

# T S Ū S H I N

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## Reischauer Institute Reports

### From the Director: Prospects for Historical Understanding Across Borders

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How should one teach the history of one's own nation? How, in particular, should one treat events that cannot be retold with pride? This is a matter of intense current controversy in Japan, but it is equally so in the United States and elsewhere. It is important to think about this as an international problem and not simply a Japanese one, because in both Japan and the United States a simplistic and dangerous position is too frequently advanced, along the following lines. The function of "history" in contemporary so-

ciety is to teach the importance of the nation and state, so as to give people a claim to the identity of "Japanese" or "American." To this end, it is not deemed praiseworthy to dwell on the painful episodes of the past. One might call this line of thinking "history as education for national pride."

In the recent controversy in the United States over appropriate standards and topics of history education in secondary schools, some complained of an overemphasis on the experiences of people suffering discrimination, from African American to Asian immigrants to Native Americans. They would have preferred an "America banzai" curriculum that stressed the heroics of the founding fathers as they struggled for liberty and independence.

In Japan in recent years one frequently hears a similar call for "a history we can be proud of."

"Unpleasantness" such as the massacres in and around Nanking in 1937-38, or the "comfort women" system should not be treated in textbooks, it is said by some. These critics say they are concerned that young people will suffer psychological harm if they are exposed prematurely to knowledge of such troubling events. But most troubling of all, at least to me, is the following extreme "declaration," which recently showed up in my mailbox as part of an English language pamphlet prepared by one organization lobbying for textbook reform: "Each nation has its own perception of history, which differs from those of other nations. It is impossible for nations to share historical perceptions."

Is this indeed the case? Is it indeed impossible for people of different nations to have a shared understanding of history? As a non-Japanese person who conducts research into Japanese



and world history and who teaches it to college students, this is a question of some urgency. It touches on—in deed it denies—my *raison d'être* as a teacher and scholar.

To consider this question a bit further, it may be helpful to consider historical studies as having two aspects or functions. There is the effort to unearth and make sense of the varied evidence of the past, excavating documents, analyzing them and teasing meaning from them, arguing over their significance, advancing new interpretations or defending old ones. That is, history as scholarly inquiry. At the same time, there is the history that seeks to give people—especially the young—a sense of shared identity or belonging by telling or creating stories “all” can share. That is, history as social education, a history that nurtures “our” shared understanding of a common past.

Both sorts of history are necessary and valid. Some might characterize their relationship as follows. They might acknowledge that the former sort of historical scholarship has to partake of an international character, but they would go on to assert that the latter—history as social education—cannot or should not be a shared, border-crossing endeavor.

I find this sort of distinction a perilous one. In an era of increasingly global connections, cultural as well as economic and political, historical understanding must be global in its intent at both levels. National histories do not unfold in vacuums. They take place in global or international contexts, and cannot be told by the historians of one place alone, with no reference to colleagues elsewhere.

This is true of the social education sort of history as much as the more scholarly version. The goal of history qua social education is to create a sense of “ourselves” as people with a shared past and present identity and interest. But today this sense of “ourselves” cannot be limited to the level of a nation or state. Japanese people, or American people, are simultaneously residents and in a sense citizens of local, national, and global communities. The purpose of historical education must be to nurture a consciousness of community at all these levels. To promote a history of “ourselves” that is limited to the nation, a history

that cannot be shared or understood by others, is irresponsible in the extreme.

What is necessary in teaching modern history is rather to examine and compare experiences that people in different countries have undergone in common. These might include the industrial revolution, the construction of nation states, imperialism or the experience of colonial rule. Awareness that such experiences have taken place all over the world must be the point of departure for any effort to teach modern history.

Given such a comparative international perspective, it might be possible for some to take a less defensive stance in the case of the shameful episodes in any one national past, simply because we can find experiences as victimizer and as victim, as perpetrator or as subject of discrimination, in any nation’s history. Americans can boast of their history of immigrants seeking freedom, but they must also come to terms with a history of slavery or the annihilation of Native Americans. In Japan’s modern history, one can find the proud story of the first case of industrialization outside of the West, or the creation of an independent nation state in the face of great imperialist pressures. One also finds a history that has imposed suffering on Japanese and non-Japanese alike, a history of harsh conditions for those who labored in the factories of that industrial revolution, and harsh rule of colonized people, in Korea especially.

Those in Japan who call for new textbooks teaching a history of pride state that it will destroy the self-respect of the Japanese people if both these aspects of the past are taught to the young. Such a position condescends to students. It makes light of their flexible capacity to comprehend a complex story. By facing the past straight on, won’t young people become stronger, not weaker, as adults? In the coming decades, people will be interacting across borders more closely than ever. To make this possible, the greatest responsibility of historians as educators is to clearly convey the many sides of our shared histories.

The Japanese version of this column was broadcast on the NHK program *Shiten ronten* on June 22, 1999.

I would be interested in readers’ thoughts on this matter (in Japanese or in English). We will post them on our website, and if space allows include one or two responses in the next issue of *Tsūshin*.



## Japanese Studies in the West: Brazil Today (Part 2)

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As described in the previous newsletter, the various developments in Brazilian Japanese studies have had positive effects, and the study of Japan has grown deep roots in some Brazilian institutions. But Asia and Japan have not become a main priority. Instead, although the study of Japan and Asia is growing, it still remains marginal and secondary, a characteristic weakness of Brazilian education which has changed only slightly in the past forty years. Why has this area remained underdeveloped in Brazil? At least six factors have contributed:

1) Brazilian Eurocentrism: First of all, although Brazil is known for being a pluralist society, there is still much to be done in order for it to become a genuinely democratic and multicultural nation. Considerable study of immigrant communities was carried on by anthropologists and sociologists from the 1940s throughout the 1960s. However, the widespread ideology of Brazilian “racial democracy” has only superficially incorporated and assimilated the mosaic of ethnic groups, without fully recognizing, revealing and propagating the cultural values of each individual ethnic group.



