

Anita Borbála NÉMETH:

## Newspaper coverage of folk mediums in Japan

If you planned to visit Aomori Prefecture, and within that the Shimokita Peninsula – say, at the end of July or in mid-October – and opened the brochures of Japanese travel agencies, among the articles praising the natural beauty, gastronomy, and cultural heritage you could find an event that may seem slightly odd: experience in person the *itako*<sup>1</sup> *kuchiyose*<sup>2</sup> ritual! Although only for a short time, not only the local newspapers but also national press publications regularly report on the summer and autumn *matsuri* of the Bodai-ji, the temple of Mount Osore, in the centre of the Shimokita Peninsula. These publications also never fail to mention that you may request *kuchiyose* from the *itako*.

In my previous research, I had examined how the reputation and role of the *itako* has changed from the end of the 19th century until the present day, and how this phenomenon responded to the challenges brought on by modern society in the new millennium. That is, I investigated what factors contributed to that the *itako* – who before 1945 were condemned as hindering modernization and maintaining superstitious misconceptions, and therefore were to be persecuted – became a ‘local spectacle’, a tourist attraction after World War II.

Undoubtedly, mass culture and the mass media have played crucial roles in this process. Starting in the Meiji period, newspaper articles, reflecting the official religious policy, often depicted not only the *itako*, but all folk mediums, healers, oracles etc., who were outside of the state-controlled shintō system, as criminals.

However, following 1945, the shock caused by the world war defeat, the disillusionment, and the shattered social, political and economic life gave rise to a ‘spiritual revival’. Taking advantage of the freedom of religion ensured by the new Constitution, sects and New New Religions (*Shin shin shūkyō*) were formed one after the other, reshaping ancient symbols, rites and values. The mass media jumped on this bandwagon of turning to the ‘ancient Japan’ and ‘self-discovery’, and rediscovered the *itako* for itself, depicting it as ‘the representatives of the spirit of ancient, traditional Japan’ and creating a ‘well-marketable product’ from a by then virtually completely marginalized folk religion phenomenon.

Thanks to the strong media pull, the *itako* phenomenon crossed the borders of Aomori Prefecture, and in the 1960s tourists from all over the country came to Mount Osore to request *kuchiyose* from the *itako*.

But what role – if any – did the mass media have on other shamanistic phenomena of the Japanese islands? Did or do those get the kind of support the *itako* did? This is one of the central questions that I pursue in my PhD research project.

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<sup>1</sup> *Itako*: the usually blind, female folk medium shamans of Aomori Prefecture.

<sup>2</sup> *Kuchiyose* / *hotoke no kuchiake*: the *itako* summons the soul of the deceased into her own body and delivers their messages.

Thanks to the Toshiba International Foundation, I was given the opportunity to spend three unforgettable months in Japan in late 2015. The National Diet Library became almost my second home, and I was able to add further valuable data to my research. Continuing my earlier approach, I used print media as primary sources, in particular articles from daily newspapers such as the Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun, and Mainichi Shinbun.<sup>3</sup>

I was interested primarily in the press coverage of *yuta*, the folk medium of Okinawa as, on the one hand, to this day the *yuta* plays an important role in the lives of the locals, and on the other hand, as the *yuta* has a similar role as the *itako* in Tōhoku: the *yuta* is a healer, a spiritual advisor; people turn to the *yuta* with their everyday problems; and the *yuta* delivers the messages of the deceased.

However, one could say that following World War II, the print press showed little interest in the Okinawa folk religion traditions. Up until the 1980s, I found merely four articles in the national daily newspapers about the *yuta*. Three articles comprised rather general descriptions of the folk mediums of the region; two of these articles explicitly discussed the difference between the *itako* and the *yuta*.<sup>4</sup> It is definitely worth to mention an article published in 1969 in the Asahi Shinbun, which details that compared to other parts of Japan, the number of people suffering from mental problems is high in this region, and that the affected patients still preferred to turn to the *yuta* with these kinds of problems.<sup>5</sup> The article is noteworthy also because it demonstrates well the roles the *yuta* had in the lives of the locals.

