, speak as you will of me, good
things or ill; surely the gods know of my sincerity.[7]

NOTES

1. There were twice as many articles (about forty) that referred to Shōin during the war than there were of the next most frequently mentioned Restoration figure, Saigō, far more than Sakamoto, Itō, or others. Search of the *Yomiuri shimbun* complete Shōwa archive was made possible through the Yale University database. Also Ravina (2004; 2010).
2. Unless otherwise noted, all Japanese to English translations are by me.
3. The Japanese term "kuni" can refer either to a province or to an entire country, but at this point in history was more often used to refer to an individual province, not to a "nation" as such.
4. It is often translated as "Friend of the People," but *tomo* here is in the sense of "companion," and *kokumin* can refer to the entire citizenry, the nation of Japan.
5. Searching the National Diet Library's *Kindai* page shows this increase in publications after 1888 clearly.
6. The others being the Mito School's interpretation of history and Shintō theologians.
7. The first *waka* Yoshida sent to his sister, the second to his friend Shūsuke Shirai. Adapted from Van Straelen (1952: 114, 116).

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Chapter 11

Hayao Miyazaki as a Political Thinker

Culture, Soft Power, and Traditionalism beyond Nationalism[1]

Kosuke Shimizu

The meaning of the word "culture" is demanding, particularly when it is used in the contemporary International Relations (IR) context. The term is often used to distinguish different identities, allegedly illuminating idiosyncrasies embedded in a particular society or group of people. Despite the warnings of anthropologists and cultural studies specialists that culture is unfixed and transforming, thus relative, it is often narrated in an essentialized and fixed way to reproduce cultural hegemony domestically and internationally. Thus, the concept of culture is often (ab)used by the powerful to legitimize their dominance. This essentialized understanding of culture is also detectable in the case of the current debate on non-Western IR theories. Non-Western politicians and scholars often employ the term culture in order to distinguish their values from "Western" values, mainly in relation to soft power (Nye 1990, 2004; e.g., Acharya and Buzan 2007). This is particularly true of Japan as evidenced in the recent extensive promotion of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA). There have also been numerous books and articles published either supporting or criticizing the efficacy of soft power in the real world, and the debate is now attracting an audience beyond the IR academic community. Indeed, a considerable number of books dealing with soft power politics and associated foreign relations issues like the Japan-US alliance, foreign policies, international society, globalization, and Japan/West relations, in general, have been written (Takenaka 1999; Neki 2001, 2010; Matsumura 2002; Aoki 2003; Hirano 2000, 2005; Iwabuchi 2007; Kondo 2008; Otmazgin 2008; Heng 2010; Katsumata 2012).

However, culture has another important function mainly advanced by the left wing Kyoto School philosopher Jun Tosaka (1966), that is, culture as a

mirror for critical reflection for morality. While his interpretation of culture is sophisticated and informative, this aspect of culture has long been ignored by Japanese intellectuals. In fact, most authors of soft power seem to have failed to advance critical engagement in conceptualizing contemporary world affairs by using the concept of culture. They argue, rather simply, that Japan's soft power is distinctive in its cultural background and originality of form, comparable only with the West, the only reference point for non-Western narratives.

This chapter is based on Tosaka's argument that culture has an important function for moral reflection beyond that of a mere means to identify one's distinctiveness from the West, and it criticizes Japan's soft power diplomacy, or the total absence of it from that point of view. It also argues that this absence is the result of the soft power discourse's oversimplified interpretation of culture that results in confrontation between the West and the rest, particularly when it is employed in non-Western IR discourses. In order to achieve these goals, the first section gives an overview of Japan's contemporary soft power politics and diplomacy. The second section focuses on the lack of moral principles in this policy and explains its causes by comparing it with the conservative Kyoto School philosophers' cultural politics in the interwar period. The third section explains the cultural theory of Tosaka and tries to apply it to the context of soft power politics. Lastly, I examine Miyazaki's films, *Princess Mononoke* in particular, as examples of cultural works facilitating a moment of critical reflection, and I extract embedded messages of relevance to critical reflection on contemporary IR literature.

CULTURE AS POWER

As indicated, Japan has maintained a sense of cultural distinctiveness. This distinctiveness allegedly derives from historical circumstances; Japan developed certain idiosyncrasies during its 250 years as an isolated and independent nation in the Tokugawa era. One residual effect apparent today is the continuation of the emperor system, which dates to the inception of the nation and became the cornerstone of Japanese culture (Nishida 1950). The formal originality of Japan's pop culture, such as *manga* and *anime* artistic genres, is profoundly influenced by traditional styles of art in Japan, such as *emakimono* (Miyazaki 1996: 129; Kondo and Takemura 2010: 76). Japan's purported distinctive traditional and popular cultures represent an opportunity for scholars and the government to increase their presence in the world, and they have attempted to incorporate it into Japanese foreign policy via the concept of soft power (Lam 2007; Atkins 2017). Soft power has therefore been inextricably linked with the promotion of national self-identity, which Iwabuchi (2007:

22) calls "brand nationalism," in which culture is employed to enhance the political and economic "brand image" of the country (also Daliot-Bul 2009).

Brand nationalism has grown to dominate the contemporary Japanese political landscape. It not only promotes and reinforces Japan's presence internationally, but also fosters the domestic ideal of a "good Japanese" person—one who is nature-loving and eco-conscious—on the alleged basis of a Japanese heritage that values nature and peace. Brand nationalism has also been used to configure Japan's political economy; for example, the Japanese auto industry's hybrid car production and the electronic industry's efficient electric appliances are now perceived as products of the inherent Japanese national character. A "good Japanese" is also portrayed as a peace-loving figure who follows traditional wisdom and conventions. This wisdom allegedly comes not from the Western tradition of rationalist universalism, but from knowledge rooted in the traditional and particularly nonrational ways of life inherited from Japan's past (Iwabuchi 2007).

Japan has turned its eyes toward soft power because of its lack of self-confidence in international politics. Japanese reaction to the Western mass media's judgment of Japan's contribution to the first Gulf War illustrates this lack of confidence. When the Gulf War broke out in 1991, Japan decided to support the US-led coalition force through an "international contribution" of $13 billion, despite criticism from politicians, intellectuals, media pundits, and ordinary citizens. However, because of its reluctance to send personnel in addition to funds, Japan was dubbed a "loser of the war" by Western mass media in the postwar years, which traumatized Japanese right wing politicians and intellectuals. Since then, one of the main goals of the Japanese government and conservative scholars has been to achieve an "honorable status" in the international community and thereby expunge some of the country's painful memories (Shimizu 2006: 5).[2] Indeed, numerous books and articles were published in the following period on IR and Japanese foreign policy that were characterized by an extreme nationalist tone (Nakanishi 1992; Ozawa 1993; Ishihara 1994). MOFA's publications were no exception. The term "soft power" conveniently came to appear in IR discourses as part of this phenomenon, and MOFA has devoted itself to the application of the concept in Japanese diplomacy ever since.

Initially introduced by Jospeh Nye (1990), the concept of soft power is widely understood to relate more to the cultural dimensions and possibilities of IR than to traditional diplomacy, military power, or political economy. In fact, the concept's appearance coincided with those of other culturalist interpretations of international politics, notably Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, which casts the post-Cold War world order in terms of conflict, and Francis Fukuyama's "End of History" scenario, which foresees a future of convergence in world affairs (O'Hagan 2002: 198–203). These

works were forerunners of mainstream culturalist approaches to world affairs, marking a new phase of international relations in the post-ideological age of globalization.

The term "culture" is problematic here. Sometimes it is understood as a body of work specific to a particular region or society, and sometimes as the way people interact with each other. In some cases, it refers more broadly to the way of living in a given area. Nye (2004: 11) defines culture as a "set of values and practices that create meaning for society" also manifesting itself in popular forms of mass entertainment. What he is concerned with is the power granted in culture. Nye pays particular attention to the power of culture, rather than culture per se, because of the widely acknowledged conviction that IR is an academic discipline concentrated solely on power. Thus, it is not surprising that he would begin his focus on soft power rather than culture itself in searching for a new dimension that would purportedly explain contemporary world affairs sufficiently. Then what is power? Nye (2004: 2) states that "power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants." The power Nye was concerned with here is neither military nor economic. It is not coercive either. Rather, it "rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others" (Nye 2004: 5) and is a sort of "attractive power" (Nye 2004: 6). Because of this attractiveness, it can persuade others to change their behavior toward what one perceives as the ideal goal. But what are the sources of this attraction? Nye (2004: 7) says they include "shared values and the justness" and the sense of "duty of contributing to the achievement of those values." And it is culture through which Japan strives to be "attractive" internationally. However, Japan understands it as exclusively materialistic, as evidenced in MOFA's (2007) use of the word, relying on its material associations like electric appliances, fashion, furniture, architecture, food culture, art, music, design, Noh, Kabuki, and pop culture products, including *manga* and *anime*.

According to the official discourse surrounding Japan's cultural diplomacy, the main purpose of these promotional programs is to cultivate international understanding of and appreciation for Japan. This leads to a more general question. The *Gaiko Seisho* (Diplomacy Blue Book) explicitly states that MOFA's (2010: 177) goal in such endeavors is to "maintain a good relationship" with foreign countries. Of course, such is the official patois of diplomatic writing, and similar statements can be found everywhere in the documents and reports of the foreign ministries and state agencies of other countries; the real purpose has been more candidly expressed in interviews with individual officials through their roles in domestic media campaigns seeking broader citizen acceptance of Japan's diplomacy. For example, in an interview with a university student, one MOFA official revealed that the

underlying purpose of Japan's contemporary foreign diplomacy is "to make others wish what we wish." Following Nye's definition of soft power, which focuses more on the concept of "power," the official maintained that the intent is "not to make them follow us by the power of military or economy," but rather through "values and culture" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2007). It becomes clear here that the implicit goal of MOFA's cultural politics is not the maintenance of "a good relationship" with foreign countries. On the contrary, it aims to achieve this goal set by MOFA through the promotion of alleged Japanese values and culture for political economic power.

Iwabuchi (2007: 87) contends in this context that the main purpose of the Japanese government's promotion of soft power is the maximization of Japan's political economic interests. While it ostensibly comes across as peaceful in the name of cultural diplomacy, the Japanese government's main concern lies in material gains. In fact, Tarō Asō, then the minister of foreign affairs, gave a talk at the newly established Digital Hollywood University in Tōkyō on cultural diplomacy in 2006, and stressed the importance of culture in diplomacy:

> I would even say that Astro Boy deserves to receive the People's Honor Award. The word "robot" is said to have come to us from the Czech word robota, which means "labor" or sometimes even "drudgery," and thus is a word that originally carried a negative connotation. But through Japan's Astro Boy or the cat-like robot Doraemon, the meaning of the word "robot" shifted, instead becoming a benevolent friend who helps human beings. In Asia and elsewhere around the globe, robots came to be understood as . . . the good guys. The impact of this situation is that countries with an affinity for Doraemon do not have workers who reject industrial robots, and thus in those countries, industrial productivity rises. In addition, *you find that Japanese-made industrial robots sell well*. (Aso 2006)

The case of Ichiya Nakamura appears even more direct. He contends that the promotion of a positive image of Japan through cultural products helps other industries like electronic appliances and automobiles expand their markets abroad. He argues that this "contents industry," of which *manga* and *anime* make up a large portion, constitutes only 3 percent of Japan's GDP, but has significant external effects. According to Nakamura (2013), branding and permeation of the contents of the Japanese cultural industry into societies overseas enhances local consumers' desire for Japanese products and this consequently stimulates exports. This is precisely what Iwabuchi calls "brand nationalism." The Japanese government perceives soft power in its relation to political economy, and the above argument of Asō and Nakamura clearly made the case.