It is true that the present government, probably pressured by the demands of globalization and the need for economic and social "modernization," has started to express some concern in promoting more cosmopolitan ideas in schools and in the media. However, the latter especially is a very recent trend and it represents only modest ideas rather modestly translated into action: curricula reform, ethnic museums (but surprisingly, Brazil does not have even one museum of Oriental arts!), or language courses and cultural programs for TV.

The underlying truth, however, is that up to the present, Brazil has remained culturally focused solely on the USA and Europe, or more recently on its southern Latin American neighbors.

2) Lack of material support: Economic and political interest usually stimulates academic concern and cultural exchange. Factually, Brazil possesses the largest Japanese community outside Japan, Brazil is the country (apart from Asia) to receive the largest amount of Japanese official assistance, and Japan is one of Brazil's most important commercial partners.

However, since the Brazilian government recurrently makes only small investment in social matters in any case, it is not hard to imagine how difficult it is to get from the government special funds to create or maintain Centers for Asian Studies. Usually there is no special support or funds from the universities themselves: the most common pattern is merely the concession of a room, some basic furniture, and limited support for such activities as exhibitions, seminars, and the like. If they do not manage to get grants from foreign institutions, Brazilian researchers sometimes attempt to turn, individually or through their Centers, to the federal or state government for support.

There is little interest on the part of Japanese private enterprises in boosting and supporting cultural and human exchange, not to mention academic research. Two exceptions exist: the support of the University of São Paulo's Center for Japanese Studies by the Japanese-Brazilian bank Banco América do Sul; and the pioneering

establishment of a Center for Asian Studies within the headquarters of the Federation of the Industries of Minas Gerais State (Federação das Indústrias do Estado de Minas Gerais).

Among private or public foundations, The Japan Foundation maintains many kinds of scholarship and grant programs in Brazil as elsewhere; it also promotes cultural events and sponsors important publications (such as a catalogue of Brazilian researchers on Japan, or a catalogue of books related to Japan belonging to specific libraries in the São Paulo city). In 1994 it opened a very dynamic Center for Japanese Studies (Nihongo Center) in São Paulo. The Sasakawa Peace Foundation supported for a couple of years a Center for Japanese Studies at the renowned graduate school of economics and management Fundação Getúlio Vargas (Rio city), but this partnership was interrupted a few years ago.



Otherwise, the burden of cultural education is assumed only by the Japanese government, which offers every year various scholarship and grant programs for Brazilian society as a whole, besides maintaining programs specifically for the Japanese-Brazilian community.

3) Relative political insignificance of the ethnic community: If we compare the numbers of Brazilian-Asians to the number of Asian-Americans, for example, the proportionate population is very small. (The Japanese-Brazilians, who are by far the most numerous among Asians, are less than 1% of the total Brazilian population.) Moreover, Japanese immigration

nowadays to Brazil is close to zero. In addition, the ethnic community is quite hermetic and usually is resistant to being studied by outsiders from the more impartial and critical academic setting.

4) Marginalization of Asia in Brazilian education at all levels: In high school, when Brazilians have classes on Asia, if they have any at all, the classes are extremely brief and superficial. At university level, with the exception of students enrolled in Japanese or Chinese B. A. courses, the great majority of students have almost no regular courses on Asia. Philosophy students have classes exclusively on Western philosophy. History students have classes on Western (including Latin American) history; there may be only a few courses on African history and the "Ancient East" (which rarely includes the South, the Southeast, and East Asia). In a word, Asia is almost absent from the Brazilian school curricula. A special regional exception exists only as regards to the Japanese language, which is taught in a few cities in São Paulo and Paraná states at the first level of education because of the great concentration of Japanese descendants in these schools.

5) Lack of opportunity and status for trained specialists: There is a great lack of financial support and positions allocated for people specialized in Japan. Japan has no tradition of high status in the Brazilian academy even though interest has increased in the past decades as people witnessed the amazing rise of the Asian economy. In fields such as literature or economics, researchers have been more interested in what has been happening in Europe, the USA, or in Latin America. In sociology or anthropology, the preference has been given to domestic topics such as Indigenous groups, peasant society, Afro-Brazilian community, social movements, etc. Ideologically, many researchers have been engaged in studying to support marginalized poor people; in this context, some Asian studies have been just an aspect of broader research on immigration (as for instance, some works by Herbert Baldus and Emílio Willems in the 1940s; and by Francisca I. S. Vieira and Ruth C. L. Cardoso in the 1960s). These purposes resulted in a recurrent lack of



continuity in Asian studies in Brazil, that is, a researcher frequently changed his/her research interest later on. The primary exception may be the work on Japanese language and literature, which has a stronger and more consistent tradition within Brazilian institutions.

6) Finally, remaining weaknesses in cooperative organization: To some extent, Japanese studies has accomplished a degree of networking. Some regional associations for the study of language have come together to form a national organization. A national association of Japanese-Brazilian researchers has been formed (Sociedade Brasileira de Pesquisadores Nikkeis). An annual Brazilian Meeting of Japanese Language, Literature and Culture University Teachers takes place. In 1991, Prof. Gilson Schwartz, other researchers, and myself worked on a project that aimed to bring together researchers from different institutions to create a national association named the Brazilian Society for the Study of Japan and the Pacific (Sociedade Brasileira de Estudos sobre o Japão e o Pacífico). However, although this Society organized some noteworthy and academically significant conferences and workshops, it did not manage to attract Japanese-Brazilian (Nikkei) organizations and there is need for further work and development.

Overall, chronic problems of organization, strategic vision, communication, and exchange persist.

In conclusion, Japanese studies in Brazil falls short of expectations. Still a confluence of factors and interests indicates that things will change for the better.