Although the number of articles on *yuta* – at least compared to those published about *itako* – is remarkably low, this may be regarded as a positive change compared to their former press coverage: they had enjoyed considerably more vivid interest before 1945, but the press did not treat them gently. Moreover, the pre-1945 articles showed that the authorities acted more strictly towards them, as they did towards the rest of the shamans and folk healers of the island state – the police even carried out several large-scale raids, or ‘*yuta*-hunts’.<sup>6</sup>

One reason behind the difference in treatment could be that the Okinawan shamanism and ritual system originated in the traditions of the old Ryūkyū Kingdom. As such, it stood in sharp contrast to the official Japanese mythology, and could be integrated neither into the system of the state shintō nor the emperor cult.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, in Aomori, although the folk

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<sup>3</sup> Although the media is not devoid of prejudices and biases, I think it can still be a very useful source of information.

<sup>4</sup> See 奄美大島の民間宗教\_\_ノロとユタについて (小口偉一), Yomiuri Shinbun, 31.08.1955. 文化の源流ひめるイタコとユタの差\_\_研究ノート (桜井徳太郎), Asahi Shinbun, 14.03.1968. [質問箱]「イタコ」と「ユタ」の違い, Yomiuri Shinbun, 19.07.1970.

<sup>5</sup> ユタ遅れた精神病対策・暮らしをむしばむ占い・ユタ\_\_沖縄報告 (第4部), Asahi Shinbun, 07.09.1969.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the *yuta* were sentenced to 20 days of confinement if they were caught in the act of carrying out prohibited activity. In contrast, in Aomori the length of this sentence was 3 to 7 days. One could say that in Aomori, local folk mediums were often treated with a more lenient attitude: they did not occasion man-hunts, sometimes not even in spite of ‘healings’, exorcisms that ended in death in many cases.

<sup>7</sup> In connection with the oppression regarding the *yuta*, a study of Ōhashi Hideshi provided me with great help.

beliefs also had deep ainu roots, they had already been japanized, and syncretized with the institutionalized level of Japanese religious customs.

Around the early 1980s, the shamans of Okinawa achieved a major breakthrough on the pages of national daily newspapers, which have continued to give coverage to the phenomenon ever since. A detailed analysis of the articles goes beyond the framework of this report – however, the fact that the press picked up the ‘*yuta* topic’ around the 1980s and 1990s may correlate with the fact that the bubble economy was nearing its final days around that time and early post-war trends, centred around self-searching, enjoyed a revival. This spiritual boom, as well as the travelling boom deriving from the self-discovery movement, eventually solidified the *itako*’s place in mass culture.

It would be the topic of another research project to investigate how much energy and money local governments, cultural and traditional organisations invest in promoting the local (folk) traditions outside the region. With regard to the *itako*, the local governments (of Aomori Prefecture, and also of the city of Mutsu therein) made use of the local legendry in order to stimulate the regional economy and to boost tourism. Publications promoting the prefecture (such as *Aomori* or *Kensei no ayumi*) have been featuring the *itako* regularly as early as the beginning of the 1960s, and the tourism of Shimokita Peninsula and the city of Mutsu still relies on them.

Although the primary objective of my research was the analysis of newspaper articles, of course I could not miss the autumn festival of Mount Osore (*Aki mairi*, 10<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> October), and experiencing in person the *kuchiyose*. Maybe due to the bad weather (a typhoon was passing by at that time, bringing cold wind to the peninsula), or maybe because the summer festival is of greater significance, surprisingly few people climbed up to visit the temple. Merely a few people were waiting in front of the tents of the *itako* (they were three in total), and it took only approx. 30 minutes until it was my turn, and I had the chance to hear what messages I was sent from the afterlife through the *itako*. The licence plates of the cars waiting in the parking lot however suggested that the place and the event gains interest not only in Aomori: visitors arrived from Kantō, Kansai, and even from Hiroshima.<sup>8</sup>

Although it did not relate closely to my present research, it seemed like a great opportunity to experience firsthand at least a small part of the culture related to Mount Iwaki, the most important symbol of Aomori’s Tsugaru region. Therefore I could not miss the autumn pilgrimage of the mountain also known as Fuji of Tsugaru: the *Oyama sankei* (11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> September). In addition to the fantastic experience, it inspired me to consider further research topics.<sup>9</sup>

I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to the European Association for Japanese Studies and the Toshiba International Foundation for allowing me to experience these three

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<sup>8</sup> I did not carry out any survey on where the owners of the cars from other prefectures originally come from; therefore the possibility that they originally were from Aomori cannot be excluded.