JAPAN'S SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY VALUES AND RIGHT WING KYOTO SCHOOL PHILOSOPHERS' CULTURAL POLITICS

The results of cultural politics are not strictly limited to power configurations in foreign relations. The system functions domestically in that it shapes citizens' perceived national identity. For instance, in describing the national identity of non-Western Europeans before World War II, Hannah Arendt (1968: 231–32) argues that what non-Western European states, Germany among them, could rely on in competing with Western countries, such as the UK and France, was not technological or civilizational advantages. Instead, non-Western Europeans could best rely on irrational or nonrational elements like the value of racial and spiritual purity in claiming their superiority to the more civilized Western states. In other words, there was no way to compete with the West in terms of quantifiable factors, but it was possible to do so through perceived qualitative dimensions such as history, spiritual supremacy, and cultural sophistication.

One can argue that Japan conformed to Arendt's description of non-Western states during the pre-war period. Being a latecomer to the world economy of massive industrial development and colonial expansion, just like Germany, Japanese intellectuals and officials made similarly propagandist statements referring to Japan's proud history and spiritual supremacy (Kosaka et al. 1943). The tradition of inclining policy justifications toward cultural and qualitative values did not cease after World War II. Throughout the Cold War and into the age of globalization, Japanese leaders have continually emphasized the mystical *Yamato Damashii* (Japanese Soul) and *Samurai Damashii* (Samurai Soul). The latter is often used today in reference to national sports teams (cf. Dower 2012).

Having these characteristics as a background, Japanese conservative intellectuals and officials have adopted soft power to further construct the notion of "Japanese-ness." As culture has often been employed to distinguish Japan from the West—and is somehow familiar to ordinary Japanese people as a part of their identity—the idea of the government's use of soft power is easily accepted by society at large. It utilizes the model of the "good Japanese" who self-identifies as distinctly non-Western. The model places special emphasis on having a non-individualistic relationship with one's surroundings, a love of nature and the environment in general, a desire to conserve traditional values, and a special sensitivity to the world that transcends empirical reasoning (Nishida 1950; Marukusu 1991; Kondo 2004, 2013). In fact, in order to hide the underlying political economic concern for power, promoters of Japanese culture often put exclusive emphasis on Japanese culture's responsive relationship with the environment. The Japanese perception of nature is now used

ubiquitously in the discourse of cultural politics, and it is claimed to constitute the main body of Japanese values.

Right wing Kyoto School philosophers, such as Masaaki Kōsaka, Keiji Nishitani, Shigetaka Suzuki, and Iwao Kōyama, who became enthusiastic apologists for the military government in the interwar period, employed the term "culture" precisely in this context. They claimed that Western civilization was facing a political and economic crisis, and no longer held the key to human development. Japan, which is characterized by its receptive attitude to the environment, therefore, would appear as a messiah and accordingly be assigned a mission to save the world (Kosaka et al. 1943). What characterizes their discourse is the comprehension of the obedient cultural approach of the Japanese to the environment as existing in opposition to the West. Consequently, they ended up with the idea of confrontation between the West and Japan and enthusiastically supported Japan's involvement in World War II. Although not as enthusiastic or messianic as conservative Kyoto School philosophers, MOFA's interpretation of culture and soft power appears to follow this traditional line of reasoning.

In the minds of government officials, Japanese culture by its very definition opposes rationalism, modernism, and Westernization. For instance, Seiichi Kondo, the commissioner for Cultural Affairs, places the distinction between Japan and the West in their approaches to nature. According to Kondo, the Western tradition heavily relies on the human capacity for instrumental reason, and this reason-dependent attitude is the main cause of the dualism of the subject and object on which contemporary science is constructed. Kondo maintains that this scientific attitude is characterized by a mechanistic perception of nature. However, this Western perception is now facing an obvious danger. Kondo (2013) continues:

> The Western approach to nature has generated overconfidence in science and led to human conceit, and this in turn has resulted in a risk to human existence. There is no guarantee that control over weapons of mass-destruction and climate change would exceed human capability. . . . The dichotomy of good and evil directs us to the endless chain of resentment between ethnic groups.

However, Kondo also contends that the Japanese have always thought that human beings are inherently a part of nature and are not entitled to attempt to conquer it. This alleged Japanese attitude toward nature constitutes Japanese morality imbedded in the form of culture. Still, cultural morality in this interpretation misses another important function of culture in relation to morality, which presumably gives us a wider perspective toward contemporary world affairs.

If it is true that the receptive Japanese attitude toward nature is the main body of alleged Japanese values, what sort of morality and ethics could we

derive from Japanese traditional values? Right wing Kyoto School philosophers' arguments in the interwar period were indicative in this context. They interpreted Western civilization as the main cause of the crises of humanity, and they argued that Japan must replace the prevailing Western international political order with an alternative morality (Kosaka et al. 1943).

What permeates discourses of this sort regarding Japanese cultural distinctiveness and moral supremacy over Western modernity is the total absence of a strict definition of morality. While advocates of Japanese cultural diplomacy often mention the term morality, and presume that Japan has a different set of norms and principles of human behavior, they usually lack a detailed explanation of what precisely Japanese morality denotes apart from the alleged nature-loving characteristic of Japanese nationals. As a result, Japan's cultural diplomacy has been characterized by the total failure to attract the trust of other countries in the Asia-Pacific region because of, according to them, the lack of coherent values or a sincere attitude (Aoki 2003: 145–46).

CULTURE AND SELF-REFLECTION IN TOSAKA'S THEORY OF MORALITY

Tosaka, a prominent left wing Kyoto School philosopher in interwar Japan, insisted on another interpretation of culture. He argued that moral judgment becomes possible only when the subject is self-critical. This self-critical reflection can be done through the mirror of culture, as culture is a representation of people's everyday lives and *jōshiki*, or common sense. This everydayness is imperative in understanding contemporary social construction, Tosaka (1966) maintains, as it provides the researchers with a concrete context for ordinary citizens' lives and their *jōshiki*. Therefore, he contends that culture is indispensable for critical reflection in constructing scientific and philosophical theories.

The reason why Tosaka focused on the issue of morality was the widely held perception among intellectuals that Japan had been invaded and dominated by Western traditions of capitalism and consumerism. This perception was also held by right wing Kyoto School scholars. Indeed, they argued that morality was completely absent from contemporary capitalism and consumer society. For them, Japan's war against the United States and the United Kingdom was, therefore, a typical representation of the conflict between different social orders, one based on economic efficiency and the growth of production for the West and one on ethics and morality for Japan (Kosaka et al. 1943). However, as noted, while conservative Kyoto School philosophers contended that Japan must maintain moral superiority to the West, they never clearly stated what morality really meant in the context of contemporary world affairs.

To Tosaka (1966), morality was not an ambiguous concept. It was synonymous with critical reflection, and this overlaps with Arendt's concept of "thinking." Moral judgment is possible, according to Tosaka, only when critical reflection is guaranteed. A truth claim without critical reflection does not deserve its name, Tosaka contends. Rather, it is a mere one-sided belief. In this sense, Tosaka's argumentation of morality was exclusively directed at the intellectuals who believed they were entitled to narrate the truth.

How could one be morally right in intellectual lives then? Tosaka argues that there was a sharp confrontation between "academia" and "journalism," and this could be interpreted as an opposition between "science," by which Tosaka (1966: 145) actually meant philosophy and social sciences, and "literature," as the humanities. As "journal" sometimes denotes diary, journalism is specifically based on everydayness and the *jōshiki*, common sense, of ordinary citizens, whose lives start by entering into social relations and end by moving away from them. Thus, everydayness is social and relational. Journalism is also established upon this relationality. This also means that social relations are never fixed or institutionalized and are thus continuously transforming themselves into new relationships. As a result, journalism could only focus on specific and concrete spatiality and temporality, which is continuously subject to changes and transformations. Tosaka focused on this continuous transformation from one form to another and was concerned with the practice of everyday lives and *jōshiki*. According to Tosaka (1966: 148), this practical facet clearly indicates that journalism is always political.

This political nature of everydayness should not be standardized. Obviously, the everyday life of one person is different and has distinct characteristics of its own. If this particular everydayness was understood in contrast to universality, thus characterized by its difference from the latter, the particularity of the former would disappear into the universalized particularity. It is the same in the case of culture. If one distinct culture is constructed and articulated in comparison with universality, the distinctive nature of a culture will vanish. A culture formulated in this way would lose its function in the process of self-reflection and become abstract storage for fixed cultural products.

However, intellectuals of science and philosophy claim that their mission is to discover the universal truth, and they are not concerned with the concrete lives of ordinary citizens. Thus, their arguments become inevitably abstract because of the detachment of their perception from everydayness, and they easily end up with the simple dichotomy between the West and the rest. If we are to understand contemporary cultural life, a concrete context is not something dispensable, and this focus on the diversity within or between non-Western cultures distinguishes Tosaka from the conservative Kyoto School philosophers.

The current discourses of soft power often define culture in an essentialist manner and, accordingly, presume that culture is a priori and fixed. They never see culture's hybrid and ever-changing nature or the practices of everyday lives. This is also true in IR. Contemporary Japanese intellectuals' devotion to the cultural dimension of world affairs, whether intentionally or unintentionally, reinforces Japan's political economic position in the world, and this will merely result in reinforcing the prevailing international (or Western, if we provincialize IR) order of confrontation.

It is important here, however, to understand that culture can be a mirror for our self-reflection if we are to comprehend the world. As culture is hybrid and ever-changing, cultural products also change. Thus, there is no such thing as a fixed culture. In this sense, culture is always antiuniversal. Therefore, there is no legitimized national-culture or regional-culture by definition. This interpretation of culture reveals the powerful influence of the universalized international or Western order, which forces us to perceive the concept of culture only in terms of the preestablished framework of the nation-state. As a result, we often end up standardizing, and thus universalizing, "different" and "diverse" cultures in contrast to Western civilization. Consequently, we often fail to comprehend the distinctiveness of a non-Western culture in comparison with other non-Western cultures and only see a non-Western culture in contrast to the Western one.