Recently, at least before the global financial crisis, interests in the growth of exchange between Brazil and Japan have increased. Brazil is eager to expand its commercial ties in the Asia Pacific. (The current Brazilian president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, has travelled to Japan, China, Malaysia, and India since his election in 1994.) Brazil has received an official visit of the Japanese Emperor. Asian governments have kept an eye on the opening up of the huge Brazilian market and the consolidation of MERCOSUL.



Educationally, more and more Brazilians are specializing in Asia, if not getting scholarships to study in Asia. New university offerings have been introduced (such as the University of São Paulo's graduate program and the University of Brasília's B.A. course) or are planned (such as a B.A. program in Japanese language at the Federal University of Paraná).

Networking inside Brazil is improving, and Brazilians are also having more contact with foreign researchers, particularly from Latin America, the USA, and Asia. The previous lack of communication among researchers has been alleviated by new initiatives such as the creation of a website by the University of Brasília's Center for Asian Studies (<http://www.unb.br/ccam/neasia/>), with the purpose of facilitating the circulation of information on Asian Studies in Brazil. The idea of the establishment of a Latin American Network of Researchers on Asia was discussed during the Ninth Congress of the Latin American Association for Afro-Asian Studies (Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, November 1997), with representatives from various countries. Other websites or internet

services have been created with this purpose in Mexico and Colombia.

These changes provide a basis for confidence in the future development of Asian Studies in Brazil.

Based on a paper given at the conference "Cultural Encounters Between Latin America and the Pacific Rim" held at the University of California, San Diego, March 6-7, 1998.

## Japanese Studies in the West: The Japanese-German Center Berlin

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The Japanese-German Center Berlin (JGCB) is a forum for academic exchanges between Germany and Japan, Japan and Europe, and Europe and Asia. The JGCB's aims are scholarly and interdisciplinary, present and future oriented, and directed towards the economy and practice. The JGCB cooperates with universities and business enterprises, foundations and associations, and governments and NGOs. It organises conferences and seminars, exhibitions and concerts, and language and introductory courses on Japan. However, the JGCB is not a cultural institute. This function is performed by the Japanese Cultural Institute in Cologne and the Goethe Institutes in Tokyo, Osaka and Kyoto. Financial support for the JGCB comes from both Japan and Germany.

Conferences in the social sciences have dealt with Japan and Germany's political and economic relations (bilateral, regional and international), international cooperation in investment, industrial cooperation, development aid, questions of national and international law, and regional and supraregional development and integration of planning (especially traffic and regional planning). Effort has been devoted to comparing topics of interest to both Germany and Japan, such as education and careers, youth policies, and "aging societies." Also addressed have been questions on Japanese studies in Germany, German studies in Japan, and academic policy in both countries.



Conferences in the natural sciences have dealt with areas in mathematics, chemistry, and physics. These have included national and international developments in information and communication technologies, technology impact assessments, human and veterinary medicine, biotechnology, genetic engineering, energy production, and protection of the environment and nature.

Conferences in the humanities have dealt with dialogues between the cultures of Orient and Occident, comparisons of cultures in the controversial areas of work and leisure time, education and learning, the relationship of group and individual, German and Japanese women's and youth literature, and reporting and images created by the media. In a similar humanities connection, the JGCB has sponsored joint exhibitions of German and Japanese artists and concerts by composers and musicians from both countries.

The JGCB has carried out conferences in Japan as well as Germany, on topics such as "The Quality of Life in Japan and Germany," "Perspectives for Berlin as Capital," "Berlin, City of the Future—Vision 2000," and "The Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." The JGCB has a language service for German and Japanese translating and interpreting at its own events. It offers Japanese language courses to professionals and students at various levels.

The JGCB also offers various introductory seminars: on Japan for future German diplomats (attaches to Japan in Bonn); on Japan for attaches from the CIS and Central and East European countries in Berlin; and on Germany and Japan for young entrepreneurs and students.

The JGCB has a reference library with more than 7,000 volumes, of which approximately 60% are in Japanese. The focal points of the collection are reference books and other encyclopaedias, and specialist and nonfiction books and textbooks on Japan's economy, politics, society and culture. Database research is possible on the JGCB's own holdings, especially on approximately 1,000 Japanese monographs which have been translated into German since 1945, and on approximately 11,500

other German language Japan-related publications ranging from 1477 to 1985.

The newsletter *JGCB-ECHO* is published bi-monthly in German, Japanese and English and contains conference reports, previews of events, and information about activities. The contributions and results of conferences are published in three publication series, either in German, Japanese or English, depending on which language was used for the conference. The JGCB publishes a directory of German-Japanese cooperative ventures which is jointly edited by the German and Japanese Foreign Ministries. In autumn 1997 the JGCB edited a book on Berlin-Tokyo in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This bilingual book, published by the Springer Publishing House, has been named among the most beautiful German books in 1997 and has been awarded a first prize from the Foundation for Illustrated Books.

The JGCB is associated with several additional special projects. The German-Japanese Dialogue Forum (GJDF) includes high-ranking representatives from politics, the economy, science, culture and media and was established in 1993. It meets annually in Japan or Germany and strengthens German Japanese relations in an advisory capacity to both governments. The GJDF deals with the roles of both countries in the United Nations, global, international and regional security issues, current problems of national and international politics, and bilateral relations. (The JGCB performs the function of the Office of the German Secretary.) The German-Japanese Cooperation Council for High Tech and Environmental Technology (GJC) established in Tokyo consists of German and Japanese representatives from the industry, the sciences and politics. It investigates and identifies possibilities for industrial and technological cooperation between both countries in the fields of high tech and environmental technology. The GJC especially deals with methods of recycling and clean energy production, technology transfer, and innovations in information technology. The Council relies primarily on workshops as its working medium and documents these in a publication series. (The JGCB serves as GJC project manager for German ministries and has estab-

lished an office for the German delegation in Bonn.)