<sup>9</sup> Mount Iwaki is an important symbol for the *kamisama*, the other folk medium of Aomori.

memorable and inspiring months. On the part of TIFO I am especially grateful to Kuwayama Mariko and Shirai Makoto for their support and their kind hospitality.

I also have to express my gratitude to Professor Ikegami Yoshimasa of Komazawa University, for taking time to share with me his valuable experience gained in the course of his research, and for motivating me to conduct further research with his advice.

I am also thankful to Professor Yumiyama Tatsuya of Tokyo Institute of Technology for making arrangements with Ikegami sensei, as well as for the continuous support he provided during my stay in Japan.

To Murakami Aki (Tsukuba University), for the tremendous help, support and advice.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Oyama Shinkichi, the head of secretariat of Iwakisan Tourist Association, for the warm welcome and the experience of a lifetime on the *Oyama-sankei*.

Bernhard LEITNER:

## **Laboratory Vienna-Tokyo – On the emergence of a psychiatric thought-style in Austria and Japan circa 1900**

### **Thesis Outline**

My dissertation project focuses on a complex of questions concerning the impact of psychiatrists and neurologists of the second Vienna School of medicine in the late 19th and early 20th century on the initial development of psychiatric discourse in Japan. From the very beginning of its formation Japanese psychiatry was largely influenced by medical thought of the German-speaking world. The most famous psychiatrists of their times like Emil Kraepelin, Richard von Krafft-Ebing and Wilhelm Weygandt, only to name a few, were among the teachers of the first cadre of professional Japanese psychiatrists, referred to as the “Three Musketeers” of institutionalized modern psychiatry in Japan: Sakaki Hajime, Kure Shuzo and Miyake Koichi. All of them went to Berlin, Munich and Vienna to study medicine. What motivated my research project was the fact that a Viennese institution was a major player in forming the direction of development of Japanese psychiatry: the then world-famous Neurological Institute of the University of Vienna. A fact that is widely acknowledged by historians of medicine, but a detailed account for this scientific transfer is still missing to this day. This institute was above all associated with its founder and mastermind, Austrian neurologist Heinrich Obersteiner and was even commonly called the Obersteiner-Institute. It revolutionized psychiatry by trying to fortify its foundations with a strong scientific neurological basis. From a methodological perspective this required the introduction of comprehensive anatomical and physiological analysis of the central nervous system. This endeavor in turn called for an accordingly equipped neurological laboratory, which did not exist at that time. Hence in 1882 Heinrich Obersteiner himself initiated the creation of the first interdisciplinary research facility for neurology using private funds only: the Institute for Anatomy and Physiology of the Central Nervous System. Subsequently in 1900 Obersteiner handed the institute over to the University of Vienna and it was renamed as Neurological Institute. From the outset this presumably first proto-neuroscientific research lab heavily drew scientists and students from all over the globe; among them many of the first generation of Japanese psychiatrists. This not only contributed to the education of individuals, but through the participation of Japanese psychiatrists in cutting edge neuropsychiatric research Japanese psychiatry overall was quickly elevated to the Olympus of the international scientific community. A number of these Japanese doctors even published in notable psychiatric journals like the *Centralblatt für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie* [Central Journal for Neurology and Psychiatry], a remarkable matter for two reasons: first, papers by scholars outside of Europe were considered very seldom, whereas articles by Japanese researchers were published on a regular basis from the 1920s on; second, psychiatry as a modern medical profession in Japan had only existed for about 30 years, not to mention that in terms of funds, personnel and facilities, Japanese psychiatry was still in its infancy. How did the Austrian-Japanese collaboration enable these tremendous

achievements of specialized medical knowledge production over such a short period of time in Japan? In my dissertation I will focus on this virtually untouched transfer of knowledge between Austria and Japan around 1900. The additional benefit of the present interdisciplinary research project, which draws on Japanese studies, history of medicine as well as on a theoretical framework derived from science and technology studies, lies not only in the opportunity to even-handedly shed new light on Japanese and Austrian history of psychiatry, but also in exposing the necessary preconditions for knowledge production in a laboratory giving birth to a new scientific discipline.