HAYAO MIYAZAKI'S ANIME AND MORAL REFLECTION

As noted, the Japanese government pursues its goals of obtaining influence over other Asian states and reinforcing Japan's presence in contemporary world affairs using soft power. One of its main components is Japanese popular culture, animation movies in particular. MOFA describes these films and the style in general as the most popular in the world among young people and notably dominant in other Asian countries. Government officials frequently state that Japan produces cutting-edge cultural content, both in terms of storytelling and presentation techniques. Hayao Miyazaki is a figure mentioned regularly in the context of brand nationalist politics. Government officials also find a typical example of the Japanese approach to nature in Miyazaki's *anime* (Kondo 2013). He is a renowned *anime* director, winning an Academy Award in 2003, and he garnered fame as an illustrator of Japanese popular culture. He has been a major player in the production of Japanese *anime* for more than twenty years, and is probably the best known Japanese animator outside Japan. However, although Miyazaki's movies have been well-received by conservative government officials and intellectuals in Japan, a thorough examination of his films and interviews reveals that his works

implicitly criticize the recent economy-centered policies of Japanese politics (cf. Morgan 2015). Soft power diplomacy on the basis of brand nationalism is an integral part of Japanese politics for excluding the moment to support dialogical and reciprocal relations with others. In fact, soft power discourse uses culture solely to promote a monological approach to power politics and attempts to strengthen its political position in world politics. Thus, it lacks the idea of relationality among different subjectivities.

Specific representative works often cited include Miyazaki's films such as *My Neighbour Totoro*, *Princess Mononoke*, and *Spirited Away*. In fact, there are a number of official reports and articles about Miyazaki and his contribution to cultural diplomacy. For instance, MOFA (2013a) reports that the *New York Times* sympathetically reviewed Miyazaki's film, *Kokurikozaka kara*, describing it as a typical example of Japanese animation recent inclination toward realism. It is also noticeable that MOFA (2013b) is eager to promote Japan's pop culture through its diplomatic channels, and Miyazaki's animation films are some of the most played. It is worth mentioning that government officials touch upon Miyazaki's films in their diplomatic speeches. Former minister of foreign affairs, Nobutaka Machimura (2005), delivering a speech in New York commemorating sixty years of post-war Japan-US diplomatic relations, said:

> The fusion of the Japanese and American cultures has created a new global culture; the phenomenon is particularly visible in recent years, Miyazaki's animations including "Spirited Away" represent a new creation combining Japanese sensitivity with Walt Disney's American film making traditions.

They also encourage youth to actively engage in the promotion of Japanese pop culture for Japan's diplomacy. Asō (2006) states that

> What is the image that pops into someone's mind when they hear the name "Japan?" Is it a bright and positive image? Warm? Cool? The more these kinds of positive images pop up in a person's mind, the easier it becomes for Japan to get its views across over the long term. In other words, Japanese diplomacy is able to keep edging forward, bit by bit, and bring about better and better outcomes as a result.

In these *anime*, MOFA argues, the traditional values of Japan are concisely and coherently presented, which is the reason why Miyazaki's movies are so popular and widely received by other nations, particularly by younger generations. Some MOFA officials see Japan's traditional values in the new era transcending Western values. Kondo (2004), for instance, apparently believes in the relationship between Japan's traditional values and Japanese animation movies and states that the popularity of these movies is based on the

superiority of Japan's traditional values, which purportedly transcend Western values that have led to supposedly dead-end political and economic dilemmas. According to MOFA, Japan is now in position to spread its traditional values and thereby resolve the world's problems as wrought by Western modernity.

Miyazaki has been the most famous figure in this context. Born in Tōkyō in 1941, Miyazaki is a world-famous animator and film producer. His animated movies are distributed all over the world, and his 2001 movie *Spirited Away* received an Academy Award for Best Animated Feature. MOFA's promotion of soft power would not be possible without Miyazaki's broad base of popularity among young people abroad. However, the artist has never explicitly supported the dominant political ideas and institutions, let alone MOFA's conception or use of soft power. He does not appear to have ever been politically active except at his first job at Toei Animation, where he became the chair of the trade union and an active union organizer. Only recently, Miyazaki expressed criticism of Shinzo Abe's attempts to reform the Japanese constitution (McCurry 2013).

Similarly, his movies' political messages are not overt, aside from a widely inferred environmentalist slant. His films are often set in forests and mountains, and it seems at a glance that the only political message his characters convey is the importance of conserving nature (most vividly presented in *Nausicaa of the Valley of the Wind* and *Princess Mononoke*). However, his political message is far more profound and closely related to the concept of culture. Moreover, in one interview he explicitly declared that he is reluctant to call himself an environmentalist (Miyazaki 2008: 28–29). Instead, his films implicitly express his objection to the prevailing modernized "Japanese-ness" as the basis of nation-statehood and Japanese culture, and communicate instead his preference for the premodern, indigenous culture of Japan, *Jomon bunka* (Miyazaki 1996: 260)—a cultural style predating the concept of private property and other political institutions that were mainly imported from the Asian continent.

Jomon was a hunter-gatherer culture that arose around 14,500 BC and was replaced by the *Yayoi* culture around 1,000 BC. As *Jomon bunka* was not constructed on the idea of private property or civilization, its populations did not possess the concept of institutionalized communities such as nation-states. This early indigenous culture is idealized as innocent in Miyazaki's movies, while *Yayoi bunka* is heavily associated with themes of law and enforcement. *Yayoi* society provided the beginnings of the institutionalization of political power, helping to develop Japan into a civilized state. As the primitive, initial form of the Japanese nation-state, Miyazaki (1996: 260) nevertheless sees *Yayoi* culture as the root of contemporary problems—violence, human isolation, corruption, and so forth—present in modern capitalist societies. Indeed, he once stated that people living during the *Jomon bunka* period were probably the happiest people in Japanese history.

It is widely recognized that Miyazaki's movies are anticonsumerist, *Princess Mononoke* and *Spirited Away* in particular. It is also commonly known that some of his movies derive from antiwar sentiment, including *Porco Rosso*, *Howl's Moving Castle*, and *The Wind Rises*. Throughout his oeuvre, one can more generally describe the artist's outlook as anti-institutional and anticivilizational, and that outlook is very much expressed in his representations of *Jomon bunka*. Miyazaki deliberately chooses non-institutionalized communities as settings for plot development and then employs nomads, exiles, and pilgrims as main characters to introduce cultural contrast. In this way, Miyazaki uses cultural representation as a means of resistance to the institutionalized nation-state. He describes institutional political arrangements in highly negative tones, and grants his main character powers of critical thought to examine the prevailing social order.

The idyllic forest and mountain settings of Miyazaki's movies express a rather obvious sentimentality toward *Jomon* culture that has been interpreted as a preference for that culture over civilization. For example, the main character Ashitaka in *Princess Mononoke* is from the north of Japan and initially lives in a mountainous area. In one scene at the beginning of the movie, in which Ashitaka fights with samurais and shoots at them with arrows, one of the samurai clearly calls him "*Oni*." This is a reference to indigenous peoples living in mountain areas often described as *Oni* (evil). By contrast, those of *Yayoi* culture living in *sato* (villages) were historically settlers in flat lands cultivating rice and other crops. They are frequently depicted in Miyazaki's movies as institutionalized and profit-oriented. A character appears in *Princess Mononoke* named *Jiko-bō*, who is a Buddhist monk serving the emperor. *Jiko-bō* is a typical representation of Miyazaki's perception of contemporary, ordinary citizens who lack critical thinking skills and simply follow orders. Indeed, Miyazaki (2008: 36–37) publicly describes this character as reflecting figures of present-day society, describing him as "a company man" who is agreeable, personable, and functions well in his organization but who follows the commands of that organization without thinking. The lack of critical thinking personified by *Jiko-bō* is likewise present in Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, in which Arendt (1963) explains how the lack of critical thought of one member of the SS who appeared to be an ordinary citizen, Adolf Eichmann, resulted in the most unprecedented practice of evil in human history. Miyazaki uses the same kind of example to question the nature of living in the age of civilization. Although Miyazaki himself cannot answer for his audience, he surely intends to provoke thought and questioning.

While Miyazaki's intention is to question and critically assess the prevailing order of nation-state and consumer capitalism, in which human beings are destined to lose their capacity for critical reflection and morality, Japan's soft power politics has developed in such a way as to confirm Miyazaki's

critique. In other words, Japanese soft power diplomacy is trying to retail cultural products of totally opposite values. This contradiction springs from the total lack of critical reflection and moral thinking evidently reified in Japan's cultural politics. Because of this lack of critical reflection, the Japanese government ends up essentializing culture, and only finds culturally distinctive feature of themselves in the form of cultural products on the basis of consumerism. Cultural products being representations of culture means that the concept of culture is assigned a position in the abstract picture of power politics as simply a device to maximize profits. This ignores Miyazaki's depiction of different cultures within Japan, and forcibly unifying the cultural diversity under the name of Japanese culture and soft power diplomacy. This will never give the subjects of cultural political discourse a chance to reflect on themselves and establish morality in the way Tosaka called for despite the Miyazaki's intention. As in the story of the conservative Kyoto School philosophers, which clearly depicts the danger of abstract political discourses of West/East cultural confrontation, an essentialized and standardized culture without critical reflection can easily lead to violent nationalism.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I aimed to clarify Japan's soft power diplomacy's relationship to critical thinking and morality through the means of Miyazaki's movies. As I contend, the current soft power foreign policy of Japan very much resembles the cultural politics of the interwar period. This is because it essentializes culture and disregards the nature of culture, which is intermingled with other cultures. The interconnectedness of culture inevitably results in its ever-changing dispositions. As a culture is connected with others, its subjects must encounter others with different cultural backgrounds. This encounter, in turn, brings the subject an opportunity for self-reflection and critical engagement in cultural politics. However, when culture is essentialized and fixed, particularly in the East/West and international/regional dichotomies, we lose the opportunity for self-reflection and are destined to plunge into the discourses of cultural confrontation and violent nationalism. This is the moment in which we have to return to the Kyoto School's phenomenology of "pure experience."

NOTES

1. This chapter is an updated version of Shimizu, K. (2014). "The Ambivalent Relationship of Japan's Soft Power Diplomacy and *Princess Mononoke*: Tosaka Jun's

Philosophy of Culture as Moral Reflection." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 15 (4): 683–98 © Cambridge University Press, reproduced with permission.

2. For historical and ongoing perceptions of Japan as an "abnormal" state, see Hagström 2015.

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Chapter 12

Who's the Egg? Who's the Wall?

Appropriating Haruki Murakami's "Always on the Side of the Egg" Speech in Hong Kong

Michael Tsang

At first sight, Haruki Murakami may escape the usual definition of a political thinker and may have little to do with politics or "being political." It is the intention of this chapter to dispute this impression and argue that Murakami has produced political thoughts, loosely defined, and that these thoughts have made an impact in other contexts beyond Japan. Specifically, I will study how Murakami's "wall-versus-egg" metaphor has been appropriated by the ongoing pro-democracy movement in Hong Kong. From this study, I argue that when a political thought extends its influence beyond its original context, it will not be able to address all the intricacies of the new context adequately and must be adapted creatively in its new life.

In conducting the following analysis, Bakhtin's ideas regarding the terms "dialogism" and "appropriation" have served as useful guidance. In *The Dialogic Imagination*, Bakhtin (1992: 294) writes that language is always "overpopulated" with the intentions of others, and in order to make it one's own, the speaker must "populate it with his own intentions, his own accent . . . adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention." In other words, the term "appropriation" in this chapter refers to the act of reinterpreting a word, a concept, or a metaphor to serve not the original author's intentions, but the appropriator's. In the meantime, different individuals' appropriations of the metaphor would constitute a cacophony of different voices and interpretations, which may sometimes agree with, criticize, or respond to each other. Such responses in turn create new interpretations of the original word or metaphor.