In June 1997 both governments decided to intensify German-Japanese youth and personnel exchanges. A Coordination Office for Japanese-German Youth Exchange (GJYE) was set up at the JGCB. This office serves as an information center for programs and initiatives in bilateral youth exchange (including the compilation of a directory of relevant institutions). It coordinates several newly established programs for high school and university students as well as junior staff members in various enterprises and institutions, and is involved in initiatives which aim to increase the number of internships available to Germans in Japan. It also encourages electronic school partnerships.

Finally, the European Japan Experts Association (EJEA), based in the JGCB, is concerned with networking and cooperation for the purpose of holding summer schools and conferences. Activities have included European-Japanese summer schools on "Ecology and Economy" in 1997 and 1999; a conference in Naples on "Japan and the Mediterranean" in 1998; and a conference in Athens and Santorini in 1999.

The Center can be contacted via its website at <http://www.jdzb.de>





## Documentation Center on Contemporary Japan

(Reischauer Institute,  
Sponsor):

### Literature on Modern Japanese Sociologists

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This article discusses some important reference works concerning Japanese sociologists and introduces a new work published in December 1998 for which I was one of the editors. This work is: KAWAI Takao and TAKEMURA Hideki, eds. *Kindai Nihon shakaigakusha shoden: shoshiteki kōsatsu* (Brief Biographies of Modern Japanese Sociologists, with special bibliographical resources), Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1998. The new book deals with some 140 Japanese sociologists in the period ranging from the first half of the nineteenth century to the latter half of the twentieth century. The articles provide individual short chronologies, photographs, biographical descriptions, and overviews of the works and research publications of each scholar.

Five major sociology reference works have been published previously in Japan. These include: *Shin shakaigaku jiten* (New Encyclopedia of Sociology), Yūhikaku, 1993; *Shakaigaku jiten* (Encyclopedia of Sociology), Kōbundō, 1988; *Gendai shakaigaku jiten* (Modern Encyclopedia of Sociology), Yūshindō, 1984; *Shakaigaku jiten* (Encyclopedia of Sociology), Yūhikaku, 1958; and *Shakaigaku jiten* (Encyclopedia of Sociology), Kawade shobō, 1944. Peculiarly, no such works were published in the 1960s and 1970s. The five main reference works can be introduced in order and then compared with

the new *Shoden* (Brief Biographies), which emphasizes entries about individual persons.

The *Shin shakaigaku jiten* (New Encyclopedia of Sociology) (Yūhikaku, 1993) was edited by Kiyomi Morioka, Tsutomu Shiobara and Yasuhei Honma. This has been the newest among the modern Japanese sociological works, and at 1726 pages the largest. 55 Japanese sociologists are included among the entries, of whom 32 are also covered by *Shoden*.

The *Shakaigaku jiten* (Encyclopedia of Sociology) (Kōbundō, 1988, 1231 pages) was edited by Munesuke Mita, Akira Kurihara and Yoshihisa Tanaka. This reference book has entries for 269 Japanese scholars, of whom 45 are also covered by *Shoden*. Although the entries are short, the feature of this work is the large number of entries. However, because a great many scholars outside of the field of sociology are also included, the number of sociologists proper is less than 100.

The *Gendai shakaigaku jiten* (Modern Encyclopedia of Sociology) (Yūshindō, 1984) was edited by Ryūichi Kitagawa. This is a 759 page book organized in 35 large-scale categories. They are not arranged alphabetically, but rather according to the important sociological concepts. The margins of the pages include entries on individual persons—photographs and short biographies—and among these 39 Japanese scholars are included. Of these, 30 scholars are also covered in *Shoden*. For looking up scholars, however, the number is inadequate.

The *Shakaigaku jiten* (Encyclopedia of Sociology) (Yūhikaku, 1958; 977 pages plus index of 83 pages) was edited by Tadashi Fukutake, Rokurō Hidaka and Akira Takahashi. This was the first real postwar sociology reference book. It has entries for 53 Japanese scholars, of whom 47 are also covered in *Shoden*. Special bibliographical attention is given to the publishers which produced the authors' works. Scholars active in 1958 were included.

The *Shakaigaku jiten* (Encyclopedia of Sociology) (Kawade shobō, 1944) was edited by Masamichi Shinmei. This was the first reference book on sociology in Japan. Although it was sup-

posed to be a collective work without an editor, Shinmei probably wrote the majority of the entries himself. The work contains two parts. The first, on the discipline of sociology, is systematically laid out based on the various separate subdisciplines. The second, on the history of sociology, consists of sections divided according to each national tradition; in each of these, after a national overview, is included a substantial number of entries on individual sociologists. Thus the book effectively serves the purpose of biographical reference. Entries for 72 Japanese sociologists are included, of whom 58 are covered in *Shoden*. This is the best source for learning about sociologists from early Meiji up through World War II.

The personal and biographical information in these five reference sources has many problems. First, because of space limitations the amount of information offered is insufficient. The only kind of information shown is the basic professional career, accomplishments and research publications for each person. A second problem lies in the disappearance of individuals: there is a tendency in the course of historical and generational transitions for many sociologists to be forgotten. The gap between the 1944 book and the postwar reference works is especially large. A third problem is a tendency to discuss only certain key issues important to the major sociologists in the mainstream of the sociological establishment. Treatment of the multifaceted research work of sociologists outside of the mainstream is limited. A fourth problem is that the books only value certain works of the major sociologists in certain set periods. The total creative contribution of individual scholars, including their formative periods and innovative ideas in their senior years, is not made clear. (Especially, wartime discourse is ignored.) In this connection a fifth problem appears. It is difficult to grasp the long-term careers of the individuals, meaning not only the comprehensive pictures of their theories and research accomplishments but also the ordinary human backgrounds of the scholars. Their places of origin, school experiences, employment, social networks, academic connections and so on fail to come into view. Finally, attention is needed to scholars who have been active outside the borders of Japan in the evolution of modern Japanese sociology.