### **Research in Japan**

When I first started researching the history of Japanese psychiatry for my BA and MA theses more than six years ago, I faced an all too familiar problem for scholars of Japanese studies working on interdisciplinary topics outside of Japan: Resources at the local libraries are usually scarce. Through a one year study abroad as an exchange student in Japan from 2009 to 2010, I started to build up my own library for the history of Japanese psychiatry, consisting primarily of secondary literature monographs. So when I started to conceptualize my PhD thesis, the situation was a little bit brighter. First: I could still draw on the stock of material I brought from Japan, and second: as my new topic was also rooted in Vienna, a lot of the primary resources I needed were located at the Medical University of Vienna. But I soon began to encounter serious problems concerning those resources: All the publications and records of Japanese psychiatrists and neurologists studying in Vienna around 1900 were collected, compiled or published by Austrians, who had no experience with the Japanese language. Hence, a lot of these data, especially records of names and institutions, are incorrectly transcribed. They are often ambiguous as to which person was actually meant, since there are no written records in Japanese characters.

Subsequently I began to search for a solution to this problem and I found it: The Medical Library and Archives of the University of Tokyo. Not only did the vast majority of Japanese students of psychiatry and neurology in Vienna come from University of Tokyo, where Kure Shuzo had already established a lasting network with eminent scholars from University of Vienna, but on top of that, the first academic society of psychiatry and neurology was also founded at, and throughout its entire history has been deeply rooted in this very institution, thus holding almost all the records I was in desperate need of. Additionally, since I am focusing on the transfer of knowledge between University of Vienna and University of Tokyo, it was of utmost importance for me to know how these visiting scholars from Japan disseminated the knowledge through Japanese medical journals after they returned to Japan, most importantly through the *Nihon Seishin-shinkeigaku Zasshi* (=Psychiatria et Neurologia Japonica). So what I really needed was an intensive short-term research trip to Tokyo in order to complete my records with these essential data. The Toshiba International Foundation Scholarship seemed to be perfect for my endeavors and I could not have been happier on the day I got the letter of acceptance.

On the 9th of September 2015 I started my journey to Tokyo. I found a nice apartment in Shin-Okubo (Shinjuku district). Not only did I have excellent access to the campus of the University of Tokyo from there, but in addition to being accommodated in the very center of the city it is also a lively and multi-ethnic environment, which I really enjoyed. After setting up, I immediately started with my research. Although I did not have a formal affiliation to the University of Tokyo, the Central Medical Library granted me free access to all the resources I needed. I spent almost every day in the library reading, excerpting and copying material. Comprehensive publications like *Tōkyō Daigaku Seishin-igaku-kyōshitsu 120 nen* (2007) [120 years of the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Tokyo], as well as *Nihon Seishin-shinkei Gakkai Hyaku-nen-shi* (2003) [The Hundred Year History of the Japanese Society for Psychiatry and Neurology], not available in Europe and out of print, were of very special help collecting crucial data. Furthermore, the library holds a special digital database for the *Seishin-shinkeigaku Zasshi* that allowed me to observe the course of development of knowledge production of the journal in only a few days, which saved me weeks of valuable research time. Through biographies and primary archival materials, on the other hand, I became aware that certain data concerning dates, as for example periods of stay of Japanese scholars in Europe, were in fact often vague or sometimes erroneous. As a consequence I found that my research might even contribute to consistently recording these personal transfers between Japan and Austria for the first time.

In addition to acquiring written resources, I was able to visit institutions I am researching, as for example the Tōkyō-toritsu Matsuzawa Byōin [Tokyo Metropolitan Matsuzawa Hospital] that functioned as a university clinic for the Department of Psychiatry of the University of Tokyo. The hospital management preserved a building in its original condition after major refurbishments in the 1960s, which now hosts a special historic material collection. Not only was it possible to see the actual structures and plans of the early 20th century institution, but the staff also kindly explained therapeutic as well as research instruments and even allowed me to look through original publications stored in closed displays.