In International Relations (IR), Bakhtin has only received emerging attention since the 1990s. Because Bakhtin's main tenet is that words and texts

"carry on a dialogue with one another across time and space" (Neumann 1998: 14), this allows IR scholars to examine how dialogues "interact with other practices, and how they are suffused with power relations" when concepts are appropriated into other social contexts (Neumann 2003: 140). As Xavier Guillaume (2010: 102) concludes, the political then should be understood as a realm where such dialogues, challenging and conflicting with each other, form a "constellation of power relations." The works of Neumann and Guillaume indicate an important theoretical direction for this chapter, allowing me to explore how we may see Murakami as a political writer, and to study how new meanings of his wall-versus-egg metaphor are created through dialogue between the many-voiced nature of Hong Kong's protest movements.

THE WALL VERSUS THE EGG

Murakami, one of the most popular novelists worldwide and one of the top one hundred global thinkers listed by *Foreign Policy* in 2012, enjoys great fame globally, with East Asia being the most receptive to his works (Hillenbrand 2009: 718). His recent books have received wide acclaim upon publication, are translated quickly into other languages, and have sparked the publication of "study guides" in Japan that explain how to read his novels—a unique phenomenon unparalleled by other Japanese novelists.

Murakami's novels have long been commended for their depiction of a postmodern humanity, characterized by a vague mood of alienation from society and a severing of communicative bonds between characters. His novels rarely depict actual political events in Japan—an anomaly that, according to Auke Hulst's (2011) article in *New Statesman*, reflects Murakami's "ambivalence towards student radicalism" of the left-wing student movements in the 1960s. However, for many Japanese readers his works are highly connected to Japanese society and actual political incidents in postwar Japan. This is the stance taken up by the Japanese critic Kazuo Kuroko (2007: 2), who criticized some Slovakian fans of Murakami for "overlook[ing] the relationship between the reality of Japanese society and Murakami's literature."[1] Hulst (2011) also interviewed Murakami's Japanese fans, who fell for the Murakami spell as a way to escape the stifling "social and professional expectations" of Japanese society. One fan claims that "'Murakami's work has to be understood in the context of the student movement' and the ensuing dissipation of and 'ambivalence towards student radicalism.'"

Here, then, are two different but interrelated definitions of political. The first is Politics with a capital "P," which refers to organized political

movements, protests, political structures, and institutions. Yet, there is also politics with a small "p," which registers the affective impact of social structures, cultural values, and political ideologies on the individual. As such, to be political is to interrogate and problematize how our society is organized and how human relationships are constructed. This aspect of "political" seems to be captured by Murakami's Hong Kong readers, as studies on his fandom show that these readers connect the experience of reading Murakami with their own reflections on individuality in a modern, advanced, capitalist society (see Tam 2014). This is an important prerequisite for the appropriation of Murakami's political thought in Hong Kong—as will be shown in the rest of the chapter—meaning that Murakami is not purely read for his trademark postmodern mood, but also for his influence on Hongkongers' perceptions of their sociopolitical surroundings.

In fact, both Politics and politics feature constantly in Murakami's works; they may not take center stage, but they do hum in the background. The 1960s student movements receive numerous acknowledgment in many Murakami novels, such as *Hear the Wind Sing* (2016); *Norwegian Wood* (2001); *South of the Border, West of the Sun* (2000); the *1Q84* trilogy (2012); and *Colorless Tsukuru Tazaki and His Years of Pilgrimage* (2015a). Since the Great Hanshin earthquake in Kobe in 1995, Murakami has displayed a more socially engaged tone in his work: memories of World War II appear in *The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle* (1999), while the dark side of Tōkyō's nightlife is explored in *After Dark* (2008). Then there is also *Underground* (2003a), the reportage journalism he wrote on the Aum Shinrikyō sarin gas attack, and *after the quake* (2003b), a short story collection in response to the Hanshin earthquake. Finally, one should not miss Murakami's increasing outspokenness on sociopolitical issues that have taken place in recent years, as seen in his acceptance speech at the twenty-third Catalonia International Prize in 2011, where he makes his antinuclear stance explicit following the Fukushima nuclear incident (Murakami 2011), or his acceptance speech at the 2016 Hans Christian Andersen Award ceremony, where he warns against ignoring a society's dark side (Flood 2016). These examples suggest that there is reason to identify a much stronger social and political engagement in Murakami's recent works and thinking.

To the international audience, the turning point of such political engagement from Murakami may be his acceptance speech in 2009 for the Jerusalem Prize on the Freedom of the Individual in Society. Considering the public protest against his acceptance of this prize—a prize about individual freedom but awarded by a country that also oppresses Palestinians—Murakami (2009) responds in his acceptance speech by sharing the now-famous "wall-versus-egg" metaphor, which he claims is his philosophy of novel-writing:

> Between a high, solid wall and an egg that breaks against it, I will always stand on the side of the egg.
>
> Yes, no matter how right the wall may be and how wrong the egg, I will stand with the egg. . . .
>
> What is the meaning of this metaphor? In some cases, it is all too simple and clear. Bombers and tanks and rockets and white phosphorus shells are that high, solid wall. The eggs are the unarmed civilians who are crushed and burned and shot by them.
>
> This is not all, though. . . . Each of us is, more or less, an egg. Each of us is a unique, irreplaceable soul enclosed in a fragile shell. This is true of me, and it is true of each of you. And each of us, to a greater or lesser degree, is confronting a high, solid wall. The wall has a name: it is "the System." The System is supposed to protect us, but sometimes it takes on a life of its own, and then it begins to kill us and cause us to kill others—coldly, efficiently, systematically.

In a more recent acceptance speech for the 2014 *Die Welt* literary prize, Murakami elaborates that there are many kinds of walls in the world, such as "a wall of ethnicity, of religion, a wall of intolerance, of fundamentalism, a wall of greed, a wall of fear." Ultimately, he says,

> For me, walls are a symbol of that which separates people, that which separates one set of values from another. . . . A wall eventually becomes a fixed system, one that rejects the logic of any other system. Sometimes violently. And the Berlin Wall was certainly a striking example of that. (Murakami 2014)

From these words we can deduce a few attributes about the wall and the egg. They are binary opposites, with characteristics that are completely different and impossible to reconcile. If the wall is high and solid and evokes a sense of strength, totality, and exclusivity, then the egg is fragile, individual, and weak. Moreover, the egg is seen to be pitted against the system, so that while the wall aggressively kills us, the human soul, shelled in an egg, must confront the wall or the system.

While Murakami has previously shown political engagement in his novels, it is the genre of acceptance speech that has helped propagate his political thoughts worldwide. Acceptance speeches are short, but they are newsworthy. The use of one simple metaphor to address the broader dynamic of human conflicts—against the background of the Jerusalem Prize controversy and Israel-Palestinian politics—becomes an iconic formula for Murakami's ensuing acceptance speeches, where he uses the bite-size nature of speeches to make a clear stance on sociopolitical issues such as the Fukushima nuclear incident. These being speeches at *international* awards, his ideas then get picked up by international media, easily reaching both his fans and non-fans outside Japan. When considering the impact of Murakami's

political thoughts, then, this caveat about the genre of acceptance speeches must be noted.

The wall-versus-egg metaphor is the political thought to be examined in this chapter. Because it is not contextualized in any national or cultural context, the metaphor has become a rather famous trope for civil resistance, dissent, disobedience, and social activist movements against governments that are deemed establishmentarian and oppressive. It is no wonder why the metaphor gained currency during the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong. The movement began in September 2014 as a series of demonstrations and school boycotts against China's decision on August 31 to deny Hong Kong residents universal suffrage for the 2016 Legislative Council and 2017 Chief Executive Elections. On September 28, 2014, the demonstrations escalated into an occupation of key business districts for seventy-nine days until mid-December. Such a sustained and lengthened movement for a political cause was unprecedented in Hong Kong's history.

It is not difficult to see why the wall-versus-egg metaphor became popular among protesters in the Umbrella Movement. Obviously, the protesters identified themselves with the egg, and Hong Kong and Chinese governments as the high wall. But the metaphor also became popular after Murakami voiced his support for the Umbrella Movement on two occasions. The first was his acceptance speech for the *Die Welt* Literary Prize in November 2014, in which he specifically mentioned and encouraged "the young people of Hong Kong, who are struggling against their wall at this moment" (Murakami 2014). The next was in March 2015 when a girl from Hong Kong called Miffy wrote a letter to Murakami's agony-uncle column expressing how disappointed she felt that nothing had changed after the Umbrella Movement. In his reply,[2] Murakami (2015b) expressed that the protesters' efforts would not go to waste even if nothing changes: "But I think what you lot have done for [the] democratization [of Hong Kong] will definitely not be wasted. While at first sight one may see that nothing has changed, surely something has changed under your soles." Both gestures testify Murakami's endorsement and more importantly his effort to spread awareness of the movement to his fans and readers internationally (through the acceptance speech given in English at an international literary award) and domestically (through his reply penned in Japanese for a project mainly directed at his Japanese readers).

The wall-versus-egg metaphor continues to enjoy huge popularity even after the Umbrella Movement formally concluded in December 2014. For one, the metaphor is relevant because the struggle continues. It now becomes a default trope for any sort of opposition between the pro-democratic people and the establishment. An example is presented in Figures 12.1 and 12.2 (Goethe Institut 2016). These examples are taken from a promotional flyer for a German film festival in Hong Kong in 2016, sponsored by the Goethe Institut.

While the English name of the film festival is not related to Murakami, the Chinese title (Figure 12.1) reads: "There is no high wall that won't fall"—a direct reference to the metaphor.[3] This is combined with a still from the 2012 film *Hannah Arendt*. On the overleaf (Figure 12.2), the English version includes Murakami's original quote from the 2009 acceptance speech, followed by a description of the theme of the festival.

This flyer demonstrates the malleability and continuing impact of Murakami's wall-versus-egg metaphor on Hong Kong.[4] The metaphor began as a literary metaphor that conceptualizes the organization of human society (i.e., politics), but has been spread, exported, and drawn upon as inspiration for actual political action in another context (i.e., Politics).

However, the flyer is also symptomatic of the many ways the metaphor gets appropriated in the movement—and sometimes not only by pro-democracy

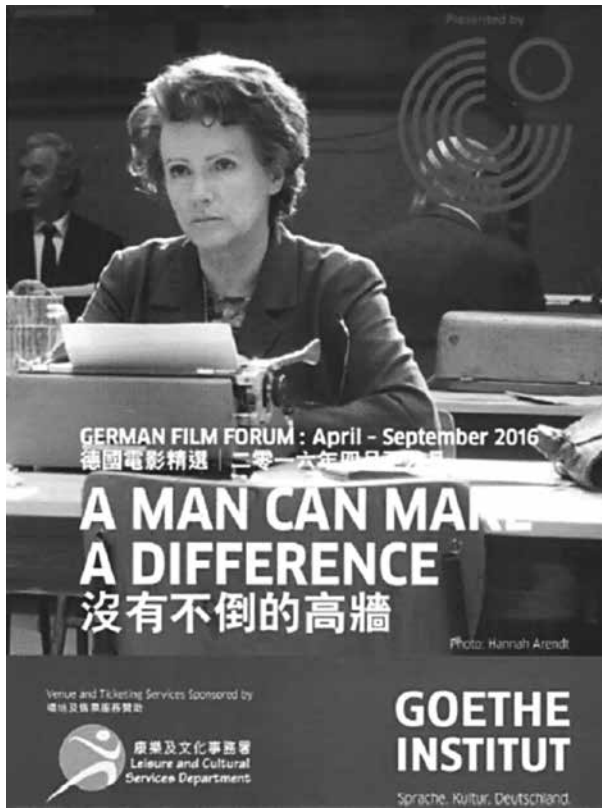

Figure 12.1 German Film Forum Hong Kong (2016). *Source*: Goethe Institut Hong Kong. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 12.2 A Man Can Make A Difference. *Source*: Goethe Institut Hong Kong. Reprinted with permission.

protesters, but by the pro-establishment camp as well. There is a need, then, to analyze these appropriations in depth. Before I do this, in the following section I will first provide an overview of Hong Kong's political development since the Umbrella Movement.