The *Shoden* aims to overcome these problems. Because the amount of descriptive space available is from ten to twenty times greater, it is possible to include all of the basic source information on each individual. In addition, since critical evaluations of the scholars have been diverse depending on various historical moments and points of view, in order to be useful to later research which may deal with the diversity of perspectives the content of *Shoden* is packed with bibliographical references.

Fifteen persons are included as common entries in each of the older five reference books and also *Shoden*. These are the big names of Japanese sociology: Shōtarō Yoneda (1873-1945), Yasuma Takada (1883-1972), Teizō Toda (1887-1955), Jun'ichirō Matsumoto (1893-1947), Eitarō Suzuki (1894-1966), Hisatoshi Tanabe (1894-1962), Kazuta Kurauchi (1896-1988), Kizaemon Aruga (1897-1979), Masamichi Shimei (1898-1984), Kiyoto Furuno (1899-1979), Sei'ichi Kitano (1900-1982), Takashi Koyama (1900-1983), Tatsumi Makino (1905-1974), Ikutarō Shimizu (1907-1988) and Kunio Odaka (1908-1993).

The fifteen demonstrate two main features. One of these is their limited generational range. With the exception of Yoneda, they are restricted to those who graduated from universities under the old pre-WWII system, began their research activities in the Taishō or prewar Shōwa periods, and took up teaching in the new postwar university system. This is the generation which founded the still continuing Japan Sociological Society (Nihon shakaigakkai). Forgotten, however, are the sociologists of the previous generation, who organized the Japanese Institute of Sociology (Nippon shakaigakuin), founded by Tongo Tatebe and Shōtarō Yoneda in 1913, or (going back one generation further) the Sociological Society (Shakaigakkai) founded by Magoichi Nunokawa, Masayoshi Takagi, and Hiroyuki Katō in 1896 (later renamed the Association of Sociological Studies, Shakaigaku kenkyūkai). The other main feature is that the big name positions are occupied by graduates of Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University. This illustrates the third of the earlier-described problems, i.e. the limited treatment of sociolo-

gists located outside of the mainstream. Even setting aside the problem of restricted generational coverage, a number of sociologists graduated from Waseda University, Nihon University, Keio University, and others in the same period (even if the quantity was small). But in many cases sociologists, even though they did solid research which was known within their own universities, were surprisingly unknown outside them. *Shoden* includes such sociologists—even those forgotten within their own schools—and re-discovers them as a common resource for us today. *Shoden* also draws attention to nonacademics who can be considered sociologists: journalists such as Iwagorō Matsubara and Gen'nosuke Yokoyama, who made social observations of urban lower classes, Nyozezan Hasegawa, who was not only a journalist but a social critic, and social welfare activists including Tadashi Yamaguchi, Shinando Shiga, and Yaso'o Kusama, who were regional government officials.

Finally, focusing on sociologists active outside of Japanese national boundaries, *Shoden* discusses the research by foreign scholars on Japan and the necessity to situate them among those who have contributed to modern Japanese sociology. These include Charles Wirgman and Georges Ferdinand Bigot, who came to observe Japan as journalistic illustrators in the bakumatsu and Meiji periods, special foreign experts Edward S. Morse and Ernest Fennolosa, the Korean sociologists Kyung-durk Har, Hyun-joon Kim, the Chinese Fu Yan and Xiaotong Fei, Western researchers on Japan John Fee Embree, Ronald P. Dore, James Christian Abegglen, Robert Nelly Bellah, and the Japanese-American sociologist Tamotsu Shibutani. Of course, because their countries of origin and generations differ, these thirteen scholars are not treated uniformly. It should be mentioned that in the reference works of the 1990s Western scholars on Japan in the postwar period are prominent, and in the 1993 *Shin shakaigaku jiten* sociologists from Asian countries are also described to a considerable extent. However, certain problems are still present in the treatment of these foreign scholars: that is, total views of their work are not provided, pictures of their whole research activity are hard to discern, and Meiji period scholars are not treated.

In the previous issue of *Tsūshin*, Professor Gordon discussed the question of why people outside Japan study Japan. Along related lines, no one should think that because it is somehow naturally expected that people should study their own society, Japanese themselves do not need or do not have their own distinct history of reasons for studying Japan. There are probably a variety of answers possible to such questions of reasons, but by means of the method attempted in *Shoden*—paying attention to the whole life careers of individual scholars and examining together a multiplicity of such lives—the beginnings of answers can perhaps be found. Without overspecialization or pedantry, we seek to know how our predecessors wrestled with their ongoing inquiries and thus to critically inherit their experience. Therefore a compilation of the fundamental resource material was the editorial purpose of *Shoden*.

Indeed, in looking through the lives and research work of the some 140 sociologists provided in this reference work, a number of research themes can be detected running like veins of ore. There is no room to detail them here. However, the book is available in the Documentation Center on Contemporary Japan and it would be beneficial for readers to examine it. (Also, each of the five earlier reference works discussed is available in the Harvard-Yenching Library.) Meanwhile, the authors of *Shoden* are mostly younger sociologists and would be glad to receive inquiries about their work.





# Reischauer Institute News Notes

## The Teachers as Scholars Project

The Teachers as Scholars Project, sponsored by the Harvard Graduate School of Education, the American Council of Learned Societies, and public and private school systems in the Boston area, provides opportunities for K-12 school teachers to work with university scholars and to engage in intensive discussions of topics in the humanities and sciences. In organization, each course consists of an intensive seminar which is completed during a cycle involving four to six days of full day meetings (usually held on weekdays). In 1998-99 the Project offered over 50 such seminars serving some 750 teachers.