But the Toshiba International Foundation Scholarship did not only support the progress of my current research, it also granted the opportunity to extend and deepen my academic network in Japan. Shortly after my arrival I was able to join a workshop on the History of Medicine, Society and the Body at Keio University organized by Prof. Suzuki Akihito. I was introduced to a number of scholars researching in related areas to mine and had the chance to catch up with colleagues I met at other conferences. Furthermore Prof. Suzuki kindly encouraged me to submit a paper proposal for the annual conference of the Japanese Society for the History of Psychiatry [Nihon Seishin-igaku-shi Gakkai] at Shinjuku Park Tower in the beginning of November. I had already learned of this conference from Prof. Hashimoto Akira at a previous meeting in Vienna. My proposal was accepted and I was actually able to present my research project to a professional Japanese audience for the first time. My presentation was very well received and even Prof. Okada Yasuo, the “father” of historiography of Japanese psychiatry, personally commented on my paper, giving me



invaluable feedback. He even highlighted the importance of my research, as Austrian-Japanese relations in the history of psychiatry have been overshadowed by the focus on German-Japanese transfer. Moreover Prof. Suzuki and Prof. Hashimoto introduced me to several eminent historians of psychiatry like Nakamura Osamu and most importantly Prof. Okada himself.

On 25th of November 2015 I returned to Vienna. I was accompanied by literally kilograms of material. I brought a load of up-to-date secondary as well as antiquarian primary literature, excerpts, copies and photographs. The amount of resources I could collect in this relatively short period of time was so massive that I am still busy analyzing it.

### **Acknowledgements**

First of all I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the Toshiba International Foundation for generously funding my research activities in Japan. In particular I would like to thank Mr. Shirai Makoto, president of the foundation, and Ms. Kuwayama Mariko, who welcomed me warmly at the Toshiba headquarters upon my arrival in Tokyo and supported me during my stay. In addition I am deeply thankful that the European Association for Japanese Studies supported my application for the Toshiba International Foundation Scholarship. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Verena Blechinger-Talcott and Mr. Tim Herbort for their support before, during and after this trip. Last but not least I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Dr. Ingrid Getreuer-Kargl for continuously fostering my research endeavors.



Hai GUO:

## **Subjectivity and Discourse of War History: A Lacanian Analysis of the Sino-Japanese ‘History Problem’**

### **Research Description<sup>10</sup>**

My PhD research project aims to explore the reasons for the persistence and longevity of the ‘history problem (*rekishi mondai*, 歴史問題)’ discourse in Sino-Japanese relations through the lens of Lacanian theory. This requires the analysis to focus on the subjective dimension of the ‘history problem’, i.e., the ideological condition that made possible the emergence of the ‘history problem’ discourse before the 1982 Textbook Issue and the transformation of the discourse thereafter (i.e. 1982 – 2015). Informed by Lacanian theory, this research understands the ‘history problem’ not as an isolated event that *caused* the deterioration of Sino-Japanese relations, but as a pathological *effect* resulting from the repressions of traumatic national failures in the past. These repressions returned against the backdrop of the global phenomenon of ‘memory boom’ in the 1980s and the ‘Age of Apology’ in the 1990s, and thus ruptured in the issue of the so called ‘history problem’ in Sino-Japanese relations nowadays.

Three series of historical development in Japan and China’s modern history are believed to be what have ideologically conditioned the emergence and persistence of the ‘history problem’ discourse since the 1980s. They are: 1) Japan’s changing relations towards the International Society as embodied in Japan’s withdrawal from the League of Nations (1933) and its acceptance of judgment made by The International Military Tribunal for the Far East (1946 – 1948); 2) the reconfiguration of CCP’s guiding ideology, which shifted from an orthodox socialist one during Cultural Revolution to a nationalist one in the 1980s; 3) the development of the global discourse of human rights that has increasingly interpellated and transformed collective agents into personified subjects who are capable of taking moral responsibility and making apology for past wrongdoings. These three series of historical development, it will be argued, jointly overdetermined a repetition compulsion in which the ‘history problem’ came to be disputed repeatedly by the two states and their publics.