HONG KONG SINCE THE UMBRELLA MOVEMENT

Rather than viewing the Umbrella Movement as a radical break in Hong Kong's democratic activism, it is more accurate to regard it as the culmination of a long period of social movements and protests. Since the march on July 1, 2003, in which five hundred thousand people protested the introduction of anti-treason laws, peaceful demonstrations have been a common scene in Hong Kong, leading to the moniker "City of Protest" as termed by some (Garrett 2014). Before the Umbrella Movement, people had already started to reflect on the efficacy of peaceful demonstration. A brand of radical localism,[5] propagated by the highly controversial scholar Horace Wan Chin, have been criticizing social activism in Hong Kong as being complacent in a repetitive, moderate mode of demonstrations and marches that failed to gain substantial achievements. These radical localists assert that Hong Kong should prioritize the development of its own democracy before China's, and should uphold its autonomy even if it means remaining segregated from China. To achieve this autonomy, they argue that Hong Kong should not excessively open its border to Chinese tourists and consumers, as well as to new immigrants from China who settled in Hong Kong through a daily quota of 150 one-way permits. Many believe that Hong Kong has enough bargaining power to negotiate a less one-sided reliance on China and should prioritize permanent Hong Kong residents in government welfare policies. Above all, in the face of China's increasing pressure of assimilation, more people were intent on using force and other tactics to fight back police suppression or any kind of perceived injustice.

Overall, radical localism has enjoyed even more popularity, especially among the younger generation, after the Umbrella Movement. Therefore, it may be accurate to consider the Umbrella Movement as a watershed moment which exacerbated many of the conflicts and contradictions that had already existed in Hong Kong society, and after which social movements have shown clearer signs of radicalization (Ma 2015; Kaelding 2017). The following three events are relevant to the rest of the chapter.

a. Protests against Parallel Trading: Residents in the northern part of Hong Kong (where it is closest to mainland China) have suffered from the overwhelming practice of parallel trading, that is, mainland visitors traveled to these northern districts many times a day to buy daily necessities at local pharmacies and bring them back to mainland China, either because some of the products were unavailable in China, or because the products in Hong Kong might not be manufactured in China but imported from elsewhere (such as baby formula), or because those products are more expensive in China due to customs tax and levy. Protests of parallel trading have continued intermittently since 2012. In March 2015, protesters kicked at some mainland visitors' luggage, leading to vehement debate between moderate critics and the radical activists, where the former did not approve of such assaults on innocent visitors.
b. The Incident of Youhuai Xiao (Huai-zai): In May 2015, twelve-year-old Youhuai Xiao (also known by his pet name Huai-zai), born and orphaned in China, was discovered to have been living illegally in Hong Kong for nine years. After being reported by the media, he was issued documents for temporary residence in Hong Kong, but the media also discovered that his tragic background was fabricated. Netizens also found a YouTube clip[6] showing Huai-zai using profanities and hitting a child in a housing estate. In the clip, the child could be heard saying that he could gather one hundred gangsters with a phone call, to which Huai-zai retorted that he knew one thousand gangsters. Public opinion was divided between those who believed that Huai-zai should be allowed to live in Hong Kong based on humanitarian grounds, and those who believed that granting residence to illegal immigrants would become a bad precedence.
c. The Fishball Revolution: The momentum of radicalization eventually culminated into another major event, the so-called Fishball Revolution in early 2016. The direct trigger of the Fishball Revolution was a crackdown made on February 8, 2016, the first night of Lunar New Year, by the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department on unlicensed street food hawkers. Supporters flocked to defend the hawker stalls, and through the night protesters resorted to throwing bricks dislodged from roadside pavements,

causing one policeman to fire two warning gunshots into the sky to regain control, the first time in many years.

With these recent developments in mind and without intending to reduce and flatten the many stances on Hong Kong politics, this chapter focuses on critics, intellectuals, and bloggers, who in one way or another occupy one of the three major standpoints in the aftermath of the Umbrella Movement: pro-establishment (i.e., anti-Umbrella Movement), moderate pro-democracy, and radical pro-democracy. Individuals in all three positions have engaged with the wall-versus-egg metaphor in their writing—discussing, critiquing, and appropriating it for their own purposes. I argue that while the metaphor has found resonance in the protest scene in Hong Kong, the ways in which Murakami's political thought gets appropriated have stretched the malleability of the metaphor to tailor the conflicts and contradictions surrounding the movement.

EGG AS FOOD OR AS LIFE?

Here I identify four types of appropriation patterns. In the following two sections I begin with positive appropriations, where positive, forward-driving meanings are derived to help the pro-democracy movement. Afterward, I will move on to negative appropriations—appropriations that are based on misconstrued interpretations of Murakami's metaphor.

The first type of positive appropriation is to imagine the outcome of the egg. An egg either becomes a chicken or food for humans.[7] This bifurcated outcome is imagined as the fate of the pro-democracy movement as a whole. On September 22, 2014, that is, even before the actual occupy movement on September 28, the Hong Kong political commentator Ivan Chi-keung Choy (2014) wrote the following in the local newspaper *Apple Daily*: "Historically, no 'iron gate' would not rust, but the life brought about by the eggs will grow in endless succession." Here, the process of a chicken hatching from an egg represents the long-term hope for the ultimate but ever imminent success of Hong Kong's fight for democracy. Note also how Choy evokes a different but similarly sturdy metaphor of the iron gate in place of the wall.

Choy wrote this article just prior to the Umbrella Movement, at a time when the schisms between the moderates and the radical localists had already existed but were not as profound. Choy, overall, seems to sympathize with the moderates, and perhaps he could not have predicted the eventual radicalization in recent years. Interestingly, the same imagining of the egg as life is taken on with a different spin by a localist. After the Fishball Revolution,

the blogger Jiksiting (alias)[8] published a blog post titled "On the Battle of Fishball," elaborating on the future of the egg once the shell is broken, as a way to defend radical protest methods:

> To fight is our only way out, because they were the ones who started the war, not the localists, not those who call for Hong Kong's independence. . . . The saying often goes, "the government is the wall and the people are the eggs," but as far as the egg is concerned, it becomes food when broken from without, but it is life when broken from within. The more chaotic Hong Kong becomes, the more I would want to stretch my limbs like an egg, and live on with a proud head held high. (Jiksiting 2016)

Jiksiting ascribes to the egg some additional attributes absent in Murakami's original formulation. The egg for Murakami is an ontological metaphor for humans because of its fragility. For Jiksiting, however, the egg is not ontological, but an intermediary form of being. A positive or negative future awaits when the eggshell is broken, depending on whether it is from within or without. Combined with Jiksiting's choice of words—to fight and the war—this binary outcome of the egg is mapped onto the two blueprints for the future of Hong Kong: either to stick to the more moderate form of protest but become somebody's food eventually, or to take up a more radical manner of protest and proactively create one's future.

AN EGG, AND SO MUCH MORE

Both Choy and Jiksiting work within Murakami's original terminology, that is, the wall and the egg. They merely suggest a future *life* for the egg but do not imagine a specific form into which the egg will eventually evolve. In contrast, scholar and journalist Joseph Lian (2016) writes after the Fishball Revolution that:

> Recently, certain critics have lamented that the "eggs" have become "bricks" in the Fishball Revolution, a move which might result in losing the people's support and sympathy to those who fight against the wall. This metaphor may seem to be very pertinent; however, while it is admirable to sympathize with the eggs no matter the conditions, a more important question awaits: should the "eggs" be forever willing to be "eggs," out of a satisfaction with the natural sympathy they gain from the others? The answer is obviously no, but such a danger indeed exists. Looking forward, the "eggs" must make themselves tougher, so that defeat is not the only awaiting fate when clashing with the wall. Now, whether they are to become "bricks," or "wood blocks" (on the soft side), or even "rocks" (on the hard side), is something to be discussed among social activists widely.

What Lian is doing here constitutes the second pattern of appropriation, namely, that critics invent new but related metaphors that both allude to Murakami's original ones and address the ongoing development of the pro-democracy movement. Lian seems to be more sympathetic to radical ideas and affirms the importance of the egg's transformation into something "tougher." In this vein, Lian valorizes the act of brick-throwing and posits it as one possible stage of evolution for the egg. In the meantime, he stresses the importance of dialogue and discussion, leaving an open question as to whether it is best for the egg to transform into something as hard as a brick.

However, as I have noted, moderate critics tended to condemn the violent tactics used by radical protesters in the antiparallel-trading protests. In a similar fashion to Lian but for different purposes, some moderate critics have also invented new terms based on Murakami's metaphor to criticize radical activism. Consider, for instance, this quote from an opinion editorial by Tak Shing Lee (2015), a computer studies professor:

> But when a chicken egg is in conflict with a duck egg, where should we stand? In the incident of the parallel traders, the high wall is the Hong Kong Government, and chicken egg refers to the [radical] protesters against parallel trading. Therefore, if the chicken eggs are confronting the high wall, we would support the chicken eggs no matter how wrong they are. However, now we have a situation where the chicken eggs do not confront the high wall, but confront the duck eggs instead. The duck eggs refer to mainland visitors under the Individual Visit Scheme and parallel traders and the shop they frequent.

Lee sets up a creative duel between the duck egg and the chicken egg to dramatize the feud between the radical protesters and mainland visitors. For Lee, mainland visitors are also eggs—only different kinds of eggs; hence, these different egg types should not fight against each other, but should rather confront the wall collectively. In other words, mainland visitors are innocent individuals and should not be the target of radical protest tactics. However, while Lee emphasizes the commonality between the eggs, he still designates mainland visitors as different kinds of eggs. This raises several further questions: What is the "wall" that the duck eggs (mainland visitors) are fighting against, and is this wall the same as the one that the chicken eggs (Hong Kong pro-democracy protesters) are fighting against (i.e., the delayed democratic prospect by the Chinese regime)? For if they are both fighting against the same wall, does not the very distinction between chickens and ducks exacerbate or deepen the distinction and segregation between Hong Kong and China? Lee's creation of a separate category of the duck egg here requires clarification, lest it is interpreted as an act that already reifies the radical belief of segregation.

The new terms discussed in this section are creative adaptations of Murakami's original metaphor that are used to respond to a topical debate in 2015. However, this—together with the fact that further clarification is often required (as in the example of the duck egg)—reflects how Murakami's simple metaphor cannot entirely correspond to the complexities of a Political movement. The limits of this political thought will be further explored in the sections below.