This year the Reischauer Institute decided to offer a grant to the T.A.S. program to support a cluster of new seminars on Japan. These will provide teachers with the latest research on and scholarly study of Japan in fields such as literature, art, social sciences, and history.

Andrew Gordon, Professor of History, and Director of the Reischauer Institute has already taught in the program for several years. This fall his seminar will be entitled, "The Individual and Society in Modern Japanese History." Other participants this year will include Jay Rubin, Takashima Professor of Japanese Humanities at Harvard ("Two Sides of War in Japanese Literature"), William W. Grimes, Visiting Assistant Professor at Harvard ("Japan and the United States: Most Important Relationship in the World or Odd Couple?"), and Victoria Weston, University of Massachusetts ("Nineteenth-Century Japan: Tradition and the West").

Ezra Vogel, Henry Ford II Professor of the Social Sciences and former Director of the Harvard Asia Center, has also previously taught a course for the Project.

## Research and Publication in the Harvard Japanese Studies Community

Studies on Japan forthcoming this fall from the Harvard University Asia Center Publications Office include:

Frederick R. Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Assistant Professor of Japanese History, University of Pennsylvania)

Soon-woon Park, *Colonial Industrialization and Labor in Korea: The Onoda Cement Factory* (Lecturer, Keio University).

The images on previous pages are caricatures of early twentieth-century Japanese politicians, from Dickinson, *War and National Reinvention*. Can you identify them?

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The *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* publishes articles and book reviews on a wide range of topics concerning the humanities in East Asia. Issue 59.2 (December 1999) will include the following articles on Japan:

"The Shogun's Consort: Konoe Hiroko and Tokugawa Ienobu" by Cecilia Segawa Seigle

"Fractured Dialogues: *Mono no aware* and Poetic Communication in *The Tale of Genji*" by Tomiko Yoda

"The Metropolitan Uncanny in the Works of Izumi Kyōka: a Counter-discourse on Japan's Modernization" by Chiyoko Kawakami

Annual subscription rates (two issues) are \$30 for individuals and \$45 for institutions. Send inquiries to *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA. FAX: (617) 495-7798

## Introduction of Postdoctoral Fellows

Hiroshi Aoyagi



Dr. Aoyagi was born in Kawachi, Osaka in 1963. He received a B.A. in Anthropology from Washington State University in 1988, an M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Arizona in 1991, and his Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of British Columbia in 1999. His research interests include symbolism, language and culture, socialization and social change, industrial organization, and ethnographic research methods. Although Japan is his principal geographic area of interest, his "academic appetite" extends to other parts of East and Southeast Asia as well as to native communities of North and Latin America. He conducted an interdisciplinary research project based in China between 1987 and 1991. As a doctoral student, Dr. Aoyagi conducted ethnographic fieldwork in the Japanese entertainment industry between 1994 and 1996 in which he examined the role played by young celebrities in the construction of youth culture. Part of this study was developed into an article "Idol Performances and the Formation of Asian Identities" to be included in the forthcoming *Japanese Pop Culture*, edited by Tim Craig (M.E. Sharpe). Another article, "Between the Innocence of the Past and the Innocence of the Future: Pop-Idol Performances and the Field of Gender Contestation," will appear in the forthcoming *Joining the Past to the Future: Japan at the Millennium*, edited by David Edgington (University of British Columbia Press). Dr. Aoyagi's dissertation is entitled



“Islands of Eight Million Smiles: Pop-Idol Performances and the Field of Symbolic Production.”

Christopher Hill



Dr. Hill received his B.A. in English from Stanford University in 1986, his M.A. in Comparative Literature from Columbia University in 1992, and his Ph.D. in Japanese and Comparative Literature from Columbia in 1999. Between his undergraduate and graduate studies he worked as an English teacher in Yamanashi prefecture and as a reporter in northern New York state, New York City, and Tokyo. He conducted his doctoral research in Tokyo at Hōsei University. Dr. Hill’s research focuses on the cultural forms of modernity, with a particular interest in Japanese literary and historical narrative in the Meiji period. He also is interested in comparisons of Japan to other industrializing societies in the late nineteenth century. His dissertation is entitled “National History and the World of Nations: Writing Japan, France, the United States, 1870-1900.”

Kiyomi Kusumoto



Dr. Kusumoto received a B.A. in English Education and an M.A. in English Linguistics from Yokohama National University. She received her Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst in 1999. She is interested in issues in formal semantics and in the syntax-semantics interface. Her main

area of interest is tense semantics, especially cross-linguistic differences in temporal interpretation in different constructions. She is particularly interested in the Japanese and Slavic languages. Her thesis is entitled “Tense in Embedded Contexts.”

Laura Ginsberg McGuinness



Dr. McGuinness received a B.A. in Comparative Area Studies and Art History from Duke University in 1992, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in anthropology from Yale University in 1998. Her research interests traverse several sub-fields in socio-cultural anthropology—including gender, sport, globalization, and popular culture—but she is particularly interested in the institutional and ideological construction of beauty and the body in contemporary Japan. She spent the past year as an assistant professor at James Madison University, teaching introductory courses in anthropology and upper level classes on gender and the conventions of ethnographic writing in classic anthropological texts. Her dissertation is entitled: “Fitness and Femininity: Discipline and Display of the Female Body in Contemporary Japan.”