### **Fieldwork Briefing**

My fieldwork in Tokyo is mainly composed of two parts: first, elite-interview research with members of the Japan-China Joint History Research Committee; second, archival research regarding Japan’s relations to International Society. Since I arrived at Tokyo on 1 February 2016, my fieldwork has been progressing steadily and persistently with substantial breakthroughs as follows:

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<sup>10</sup> As the grantee is still on fieldwork at the time of writing (March 2016), the following is an interim report submitted by the grantee for the purpose of this report. EAJS will make available the grantee’s final report to TIFO within four weeks after the grantee returns from Japan in late April 2016.

- 1) I have managed to reach and conducted semi-structured interviews with 10 elite interviewees.
- 2) I have been conducting archival research in major archives in Tokyo on a daily basis and have obtained key documents regarding Japan's relations towards the International Society in the 1930s and 1940s.
- 3) I have also generated social impact through academic presentation and social networking.

The details of my activities will be described as follows.

## **Research Activities and Findings**

### ***Elite-Interview***

The fieldwork in Japan is dedicated to an interview research regarding the Japan-China Joint History Research, which is an essential part of my thesis. The Japan-China Joint History Research, with its aim to alleviate the 'history problem' in Sino-Japanese relations, was a politically significant scholarly project initiated by Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo and the then Chinese President Hu Jintao at the Beijing summit in October 2006.<sup>11</sup> The research contains three parts: the ancient/medieval history, the pre-modern/modern history, and the post-war history. Notably, the post-war history and the comments that scholars made on each other's work were withdrawn from publication.

I am convinced that it is imperative to examine what topics have been discussed, disputed, cancelled, and censored during the research and why. Instead of reading what is published, it is highly important to introspect what was not allowed to be published by interviewing the scholars on both sides. This way, the fieldwork will help to explore the boundaries of the contentious 'history problem' discourse through obtaining context in addition to existing textual materials. It is also expected that the data will provide contemporary insights into the development of the 'history problem' and may contribute to a more comprehensive yet critical account of the post-war Sino-Japanese relations for the studies of East Asian modern history and International Relations.

With networking and snowballing techniques, I have managed to reach 10 elite interviewees and conducted semi-structured interviews with them. Most of them were members who worked for the Japan-China Joint History Research Committee. Those interviewees include:

- Kawashima Shin (Tokyo University)
- Takahara Akio (Tokyo University)
- Tsuruma Kazuyuki (Gakushuin University)
- Kikuchi Hedeaki (International Christian University)
- Kojima Tsuyoshi (Tokyo University)

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<sup>11</sup> For an introduction on Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, please see: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/china/rekishik.html>.

- Kasahara Tokushi (Tsuru University)
- Shoji Junichiro (The National Institute for Defense Studies)
- Wakayama Kyoichi (The Japan Institute of International Affairs)
- Hatano Sumio (Tsukuba University)
- Tobe Ryoichi (Teikyo University)

The interviews conducted mainly concern the following questions:

- What were the major conflicts and sources of disputes in the academic activities carried out by the members of the Japan-China Joint History Research?
- What contents or topics were censored, revised, or cancelled during the research?
- What are the collective norms that dictate the joint research?
- What is the impact the joint research had on the Sino-Japanese relations?

After my interviews, so far I have the following findings:

- The major conflicts between the two sides during the joint research was about the interpretation of medieval/ancient history, rather than the modern history where the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) actually took place. In fact, in discussing the Nanjing Incident/Massacre, scholars on both sides reached an agreement on the topic in just about 'three minutes'. The disputes in the ancient/medieval history concerned whether China and Japan as nation-states actually existed before the modern period (i.e., late 19<sup>th</sup> century). Whilst Japanese scholars argue that both Japan and China as nation-states did not exist until they came to be gradually constructed recently in the late 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Chinese scholars disagreed with this, insisting that China and Japan as nation states existed through the ancient/medieval historical period in the last few thousand years.
- Another much disputed topic in the research of the ancient/medieval history is the comparative studies between Chinese and Japanese social structures in the ancient/medieval era. Whilst the Chinese side emphasised the homogenous elements shared by the two countries, the Japanese side aimed to highlight the heterogeneous aspects. Scholars on the Chinese side, initially, found the Japanese proposal 'unacceptable', because they saw the joint research as primarily a political assignment of alleviating Sino-Japanese political tension, rather than a genuine academic collaboration as considered by the Japanese. But finally they gave in reluctantly, as they were willing to 'give some face to the Japanese scholars'.
- The unpublished part of the joint history research, the historiography regarding the 'Post-war History' in Sino-Japanese relations, was also investigated in the interviews. This part of the research was withdrawn from publication due to the strong demand made by the Chinese foreign ministry. According to Takahara Akio, Japanese scholars laid considerable emphasis on the 1989 Tiananmen Incident/Massacre and treat it as a highly significant event in Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations, because it is

considered the turning point from which the mutual perspectives of Japanese and Chinese public become increasingly deteriorated. From the perspective of the Chinese foreign ministry, however, the writings of the Tiananmen Incident/Massacre was deemed too politically sensitive to be published.

- In general, the academic exchange between the two sides had been described as fruitful, positive, and even liberating for many sensitive issues such as the number of deaths and casualties in the Nanjing Incident/Massacre, the comfort women issue, the 731 Unit, etc., which were discussed openly. But when the research was about to be published, the Chinese scholars suffered from great political pressure and censorship from the Chinese foreign ministry, who at first actually demanded to withdraw the whole project of publishing the research. After a series of difficult negotiations between the two sides, the Chinese conceded, on the condition that the comment part (in which scholars commented on their counterpart's paper) and the 'Post-war History Part' be withheld from publication.
- The provisional conclusion: the Chinese government seemed to be much more politically vulnerable than Japan in history-problem-related academic activities initiated on the official level. This may be due to the fact that the maintenance of legitimacy of the authoritarian Chinese government relies heavily on Chinese national history. Japan, as a democracy, is much less susceptible to the deconstruction of its official account of national history by the academics. Apparently, the different political system of the two countries plays a significant part in the endeavour of addressing the 'history problem' academically.

### ***Archival Research***

Apart from conducting interviews, I have been collecting textual materials in major archives located in Tokyo, including Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Tōyō Bunko, National Diet Library, and Waseda University Library. Through the archival research, I have been collecting textual materials regarding the following topics:

- Japan's response to the International Society on the diplomatic and intellectual level in the Meiji era (1868 – 1912), the Taisho era (1912 – 1926), the pre-war Showa era (1926 – 1945), and the post-war era (1945 – present), with reference to the keywords of 'civilisation (文明)', 'International Society (国際社会)', and 'world history (世界史)'.
- Letters, diaries, and articles written by the 'reformist officers (革新官僚)' in the MOFA, most notably including Shiratori Toshi (白鳥敏夫), Kurihara Masashi (栗原正), and Satō Tadao (佐藤忠雄), etc.
- Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 and the relevant discourse.
- Government and media documents regarding the Tokyo Trial.

- Diplomatic Documents regarding the normalisation of Sino-Japanese relations with reference to the key words of ‘historical understanding (歴史認識)’ and ‘International Society (国際社会)’.
- ‘Slip of tongue’ by various Japanese officials and ministers with reference to the issue of ‘historical understanding’, including former Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro (中曾根康弘) and former Minister of Education Fujio Masayuki (藤尾正行).

At this stage of the study, my findings suggest the following points:

- Japan’s perception towards the International Society witnessed a consequential change in the 1930s. Before 1931, Japan’s foreign policymaking was still dominated by internationalism, i.e., a positive recognition of the International Society and its identity in it. However, after the Mukden Incident in 1931, Japan’s foreign policymaking became increasingly dominated by right-leaning philosophical thinking, which saw the emergence of a ‘new world order’ distinct from the International Society dominated by European powers and the U.S. This changing perspective on International Society was especially evident in the text of *Japan’s Inherent Foreign Policymaking Guiding Principle* (日本固有の外交指導原理綱領) written by the Investigation Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (外務省調査部) in 1936.
- The Tokyo Trial was announced by the chief prosecutor Joseph Keenan as the ‘Demand of Civilisation’. This effectively defined the Japanese national subject as an offender of ‘civilisation’ embodied by the international law. Also, it simultaneously brought Japan back into the hierarchy of International Society. The result is that Japan was given a reconfigured identity, which was essentially inscribed with an awareness of Japan’s Fifteen Year War and its subjection to the International Society. It thus became unavoidable to repeatedly talk about the ‘history problem’ and ‘historical understanding’ in diplomatic occasions, because not talking about it effectively means Japan’s disconnection from the International Society, the recognition of which has become the very core of Japan’s post-war identity.
- Japan’s revision of its constitution under the supervision of GHQ also contributed to the emergence of the ‘history problem’ discourse. From a Lacanian perspective, the revision of the constitution produced a socially unacceptable desire: the ability to undertake war. The history problem, at least partially, is an effect of the conflict of addressing this desire which has been rendered a socially unacceptable taboo under the new constitution enacted since 1947. Hypothetically, I argue that the dispute over the ‘history problem’, be it in the domestic debate or on the international level, came into being precisely as a resolution to this socially unacceptable desire.



## Academic Conferences

During my stay in Tokyo I also participated in academic and media activities which have generated social impact.

On 27 February 2016, I participated as a discussant in the panel of Japan-China Education and Cultural Exchange Symposium (日中教育文化交流シンポジウム) held by the Japan-China International Education Exchange Association (日中国際教育交流協会). The event was reported by *Shimbun Akahata*. I am the participant in the middle of the picture.

(第3種郵便物認可)

都内で開かれた「日中教育文化交流シンポジウム」2月27日



第1回 日中教育文化交流シンポジウム

### 相互理解深めよう 日中学生が交流シンポ

東京

日中両国の相互理解を深めるシンポジウムがこのほど、東京都内で開かれ、中国人留学生や日本の大学生らが意見交換しました。若い世代が日中の友好をどう築けるか、語り合いました。

2月27日に開かれた「日中教育文化交流シンポジウム」(主催・日本中国国際教育交流協会)では、「中国人の日本語作文コンクール」で昨年最優秀賞を受賞した張晨雨(ちよ うしんう)さん(20)が基調発表しました。大阪に住む叔母やマンガの影響で日本語の学習を始めた張さん。東京人と大阪人の違いに触れ、「その原因を探ることでお互いの誤解も少なくなる。それは日本と中国の関係にも似ている」と語りました。

中国の学生から日本の表現・政治活動の自由さに驚いたとの声も出しました。西九州大学に留学中の丁亭伊さん(23)は、東京の高校生デモのニュースを見て「16歳の少女が『私たちは主権者だ』と訴える姿に若者の市民意識の高さを感じた」と話しました。

交換留学生として慶応義塾大学に留学中の陳星竹さん(20)も「日本の新聞を読むとそれぞれの考えで報道している。中国ではあり得ない」とのべ、卒業後に日本でジャーナリストになる希望を語りました。

日本側からは早稲田大学4年の松本晟(まつもと・せい)さん(22)が、日本と中国で交互に日中学生の合宿などを行ってきた日中学生会議の取り組みを紹介。中国留学生とアニメやマンガではよく話が合うのに、政治問題では議論が平行線になってしまふ、などの体験についてのべました。

「中国は怖いといったイメージも、ソーシャルメディアで発信したり、友人に直接話すと違う」「日本のマスコミは『爆買い』以外にも多面的報道を」などの発言もありました。

(釘丸晶)

前国務長官(ロイター)

On 10 March 2016, I was invited by the DIJ (Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien) to deliver a

presentation in the DIJ History & Humanities Study Group. The talk was themed ‘Collective Subjectivity and Apology Under the Gaze of the ‘International Community’: A Lacanian Analysis of the Apology Issue in Japan-China Relations’, in which I discussed how Japan’s apology issue was ideologically conditioned by the discourse of International Society. Around 10 participants were involved in the discussion.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Please see: [http://www.dijtokyo.org/events/collective\\_subjectivity\\_and\\_apology&lang=en](http://www.dijtokyo.org/events/collective_subjectivity_and_apology&lang=en).