WHO'S THE WALL?

I now turn to negative appropriations and study two types of misconstrued interpretations of the metaphor. The first type consists of textual misreadings, which refer to the ways critics or commentators make blatant factual errors in their understanding of Murakami's wall metaphor. While Murakami makes it clear that each human is an egg and the wall refers to a symbolic system that alienates people from one another, this is not always correctly captured when critics adopt the metaphor for their own purposes.

The first example comes from the pro-establishment side, who were not supportive of the Umbrella Movement due to, among other reasons, the lawbreaking nature of the occupation and the detrimental effects it brings to Hong Kong. In his opinion essay "The Wall, The Egg, Education, Anti-education," Hon-kuen Ho (2014), vice chairman of the pro-establishment teachers' union Education Convergence, challenges Murakami's egg versus wall metaphor and questions whether it is reasonable to see the protesters as fragile eggs:

> When the heads of government departments condescended to engage in a serious discussion with the student [protesters], only to be shouted at and reprimanded by "the eggs" relentlessly—how does such a weak government deserve to be determined by Mr. Murakami as 'the wall'? . . . If the wall commits a crime, no plea bargain is allowed. But should the eggs be tolerated for whatever unruly things they want to do?

In the first statement, Ho insinuates that the weak government officials do not deserve to be labeled as the wall, because there is a reversal of power relation, where the student protesters' unprincipled and disrespectful actions put them in a more powerful position. Notice also how he uses the word "condescend," as if to say that government officials were doing a huge service to listen to the demands of the people. In the second statement, he sees the wall as individuals that could possibly commit a crime—and therefore should be treated fairly by law.

However, Ho's association of the wall with people in powerful positions in the political establishment is a misattribution. Contrary to what Ho writes, Murakami never had the leisure to designate specifically Hong Kong government officials as the high wall. The wall is a metaphysical and ontological metaphor, referring to a system of thoughts rather than to individuals, and is therefore not capable of breaking the rule of law insofar as the law is part of that system.

This textual misreading reveals the modus operandi of Ho's logic. He sets up a strawman by mistaking the wall as individuals—who are just cogwheels in a gigantic system—and attempts to nullify the connection between protestors and eggs simply because of the protestors' aggressiveness. But Ho also avoids touching on the core issue that triggered the Umbrella Movement in the first place; that is, Beijing's decision to deny universal suffrage in Hong Kong. The government officials are not the real problem; the problem is that China has repeatedly denied electoral democracy to Hong Kong. Unlike Murakami, who champions the egg's confrontation of the wall, Ho steers attention away from the real target of the eggs, and leaves the real wall intact.

Unfortunately, the pro-democracy side is not immune from such misreading on a textual level. After the Incident of Youhuai Xiao, a China-born, Hong Kong-based internet blogger called Niu Chen (2015) comments in his blog post titled "Madness under a Grand Era" that:

> In front of a person protected by one hundred gangsters, even if Huai-zai is a little fat, he is only a plumper egg at most. A high wall formed by one hundred gangsters versus a slightly fat egg—which side do you stand on, Hongkongers? Don't you always like to quote Murakami Haruki's famous line? . . . Now, the egg resists the high wall, throws a few swear words at it, shoves it a few times—isn't it a continuation of the spirit of the Umbrella Revolution? But if he is treated like a bully, an enemy, that is because there is only one reason for it: He is not a Hongkonger; he is not one of us.

Like Ho, Chen makes the mistake of misattributing the wall to the one hundred "gangsters." This is on top of the fact that these gangsters might not have existed, since all we know from the video clip is that the bullied child *claimed* to have known them. After all, the two children's argument contains many tall claims, and both sides—not only the bullied child, contrary to what Chen insinuates here—have claimed that they knew gangsters. Simply by virtue of these imaginary gangsters, Chen even sees the bullied child as the wall when he says "the egg [i.e., Huai-zai] shoves the wall [i.e., the bullied child] a few times."

In the meantime, Chen's accusatory tone ("which side do you stand on, Hongkongers?") elevates the matter to the level of the China–Hong Kong

conflicts: *because* the clip was discovered amid Huai-zai's visa controversy, Chen believes that Hong Kong people unfairly directed their dissatisfaction with mainland Chinese immigrants at Huai-zai. What this blog post aims to criticize, then, is the internet bullying directed at Huai-zai by Hong Kong netizens, and represents a more moderate position in the pro-democracy spectrum. However, to dramatize this position, Chen has mistaken an individual as the wall, contrary to the literal meaning of Murakami's original words.

The final example in this section comes from the pro-democracy commentator and game-design entrepreneur Lap Cheng. In an online column published on Taiwan's *United Daily News* in 2015, Cheng notes that Hong Kong's social activists frequently mention Murakami's wall-versus-egg metaphor. He goes on to elaborate that:

> The egg and the wall are but metaphors. The egg refers to the underprivileged in society who are unorganized, fragile, poor, and easily broken. The wall refers to the privileged class, those who are highly organized, rich, well connected and have lots of alternative plans and fixed interests. (Cheng 2015)

Once again, we see Cheng interpreting the high wall as *people*—the privileged class with access to financial and symbolic capital. He does so because later he goes on to ask this philosophical question:

> This is because, there is a question within Murakami's quote that has no answer. Where do you stand between an egg and an egg? And what if a layer of egg is lined up on the side of the high wall? (Cheng 2015)

He then illustrates how capitalists (i.e., the wall in his interpretation), use mortgage as a way to create conflicts among the poor (the eggs), so that some eggs want the property price to drop while others with a mortgage to pay want it to go up.

This philosophical exploration on the limit of Murakami's metaphor carries a distinctly Hong Kong bent. While mortgage problems exist in all big cities, Hong Kong is particularly (in)famous for having the most expensive properties in the world, a result of the scarcity of flatland and the recent influx of mainland Chinese speculators. "Coffin" homes or "shoebox" apartments, still sold at exorbitant prices, have made international headlines (e.g., Haas 2017; Stacke and Lam 2017). In this regard, Cheng may have (mis)interpreted the metaphor and launched his interesting philosophical discussion to raise awareness of a plaguing social problem in Hong Kong. However, this does not alter the fact that his was a misinterpretation. In fact, his arguments would still have been valid had he realized that the real wall was not the privileged class, but free-reign capitalism *as a system*, which ultimately made the rich exploit the poor for endless profit-making.

In all three examples, the person who appropriates the metaphor missed the fact that Murakami is careful not to refer to the wall as humans, but as systems of thoughts. Instead, they all operate on the simple logic that the wall equals people in power. But the definitions of power are different, so that when some individuals are perceived as carrying more power—such as students who shout louder, netizens who write fiercely against Huai-zai, or the richest echelon in society—they are categorically classed as the wall. The fact that people's interpretations of the high wall can be so different and depart so much from Murakami's original designation, shows that, like Bakhtin states, appropriations are always conducted to suit the needs of the new context, rather than the original intention.

ON TO ONTOLOGY

The previous section notes how critics and bloggers misread the wall metaphor on a textual level to criticize or discredit those not on their respective sides. In this final section, I turn to a more ontological/philosophical discussion on Murakami's metaphor. Such discussion draws attention to Murakami's philosophy of novel-writing as a whole, rather than on the categories of the wall or the eggs alone.

To let the examples speak for themselves, blogger Robin Wilde (alias) comes to the defense of the radical protesters after the antiparallel trading demonstrations:

> Intellectuals like Lo Fung[9] often mention the famous quote, "always on the side of the egg." . . . However, do Hong Kong's public intellectuals really stand on the side of the egg *no matter how wrong the egg is*? Even if protesters show inappropriate behavior in their anti-mainlander demonstrations, their voices still deserve to be heard by everyone. . . . We should stand on the side of the oppressed, the side of those who have been deprived of living space, the side of those bullied by the nouveau riche; in other words, us Hongkongers. (Wilde 2014, emphasis mine)

Clearly sympathetic to the radical localists, Wilde's words stand out because he reminds us of Murakami's much-neglected elaboration on the metaphor: "Yes, no matter how right the wall may be and how wrong the egg, I will stand with the egg" (Murakami 2009; see also above).[10] Reading beyond Murakami's first line (i.e., "Between a high, solid wall and an egg that breaks against it, I will always stand on the side of the egg"), Wilde notices the absolutist stance in Murakami's philosophy, and uses it to reflect on the schisms in Hong Kong's social movement. This way, Wilde criticizes the moderate democrats for taking from Murakami's speech what is convenient to them,

rather than showing tolerance to radical protest methods even if they do not agree with such practice. For Wilde, the fault lines within the democracy movement—and the splits and factions created as a result—has barred some critics from understanding why people turned to more radical ways of protest.

The same criticism can be seen from the writings of the aforementioned controversial scholar Wan Chin. An influential figure within the radical localists, Chin has condemned social activists for quoting from Murakami's speech without studying it closely. Five months before the Umbrella Movement, he writes in his syndicated blog on *Yahoo Hong Kong* that it is "laughable" for Hong Kong democrats to keep using Murakami's metaphor and "comparing themselves to eggs that perish upon hitting the wall" (Chin 2014). According to him, Murakami

> declares that he will always stand on the side of the egg, but he is not saying that he will become an egg himself. He pities the heroes that have failed in their struggles, and stands on their side, but he does not mean that he would rather fail. Many leftist and democrat protesters should carefully study Murakami's speech again, and then admit that they are illiterates who can read. (Chin 2014)

One can see why Chin's rude attitude has made him unpopular and controversial. However, what he writes is consistent with the radical localist thoughts he preaches: in the same article, he criticizes some moderate protesters for devouring food in front of cameras right after a staged hunger strike was over. He argues that any protestor should not bow to a defeatist pattern of protest for the sake of media exposure, but should use tactics and strategies wisely to achieve substantial gains. Chin appeals to the fact that Murakami was speaking as a novelist, not as a social activist. Indeed, before introducing the wall-versus-egg metaphor, Murakami (2009) says that this "is something that I always keep in mind while I am writing fiction." In a certain sense, the philosophy, then, applies to Murakami the novelist, and him only. Chin pays attention to the context Murakami was speaking and the role he was assuming. As a result, he identifies an important prerequisite to Murakami's use of the metaphor and problematizes the way Hong Kong democrats facilely borrow the metaphor for their own purposes.

However, in focusing so much on this prerequisite, Chin, too, commits a misreading, and forgets to finish reading Murakami's speech. For Murakami (2009) goes on to stress that, "Each of us is, more or less, an egg. . . . This is true of me, and it is true of each of you. And each of us, to a greater or lesser degree, is confronting a high, solid wall." In fact, Murakami differentiates between two roles: as a novelist, where he will always stand on the side of the egg; and as an individual, where he, too, is an egg confronting the system. Chin seems to have pigeonholed his puritan reading of Murakami to fit

his criticism of the moderate democrats, without noticing this ambivalence. Ultimately, should the protesters and democrat politicians identify with Murakami, the novelist, or Murakami, the individual? Perhaps the answer will only come to light when Hongkongers continue to adopt Murakami's metaphor in their various resistance.

CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that Murakami's wall-versus-egg metaphor has made an impact in Hong Kong, inspiring activists and critics to appropriate it in their own ways. Some of these appropriations have sharpened the existing schisms between the pro-establishment, moderate pro-democracy, and radical pro-democracy standpoints. Other appropriations creatively invent new derivatives that expand the metaphor to suit the situation of Hong Kong. When these appropriations are analyzed under Bakhtin's idea of appropriation and polyphony, they reveal how the Umbrella Movement (or, by the same token, all social movements) is more than a monolithic protest.

It is not the point of this chapter to support any one side on Hong Kong's political spectrum. Given that Murakami was ambivalent about the radical student movements in 1960s Japan, it is also unclear whether he will condone the gradually radicalization in the Hong Kong protests. However, this is beside the point. At the end of the day, Murakami's metaphor only consists of two concepts, namely, the wall and the egg, and so it only communicates a reductive, binary worldview—even though this binary itself contains much philosophical depth. When a political thought is so conceptual in nature, it can be malleably applied onto another sociopolitical context, but the particularities of the new context will mold and adapt the thought in uniquely different ways. It is in this microscopic appropriation of political thoughts that, we are reminded, each sociopolitical context is full of its own irreducible complexities.

NOTES

1. Except for Murakami's acceptance speeches, all other translations from Japanese and Chinese in this chapter are mine.

2. All of Murakami's advice appears in a collection afterward. Murakami's response to Miffy did not make the print version of the collection, but it is available in the complete ebook version.

3. While there is certainly a double allusion to the Berlin Wall as well, the reference to Murakami is stronger, as the Chinese word on the flyer means high wall

(*goucoeng* 高牆 in Cantonese), whereas the Berlin Wall is usually rendered as a "surrounding/enclosing wall" (*waicoeng* 圍牆).

4. It may also be noted that this level of influence and popularity in Hong Kong is rare among overseas celebrities. Compare Murakami with, for instance, the Japanese musician Ryūichi Sakamoto, who also wrote a supportive statement early in the Umbrella Movement but which has been forgotten.

5. I cannot stress enough that localism here is a multifaceted term. It has no agreed definition, nor is it easy to pinpoint its beginnings. The brand of radical localism discussed here follows a more moderate stream of localist thoughts established after 2003, which focused on the preservation of cultural memories and landmarks in Hong Kong. Even within radical localism, there are multiple standpoints that differ in degrees of radicality (e.g., self-determination, autonomy, and independence). However, the appropriations studied in this chapter do not directly engage with these positions.

6. The original link is now unavailable. A backup has been uploaded: http://ow.ly/mEXi30gotnj (available as of June 2018).

7. Clearly, the fact that chickens may also become nourishment for humans is beside the point here.

8. In Chinese: 逆嘶亭. In this chapter, Cantonese words follow the *Jyutping* Romanisation system, except in proper names. Mandarin words follow the *Hanyu Pinyin* system.

9. Lo Fung is a frequent contributor to Hong Kong's largest pro-democracy Chinese newspaper, *Apple Daily*.

10. I thank Tetsuya Toyoda for drawing my attention to this elaboration in Murakami's speech.

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Conclusion

Is There any Japanese International Relations Theory?

Atsuko Watanabe and Felix Rösch

THE RISE OF JAPANOLOGY

Japanese academia is currently experiencing the resurgence of *Nihongaku* with several major universities such as Tohoku University, Hokkaido University, and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies establishing new degree programs and research networks. This resurgence reached an apex with the establishment of a research network by Tokyo University's Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia in 2014. In fact, this prestigious institute, previously called the Institute of Oriental Culture, had already changed its name five years earlier to accommodate changes in its field of research, which now includes Japan. Given that these new programs include the prefix "global," it can be concluded that in addition to the practicality of having to accommodate growing numbers of overseas students, these new programs are to be distinguished from traditional Japanese studies (*Nihon kenkyū*) and better understood as "Japanology." Like Oriental studies, the origin of Japanese studies is in Anglo-American academia. Though Japanology takes the same origins, by restoring this older name in comparison to Japanese studies, they conversely intend to emphasize their own initiatives, offering new perspectives beyond Japanese academia.

In the context of International Relations (IR), this move coincides with the rise of national schools in Asia. Compared to the now well-known Chinese school contributions, lobbying for the introduction of Chinese concepts like *tianxia* and *guanxi* (cf. Song 2001; Qin 2007, 2017; Zhang 2013), studies on Japanese thought in IR have been sparse (cf. Inoguchi 2007; Shimizu et al. 2008; Shimizu 2015; Chen 2012). This evidently affirms Takashi Shogimen's (2016: 336) observation that "the Euro-American intellectual framework . . . is now an alter . . . ego for Japanese political thinking." What he calls

"the hegemony of Euro-American categories" in Japanese academia is illustrated in an almost exclusive focus on Kyoto School philosophers to challenge the discipline's Eurocentrism (Ong 2004; Goto-Jones 2005; Inoguchi 2007; Shimizu et al. 2008; Shimizu 2015). Kyoto School contributions were equated with "Japanese philosophy" after World War II on the basis of a binary between the West and the East (Sakai 2007; also Tosa in this volume) and in this sense it proved useful for Western scholarship, as it can be drafted as distinctively Japanese (in terms of a Western standard) and therefore as the ultimate "other." However, Kyoto School scholars conducted philosophical inquiries in a Western sense (Sakai 2007) implying that "in light of the current trend in the scholarship on cross-cultural political ideas . . . Japan has hardly anything to offer" in practice (Shogimen 2016: 341). Drafting Japan in this sense as the other and thereby understanding Global IR as a combination of distinctively national schools may, rather than globalizing it, further compartmentalize the discipline, as Barry Buzan (2016) is concerned. Hence, "simply pluralizing" (Bhambra 2011: 655), as argued for by Amitav Acharya (2014, 2016), would be far from enough and would only further essentialize the binary between the West and the rest. But what does it mean to go global while simultaneously staying local?

With regard to Japan, the root cause of exceptionalism that the universities, which established these new Japanology programs, perceived in the moniker "Japanese studies" is obvious. The 1949 meeting of The Historical Science Society of Japan (*Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai*) had as its theme "the general law of history." In this new discourse, Asia came to be depicted as "exceptional," in contrast to the wartime history in which Asia's particularity in terms of Western experience was emphasized (Tōyama 1966). After an immediate re-revisionist move was observed in the midst of the rise of non-Western nationalism in the early 1950s, in the 1960s, when Japan experienced rapid economic growth, Japanese historians were influenced by modernization theory, in which Japan was seen as the first follower of the Western model of economic growth. Thus, throughout the history of social sciences and humanities since the late nineteenth century, European theories in Japan ultimately had come to be perceived as their theory. This is the case not only for scholars, but the Japanese, in general, have been framing their self differently, as Asians *and* as part of the West, as unique at one point and as exceptional on the other (Watanabe in this volume). The revision of *sakoku* mentioned in the introduction, and even the recent conservative turn symbolized by the Abe administration, can be understood as part of this continuous oscillation (Mimaki in this volume). In this respect, the rise of Japanology and the perspectives it provides are to be understood as conscious excavations of the past with a particular focus on what was different in practice.

UNIQUE, BUT IN WHAT SENSE?

Being interested in this neglected and forgotten thought, our collective aspiration was to excavate these differences to search for current implications. The challenge as we understood it was how to explicate Japan as a state, framing it neither as "exceptional" nor "normal." Thus, we treated Japan as singular: "Everyone is different, everyone is good," as the Japanese female poet Misuzu Kaneko (1984) wrote during the interwar period, "A bell, a bird, and me," everyone sings but in a different way. Our question was not what Japan can offer but what we—fully acknowledging the danger to frame "we" in the international arena—can see through the experience of Japanese people as *one of us*.

In doing so, the chapters demonstrate that there is another way to contribute to Global IR. This is in line with Shogimen (2016: 342): "The Japanese intellectual tradition is Japanese . . . because of the way in which it reshapes ideas appropriated from other intellectual traditions." The singularity is better observed in terms of each historically constructed "way" to reshape ideas. Reshaping foreign ideas is common practice everywhere in the world, but, given its unique position in global intellectual history, Japan is one of the most important cases (Friedrichs and Kratochwil 2009: 716). Therefore, the purchase of investigating Japanese IR theories is less in offering unique local concepts and perspectives that sound novel for Western ears, but in the way different people understand concepts and the way they are being used differently, reflecting spatiotemporal differences (Hill 2013). This aspect is widely discussed in the discipline, but what is missing in this discourse is that this context does not simply reflect what is happening in a particular space-time intersection but, as Michael Tsang in his chapter has rightfully stressed, it is something that contains irreducible complexity and requires microscopic and multilayered analyses in which local language(s), geography, and history are thoroughly taken into consideration. He claims, "when a 'political thought' is so conceptual in nature, it can be malleably applied onto another sociopolitical context, but the particularities of the new context will mold and adapt the thought in uniquely different ways" (Tsang in this volume).

To this more nuanced and deeper contextuality, modern Japanese experiences speak a lot. Some of the chapters investigated relations between concept and context. Eiji Oguma explicates how the idea of people, the seemingly essential notion of contemporary political life, has been foreign in Japan. Though political parties have tried to mobilize the term by interpreting it in various ways, any attempt, as seen in Oguma's observation, was saluted by skepticism. By contrast, as Watanabe and Shangguan show, the idea of the international was seemingly enthusiastically welcomed by Japanese people in the late nineteenth century, allowing for a quicker assimilation of

international law than in China. However, this did not mean that the Japanese better comprehended the notion. Rather, the subtle conceptual difference let people imagine the international in a slightly different way, while still accepting the notion. These cases thus suggest that what happened historically in Japan was not a simple importation and localization of knowledge.

Such important political notions had no exact interpretation in Japan and intellectuals and political elites either forged new terms by combining Chinese characters or slightly changed existing terms. Because Chinese characters are ideograms, the translations automatically entail how it's meant to be understood. In this sense, it was more a creation than translation.[1] Hence, any concepts' travel is the fruit of serendipity. The absence of a notion did not mean that the exact thing was absent. Rather, in the case of "international," it was absent because they saw the relations and entities that composed the ideas differently. For the Japanese, the space of the international was never anarchic. Watanabe's chapter demonstrates how states and therefore regions have been imagined differently, which, in comparison to Europe, led to a different history of the "international" in East Asia. For Meiji Japan to become a state, region had to be overcome. Seiko Mimaki's chapter on peace implies another example of such conceptual differences. The affirmative peace envisaged by Japanese members of the Institute of Pacific Relations reminds us of East Asian history which did not experience major conflicts between and within regional states before Japan launched its series of modern wars. Though not mentioned in Mimaki's chapter, the term *heiwa*, the Japanese translation of "peace," was one of the newly forged terms in Meiji Japan. Again, this does not mean that the state of peace was unimportant in Asia. Rather, its absence indicates that Asians did not need the notion in their history until Europeans came into their own (international) society. From this follows that the traditional Asian state of peace did not fit what is defined as "peace" in the European sense. Then, had the statement "international law attains regional peace" the same connotation among Asians and Europeans during the period? Our findings indicate that the answer must be negative.