### Reischauer Postdoctoral Fellowships in Japanese Studies for the Academic Year 2000–2001

The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies at Harvard University will offer four postdoctoral fellowships in Japanese studies to recent Ph.D.s of exceptional promise, to give them the opportunity to turn their dissertations into publishable manuscripts. Each fellowship will cover a 10- or 12-month period, beginning July 1 or September 1, 2000, with a stipend of \$32,000 and

health insurance coverage for the grantee. First option for publication of manuscripts will rest with the Harvard University Asia Center Publications Office, for its Harvard East Asian Monographs series. Postdoctoral fellows will be provided office space and access to the libraries and resources of Harvard University. Residence in the Cambridge/Boston area and participation in Institute activities are required during the appointment. Postdoctoral fellows will be expected to give a presentation in the Reischauer Institute Japan Forum lecture series. Eligibility: Applicants must have received their Ph.D. degree in 1995 or later, in Japanese studies in any area of the humanities or social sciences. Those who are chosen to receive fellowships must have their Ph.D. degree in hand by July 1, 2000.

**Application Process:** Applicants should submit a complete application consisting of the following: Placement dossier, including official transcripts of grades; Curriculum vitae (including citizenship, Social Security number, academic degrees with dates of conferral, discipline, and institution); Current and permanent addresses, telephone number(s), and e-mail address; Two letters of recommendation (signed and sealed), which must be enclosed with the application; Dissertation abstract and table of contents; Plan of research (on separate sheet, up to 2 pages), explaining: What do you plan to do at each stage of your research during the fellowship? What particular resources do you intend to use at each stage? What are the advantages of doing your postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard? Are there specific individuals you hope to seek out while in residence?; and (finally) a list of publications.

On a *separate sheet*, please provide the following information, retyping each question in this order: 1. Name; 2. University and Department; 3. Field of Study; 4. Thesis Title; 5. Date Ph.D. degree in hand; 6. Names of (2) recommenders; 7. Do you have a continuing teaching position? If yes, where?; 8. Have you previously applied for the Postdoctoral Fellowship? If yes, when?

Mail applications to: Prof. Andrew Gordon, Director (re: Postdoctoral



Fellowship), Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge Street, Room 319, Cambridge, MA 02138.

**Application Deadline: March 1, 2000**

Awards Announcement: April 30, 2000

## Special Events

**R**ECENT SPECIAL EVENTS On March 5th, Prof. **Kazuko Kawaguchi** of Sophia University, a Reischauer Institute Visiting Scholar, spoke on the topic "The 'Legality of the Threat or Use of Nuclear Weapons' and 'The Logic of Nuclear Deterrence': A Legal Sociological Analysis" in the Reischauer Institute lounge.

On April 10th, the 1999 Harvard Graduate Student conference was held in Coolidge Hall.

On April 10th, the 1999 Shōryūhai intercollegiate kendō tournament took place in Harvard's Malkin Athletic Center. The Harvard team's special coach was Mr. **Junji Himeno**, Reischauer Institute Visiting Scholar.

On April 28th, a special retirement reception was held in the Harvard Faculty Club for Mr. **Toshiyuki Aoki**, Assistant Librarian for the Japanese Collection in the Harvard-Yenching Library. Mr. Aoki had served at Harvard since 1968.

On Friday, May 21 and Saturday, May 22, 1999, Professor **Albert M. Craig**, Harvard-Yenching Professor of Japanese History, was honored with a symposium and dinner on the occasion of his retirement. Professor Craig's career spanned forty years of service to Harvard University and to the field of Japanese studies worldwide. The Symposium on the History of Modern Japan was open to the public and took place over Friday afternoon and all day Saturday with approximately one hundred people attending each of the three sessions. Twenty-five of Professor Craig's former students wrote papers or served as discussants, coming from as far

away as British Columbia, Japan, and Singapore. A gala dinner was held on Friday evening. Speakers included Professors **Andrew Gordon**, Professor of History and Director of the Reischauer Institute, **Henry Rosovsky**, Lewis P. and Linda L. Geysler University Professor, Emeritus, **Edward Baker**, Associate Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and **Howard Hibbett**, Victor S. Thomas Professor of Japanese Literature, Emeritus. Wellwishers rose from among the guests to offer their recollections and anecdotes and to express their admiration.

On August 1, **Kuniko Yamada McVey**, former Director of the Documentation Center on Contemporary Japan, succeeded Mr. Toshiyuki Aoki as Assistant Librarian for Japanese Studies at the Harvard-Yenching Library.

## From the Editor

**C**ULTURAL EXCHANGE:  
CONSUMERISM VERSUS DEEP EDUCATION

We live in a world which is characterized by both the rise of an international entertainment and tourist industry and by the rise of a deadly serious economic interdependence. Both of these phenomena lead to rhetoric about "cultural exchange" and "the global village." Especially, educators always refer to the goals of international cooperation, goodwill among nations, improved intercultural understandings between individuals, and so on. Yet there are two ranges of meaning to ideas about "exchange" and "education."

For the entertainment and tourism industry, shiny surfaces, media images, and conventional impressions of the "Other" are good enough. "Cultural exchange" is something that pleases the prior expectations of participants, and gives them the comfortable feeling of having experienced something new—even if their reality has not been challenged. This "Disney World" conception of cultural exchange is one of the terribly discouraging aspects of international consumer capitalism.

In the harder sphere of serious economic interdependence, on the other hand, comfortable surfaces and images have to yield to politicized decisions on concrete action that affect the stubborn realities of everyday economic and moral life. Here, "cultural exchange" often does not meet the expectations of the participants. Instead, trying to negotiate disagreements about substantial choices in social and economic life forces participants to encounter, perhaps unwillingly, something new. They are reminded embarrassingly that "cultural exchange" can quite often require fundamental questioning of an inherited sense of reality.

Educational institutions are becoming part of a world market system at the end of the twentieth century. Riding this trend, they seem to stand poised uncertainly between these notions of "exchange." Thus schools often guide students into a no-man's land between the two extremes of informative entertainment and of visceral reorganization of personal reality.

Such issues have recently been discussed by two researchers in the journal *International Educator*.<sup>\*</sup> Observing that even working experts have not paid enough attention to the underlying philosophical questions, the authors argue two main points.