THE SELF IN THE JAPANESE FORMULA

Methods of excavation are nothing new in Japanese intellectual history. Forging their own ideas out of imported notions—first from China, and then from Europe and the United States—was what many Japanese intellectuals, including Nishida, who is considered to be *the* Japanese philosopher today, have been doing since the eighteenth century. This widened the gap between intellectuals and the wider public, making the latter skeptical and indifferent to political thought (Tsuda 1938). At the same time, this history inevitably

induced a sense of estrangement among intellectuals, which led some of them to be critical about foreign learning, arguing that it never be superficial but well grounded in people's everyday (Nishida 1950; Maruyama 1961; Watsuji 1974; Tosaka 1977; Nakamura 1971; Takeuchi 2013).

This turned Japanese political thought dualistic. Some eighteenth-century scholars thought that Chinese texts as a form of representation were borrowing and insisted that the true *Yamato* spirit should be excavated in text. The well-known pioneer of this attempt was Norinaga Motoori (1730–1801), one of the founders of *kokugaku*. With this archaeological method, he tried to read Japan's oldest texts, dating from the seventh and eighth centuries and written in Chinese, as Japanese (*Yamato kotoba*), by eliminating the influence of Chinese language. It was a search for the *Yamato* self. However, paradoxically, they ended up relying on Chinese concepts and methods because these intellectuals were educated in the Confucian tradition (Koyasu 2005). As Motoori nonetheless tried to decenter Confucianism that had a rationalistic tendency, the *Yamato* soul he elaborated instead came to have a perceived feminine, irrational outlook.[2] As he tried to expose the ideological character of Confucianism, the truth he looked for turned out to be context-dependent. Importantly, since Motoori looked for the self in the other, his idea of the self was not analogous to "the Western conception of the person as a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe" (Clifford Geertz in Neumann 1999: 2). At the same time, because Confucianism was the guiding principle in Tokugawa Japan, Motoori accepted that the self had been partly eroded by the other. Thus, the *Yamato* self, which for him ultimately had to be represented by the unbroken line of the imperial family, was only found in decentered China as the imagined other. This conception is strongly related to Japan's geography, being located at the edge of the Eurasian continent (Maruyama 2003; Uchida 2009).

Some might argue that such conception of the self is not unique at all. Certainly, as Tetsurō Watsuji (1974: 136; also Sevilla 2017) points out, Europeans used Latin in a similar manner as the Japanese used Chinese. What distinguished the Japanese experience from the European one, however, was that the Japanese used Japanized Chinese to interpret European thought. In this way, Japanese political thought has come to have polylingual, polycontextual connotations.

Given the influence of Motoori's thought in later generations (Kobayashi 1977; Koyasu 2005), and the fact that similar criticisms of other scholars of that time have been published (Karube 2007: 39), it is not an overstatement to say that his thought signaled Japan's modern episteme, in a similar way as Cartesian dualism influenced Western modernity. Or more narrowly, to become a Japanese in the modern sense requires one to accept this conception of self to be found in the other. The consequence of this self-searching is truly

immense and has important implications for Japan's international relations and global intellectual history.

First, this history of self-searching has directed modern Japan. It gives an explanation to not only why modern Japan promptly established the modern nation-state, but also why people willingly fought modern wars by relying on foreign knowledge, and ultimately accepted US occupation after World War II. Given the findings in this book, it can be argued that this conception of the self that is found only in the other greatly contributed at least to Japan's acceptance of the notion of international law and accordingly the transition from Asian international relations to European international relations. Differently put, they accepted the idea that induced great changes *because their way of thinking changed little*. By contrast to China, which had its own universe with no exteriority, Japan's relativist way of thinking allowed Japan to accept Western universalism (Watanabe and Shangguan; Watanabe in this volume). Attempts of self-searching ultimately led to the *genbun itchi* (言文一致) movement in the Meiji and Taishō periods, from which controversial "national heroes" like Ryōma Sakamoto and Shōin Yoshida emerged, and the latter is often referred to in search for Japan-ness, as O'Reilly (this volume) has demonstrated. These heroes further consolidated Japan's self-image. In this context, it is worth adding that Motoori's thought was, like Fukuzawa's *Datsu-A-ron*, forgotten during the Meiji period and was only popularized again at the beginning of the Shōwa period when the government introduced his life story in elementary school textbooks (Koyasu 2005). The only difference between Motoori and later nationalistic thinkers in this context was that whereas for the former the other to be accused was China, it was the West (either the United States or Europe) for the latter. Today, the other is apparently China again, although the way of framing the other has significantly changed from Motoori's period.

Second, it follows that this way of thinking has allowed the Japanese to be dominated by an imported intellectual framework, and political confrontations to generate new ideas were perceived to exist mostly outside of the community, rather than inside of it. By referring to it as "unstructured structure," Maruyama (1961; also Rösch and Watanabe 2017) has argued that, in Japan, it is difficult to structurally analyze the historical development of thought because the confrontations between different knowledge are rarely observed. This gave Japanese intellectual traditions an ambivalent character. As discussed above, whereas it is susceptible to foreign knowledge, the domestic structure tends to stay intact as it does not allow any confrontation.

Third, Motoori's method focusing on language and history has been taken up by later thinkers such as Nishida, the "innate constructivist," according to Takashi Inoguchi (2007). The civilizational pluralism of Mineichirō Adachi and the unique colonialism of Tadao Yanaihara were also products of this

Japanese constructivism. In this respect, although Toyoda is right in claiming that the Japanese government, proposing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere in which the Japanese were depicted as the leading Asian civilization, ended up supporting Eurocentrism, Adachi certainly saw the concept differently to his European counterparts. Kōtarō Tanaka's conception of international cultures depicted by Kevin Doak is another example. Thus, it can be argued that the pluralism that characterized their conceptions was a modern Japanese invention.

One might wonder if this contradicts the Japanese wartime assertion of the pure *Yamato* race. However, as Oguma (1995) demonstrates elsewhere, Japanese as the pure race was a myth largely constructed after World War II. At least until Japan came to acknowledge that the war could no longer be won, they believed in their superiority not because they were born superior but because they *became* superior in the history of Japan that had continued for more than two thousand years, a repository of Asiatic culture (Okakura 1920) and even beyond (Oguma 1995). As Adachi argued, Japan was the "principal representative" of the Far Eastern civilization (and possibly beyond) because "the Japanese system" (Toyoda in this volume) established by the Meiji government was the fruit of their efforts to seek knowledge from all over the world, as Emperor Meiji claimed in the 1868 Charter Oath (Watanabe and Shangguan in this volume; for the Tokugawa system before Meiji, see Ringmar 2012). It is safe to say that such constructivist-like views were in a sense buttressed by relativist thinking whose root can be found in Japan's own tradition. In this development, however, Chinese and Western thoughts were integral. For the Japanese, because of their historical experiences, the world had to be relative and plural. Paradoxically, they were happy to accept one hegemonic thought not because they were forced to obey, but because seeing the Japanese self in the hegemonic other was what they had been doing historically.

Again, our intention is not to speak for Japanese exceptionalism or to maintain a different type of geographical determinism. This seemingly unique conception of "self in the other" is merely a way to see ubiquitous relations. Such a way can become unique only when it is adopted by a particular spatiotemporal condition. Moreover, ideas weaved by a particular way of thinking and a condition are never the same because both are incessantly and increasingly subject to change. Being reconsidered in this way, Japanese experiences can have useful implications that can appeal to a wider audience. As Nakano, Shimizu, and Doak have demonstrated, some thinkers such as Yanaihara, Nitobe, Tanaka, and Tosaka tried to create a more pluralistic order despite the contextual limitations they were caught in. In the same vein, the idea of Adachi has lived. Furthermore, as Matsuoka demonstrates, a seemingly "indigenous" concept in Japan that is difficult to translate in English

can be exported to Western academia. Thus, the Japanese experience can offer some valuable insights in rethinking how plurality can be understood in contemporary world politics.

Finally, this conception of the self and the other supports constructivist (including post-structuralist) IR theories, particularly those regarding collective identity formations and foreign policy as well as the English School tradition (e.g., Wæver 1996; Campbell 1998; Neumann 1999; Hansen 2006; Suzuki 2009). At the same time, however, it compels theorists to rethink the theorization in terms of how the world has been connected through dissemination of knowledge from the Western self to the non-West as the other.

IN LIEU OF CONCLUSION: A DIALOGUE WITHOUT BOUNDARY

Recent contributions to IR attempt to understand the interconnections among different histories without undermining each singularity by focusing on relationality. The common ground of such attempts is to admit the "mutually constitutive character of world politics" (Barkawi and Laffey 2006: 348). As seen in Gurminder Bhambra's (2010: 128) call for "a 'connected histories' approach within a decentered conception of 'totality,'" and Shogimen's (2016) proposition, such attempts require one to envisage boundaries between the self and the other in a different way from that of conventional critical scholarship. From this follows that difference must be reconceived. Bhambra (2010: 137) argues that in IR and historical sociology, "'culture' is posited as something that can accommodate (self-produced) 'difference,' it is often assumed that 'there are common structural institutions, which emerged in Europe and then were culturally inflected as they were diffused around the globe.' Such perspectives, trying to transcend Eurocentrism, have failed, as they see 'resolving the tension between structure and agency as a solution.'" However, for her, it is the embodiment of it. Thus, another resolution has to be pursued.

Our endeavor to decolonize the idea of dialogue is in line with Bhambra's claim. Let us briefly review how constructivist theorists have investigated identity formation in world politics. They argue that the use of the other is "a general practice of European identity formation" (Neumann 1999: 207). Some claim that the Western self is contested because it has been defined by various actors, including others outside of the West like Japan (Browning and Lehti 2010). But in any case, "the constitution of identity is achieved through the inscription of boundaries that serve to demarcate an 'inside' from 'outside,' a 'self' from the 'other,' a 'domestic' from a 'foreign'" (Campbell 1998: 9). By contrast, the Japanese self does not fit these claims. In Motoori's discourse,

the self is to be found in the other. For the thinkers we have investigated, ideas like civilization, international, colonialism, Catholicism, and even Asia were foreign. Still, they tried to identify their Japanese "self" in this *foreignness*, simultaneously reinscribing their own "tradition" in it. Hence, in this conception of the self and the other, both are mutually embedded.

It is not to claim that this Japanese conception explains contemporary world politics better. Because the issue is not just to ease the tension of the structure-agent issue to rectify Eurocentrism, but what is difference and what the same that have to be carefully analyzed. Again, ideas on how to frame such binary relations of political practices are abundant everywhere and the Japanese way is only one variant. In this respect, we conclude that there is no such thing as Japanese IR theory. Rather, we suggest that there are a variety of ways of thinking relations between the self and the other, the West and the East, peace and war, the region and the state, private and public, the egg and the wall, local and global. They become political only when interpreted in a particular space-time intersection. This is what we call singularity. Only by acknowledging this hidden amorphousness of binary and subtlety of our differences, can we make borders that separate us less salient and ensure that we are different and simultaneously the same.

NOTES

1. This changed in Japan since the Shōwa period as *katakana*, a phonogram, is commonly used for words adopted from foreign languages.

2. *Yamato kotoba* were originally used for and by women. The earliest invocation of *Yamato damashii* (Yamato soul) is to be found in the work of Murasaki Shikibu (978–1016), the author of *The Tale of Genji*. Also Shimizu in this volume.

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Index

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