First, globalism is not the same as deep international understanding. The term globalism is often only shorthand for the ascendancy of a certain hegemonic economic and political regime, one which likes to assume that a relatively homogenous global village has actually emerged or is about to emerge. However, as civil wars and the rise of new ethnic conflicts have shown, the evidence for this paradigm is poor. In fact, the late twentieth century effort to impose, at least psychologically, a "global" regime on the whole world actually creates a counterreaction that leads to exaggerated concerns for identity, ethnicity, and diversity that in their own oppositional way break down the possibility of communication.

Second, unless used very carefully, the new information technologies of



e-mail and internet may tend to reinforce the shallowest tendencies of globalism. Such technologies accelerate certain kinds of “virtual” ties, but they also create illusions about the real depth and strength of communication. In some cases, students are beginning to wonder why physical contact with other cultures, for example by means of foreign study, is actually necessary. At the worst, the new technologies, by suspending ordinary perceptions of space, time, and history, lead to a narcissistic sense that the

local realities of longstanding cultural practice no longer count.

The authors suggest that we must move with ever sharper critical awareness towards an understanding that cultural exchange and international education reach down to the very roots of human consciousness. The kinds of exchange and education that really matter must always involve risk, disequilibrium, and culture shock; in other words, they must always involve a transcendence of fixed boundaries among the professional,

economic, existential, ethnic, and moral dimensions of any person’s life.

\*Walter Grunzweig and Nana Rinhart, “International Understanding and Global Interdependence: A Philosophical Inquiry,” *International Educator*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Early Fall 1998), pp. 41-48.

—Galen Amstutz



Professor Albert M. Craig at the Symposium honoring his retirement; on right, Dr. Timothy George speaking at one of the panels



On July 2, 1999, Mr. Toshiyuki Aoki (center left), recently retired librarian for Japanese studies at the Harvard-Yenching Library, received a Consul’s Award from the Japanese Consulate in Boston. The current Consul is Mr. Shinichi Kitajima (center right).

(The politicians are, in page order: Shinpei Gotō, Kaoru Inoue, Giichi Tanaka, Takaaki Katō, and Masatake Terauchi.)

Address ideas and correspondence about *Tsushin* to Dr. Galen Amstutz, Institute Coordinator, at the Reischauer Institute address, or via e-mail to [gamstutz@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:gamstutz@fas.harvard.edu). Most of the content of *Tsushin* is available on the Reischauer Institute’s Internet website: <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~rijs>. The Reischauer Institute would like to thank the following persons who have specially contributed recently:

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# The Edwin O. Reischauer Institute of Japanese Studies

## Japan Forum/Events: Fall 1999

September 24	<u>THOMAS CONLAN</u> Bowdoin College “ <i>The Culture of Force and Farce: A History of Fourteenth-Century Japanese Warfare</i> ”
October 1	<u>HARRY HAROOTUNIAN</u> (co-sponsored with the Asian Cultural Studies Workshop) New York University “ <i>Overcome by Modernity: Reflections on Interwar Japan</i> ”
October 5 (Tuesday)	<u>RONALD DORE</u> (held 12:30-2 PM, Busch Hall, 27 Kirkland Street) (co-sponsored with the Program in U.S.-Japan Relations) Centre for Economic Performance, London School of Economics “ <i>The End of Japanese Capitalism?</i> ”
October 8	<u>SAMUEL MARTIN</u> Yale University, emeritus “ <i>What Do Japanese and Korean Have in Common?</i> ”
October 12 (Tuesday)	<u>RYUTARO HASHIMOTO</u> (Distinguished Visitor Lecture: held 3:30-5 PM, Science Center Lecture Hall A) (co-sponsored with the Program in U.S.-Japan Relations) Former Prime Minister (1996-98) and Representative, Japanese House of Representatives “ <i>Making Sense of Japan in the 1990s</i> ”
October 15	<u>KENNETH PYLE</u> University of Washington “ <i>New Orders in East Asia: The Dynamics of Change in Modern Japan</i> ”
October 18 (Monday)	<u>JOHN NATHAN</u> (held 4:30-6 PM) University of California at Santa Barbara “ <i>In Quest of Sony: Mapping the Sentimental Empire</i> ”
October 21 (Thursday)	<u>LAWRENCE MARCEAU</u> (co-sponsored with the Asian Cultural Studies Workshop) University of Delaware “ <i>What Goes ‘Thump’ in the Night: The Ghoul Explosion in Eighteenth-Century Japan</i> ”
October 29	<u>EVE ZIMMERMAN</u> Wellesley College “ <i>Cracks in the Glass: Pictures of the Shōjo in Tsushima Yūko’s Fiction</i> ”
November 12	<u>CURTIS MILHAUPT</u> Columbia University “ <i>An Institutional and Empirical Analysis of Japanese Organized Crime</i> ”
November 15 (Monday)	<u>MARK SELDEN</u> Cornell University “ <i>Lessons of War, Global Power, and Social Change: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States</i> ”
November 19	<u>JANINE SAWADA</u> University of Iowa “ <i>The Religious Cultivation of Gender Equilibrium in Early Nineteenth-Century Japan</i> ”
December 3	<u>DAVID WEINSTEIN</u> Columbia University “ <i>What’s So Good About Tokyo? Understanding Japanese Regional Development</i> ”
December 10	<u>TED BESTOR</u> Cornell University “ <i>Industrial Fish, Artisanal Fishers: Globalization and the Japanese Sushi Market</i> ”
December 17	<u>HIROSHI AOYAGI</u> Harvard University “ <i>Islands of Eight Million Smiles: Pop-Idol Performances and the Field of Symbolic Production</i> ”

Excluding any exceptions noted, events are part of the JAPAN FORUM series of the Reischauer Institute. Except as noted events are held on Fridays, from 4:00 to 5:30 p.m., Seminar Room 3, Coolidge Hall, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge