

平成 20 年度大学院教育改革支援プログラム
「東アジア高度人材養成共同化プログラム」採択プロジェクト

アメリカの東アジア観・世界観
地域主義と覇権を考える

*The US Views on East Asia and the World:
Regionalism and Hegemony*

報 告 書

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はじめに

—活動の目的と成果—

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【目的】

今回、アメリカを訪問した我々のプロジェクトでは、東アジアの地域主義とアメリカによる覇権という大きな問題意識から出発した。この問題意識を学問的なテーマとして考える上では、アメリカによる覇権主義はアメリカが現在の世界をいかにとらえ、さらに、各地域をいかに理解しているかという「認識」が基盤となっていることに着目した。すなわち、アメリカがどのように自国を国際社会で位置づけ、その上で各地域をとらえているかという認識を考えることである。このような世界観、また地域へのまなざしを探求する際には、さまざまな方法論、視角からの分析が可能であるが、今回のプロジェクトでは、アメリカの学問的体系（学知）において世界認識あるいは地域への問題が語られているか、より具体的には、アメリカの学界、大学において、いかに世界や地域が語られているかを探求することを目的とした。

以上のようなテーマを掲げ、我々は、ウェルズリー大学、ニューヨーク大学でのワークショップにおける議論や交流を通じ相互理解を深め、ハーヴァード大学、シンクタンクでのレクチャーからアメリカ最先端の知的傾向を学び、見聞を深めることを目的とした。

【成果】

今回のプロジェクトでは、フィールドスタディとして、上記に掲げたテーマについて理解を深めるものであった。

まずは、ウェルズリー大学でのワークショップでは、アジアからみたアメリカという全体テーマの下に、日本、中国、タイ、韓国から見たアメリカ観について **GSAPS** の学生が報告と問題提起をおこない、それについてウェルズリー大学の参加者（教員も含めて）活発な議論をおこなった。このような「対外観」を学問とする上での方法論上での問題提起も含めて、いかに漠然としたものであれ、ある国家が他のある国に対してもつ「対外観」の存在を我々は軽視できないことを学んだ。またニューヨーク大学でのワークショップでは、アメリカにおける日本研究が多様化してきているというニューヨーク大教授の報告がなされ、**GSAPS** 学生による日本研究についての報告と議論がおこなわれた。「日本」がアメリカでいかに研究されつつあるのかを学ぶと同時に、日本でいかに日本を教えるのかまた研究するのかについて考える機会となった。

そして、ハーヴァード大学、および、シンクタンクでの講義では、アメリカのボストンという学問の中心地において、いかに学知としてアメリカが世界を教え、また、現実の日米関係を政策とのかかわりでとらえるのかを学ぶよい機会となった。ハーヴァードにおける国際関係史の研究と教育がグローバル・ヒストリーへと展開し、「国家」の相対化が進んでいる一方で、シンクタンクという存在においては国益・現状重視の知的議論がされている

ことは興味深い対照であった。さらに、アメリカの国連代表部を訪問し、現在のアメリカ国連政策における問題点、今後の変化などについてブリーフィングを受けることができたことも貴重な経験であった。

今回のフィールドはアメリカの東海岸における一部の高等教育機関および限られたシンクタンク、政府機関の訪問に過ぎない。したがって、今回得られた知見をもって、ただちにアメリカの東アジア観はこうであるとか、アメリカは一国主義であるとかいった安易な一般化に結びつけることは危険である。今回訪問した機関だけを見ても、その世界観、東アジア観が一定のものとはいえない。アメリカの日本研究がより細分化し、国際関係史がグローバル・ヒストリーへと向かう一方で、政策のレベルでは東アジアがアメリカにとって重要であり、アメリカ第一主義から国連にかかわる態度も見て取られた。

上記のような内容面での成果以上に、実践的な教育訓練としてこのプロジェクトが果たした役割は大きい。計画の立案、連絡に学生自身がかかわったことや海外での発表また議論の応酬は、学生達の将来の自信につながると思われる。一週間弱のフィールドではあるが、覇権と地域主義にといった内容のみにとどまらない中身の濃い経験は各人の胸に深く刻まれるであろう。

Aim and Summary of the Trip

Hatsue Shinohara

【Aim】

Our study trip to the US aimed at understanding the US hegemony and its implications for regionalism in East Asia. However, the question we originally posed was too broad to be addressed and answered by just a week-long study project. As the question had to be more focused, we more specifically sought to examine how the US as a superpower and hegemony perceives the conditions of the world, and her role in the world, and accordingly how it grasps the East Asia as region and the issue in it. It is possible to examine “national” image of other peoples and the world from several perspectives. However, our project rather looked at the intellectual and academic views shared by and taught at universities and think tanks.

With the purpose of enhancing our understanding on academic discourse in the US and facilitating intellectual cooperation, we held a workshop at Wellesley College, New York University, while we had a lecture and discussion at Harvard University and the Institute of Foreign Policy Analysis.

【Summary】

Overall, our field study trip was very successful and meaningful in terms of academic achievement and practical educational training.

At Wellesley College we held a workshop on the Asian views over the United States. After GSAPS students respectively made a presentation on Japanese, Chinese, Thai, and Korean views on the US and the Americans, question and discussion followed by students and professors of Wellesley. We learned while the national image of another country can be vague and stereotyped we cannot completely ignore it because the simple image often serves as the foundation for xenophobia, and in turn the formation of nationalism. At NYU, Professor Tom Looser opened our session by giving a remark on the condition of the Japanese studies in the US which became more diverse in their topic and orientation. The GSAPS students who were writing theses on Japan read a paper on their topic.

The lectures at Harvard University, and the Institute of Foreign Policy Analysis offered us a good insight on how the major academic institution taught the US role in the world and the think tank dealt with the issue of the US-Japan relations. It is interesting to note that while at Harvard the recent trend of teaching international history had shifted from national-centered history to global and transnational history while the think tank naturally presented its argument based on national interest. Furthermore, it was such an excellent opportunity for us to visit the US Mission to the

United Nations where distinguished officials provided us with thoughtful analysis on the current US policy to the UN.

Our study tour this time was only limited to some major universities, a think tank and a governmental mission. The knowledge and understanding we gained through this trip should not easily lead to a comfortable generalization that the US images toward East Asia countries were fixed or that the US would not abandon its hegemonic role in the world. The institutions we visited did not necessarily share the similar views over the world and the East Asian countries. While the general condition in Japanese studies became more fragmented and international history gradually was replaced by global history, policy oriented analysis tended to stress the strategic importance of East Asia to the US and American superiority over the UN.

It is also important to note that this project contributed not only to constituting academic achievements but giving practical educational training to graduate students. Our students were involved in planning and communicating counterpart institutions and participated in significant academic discussions. This experience of participating in valuable intellectual cooperation beyond the national boundaries will definitely remain something memorable as well.

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修士2年

タイ国籍

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修士2年

日本国籍

羽田 夏子

Natsuko Hada

修士2年

日本国籍

テシャタヴィーキッチン カチーポーン

Kajeeporn Techataveekijkul

修士2年

タイ国籍

ゲレザウスカス アンドリュース

Andrius Gelezauskas

修士1年

リトアニア国籍

田辺 賢介

Kensuke Tanabe

修士1年

日本国籍

大柿 沙織

Saori Ohgaki

修士1年

日本国籍

朴イェジ

Yeji Park

修士1年

韓国籍

范薇

Wei Fan

修士1年

中国籍

日程表 Daily Schedule

2/15/09 (Sun) <i>Hotel Marlowe</i> 25 Edwin H Land Blvd, Cambridge MA	15:30	Meet at Tokyo Narita Airport
	17:55	Depart from Tokyo Narita Airport (UA882)
	14:10	Arrive at Chicago O'Hare Airport
	16:14	Leave Chicago O'Hare Airport
	19:30	Arrive at Boston Logan Airport
2/16/09 (Mon) <i>Hotel Marlowe</i>	14:00	<u>Harvard University</u> Vernie Oliveiro , Teaching Fellow, Harvard University “Taming the Titans: The United States, Multinational Cooperation and the Politics of Globalization in the 1970s” ;“International History at Harvard”
2/17/09 (Tue) <i>Hotel Marlowe</i>	10:30	<u>The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis</u> James L. Schoff , Associate Director of Asia-Pacific Studies, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis “US-Japan Alliance: The Future of Extended Deterrence” Commentator: Kensuke Tanabe
	16:00	<u>Wellesley College</u> Ellen Widmer , Professor, Wellesley College Roundtable Discussion: “Image of America in Asia, Image of Japan in America” Natsuko Hada : Moderator, Anne Jutimasakulboworn , “Thai’s Image of America”, Saori Ohgaki , “Japanese Image of America”, Yeji Park , “Korean Image of America”, Fan Wei , “Chinese Image of America”
2/18/09 (Wed) <i>Hotel Pennsylvania</i> 401 7 th Avenue at 33 rd Street, New York, NY 10001	08:20	Leave Boston South Station (Amtrak#171)
	12:15	Arrive at New York Penn Station
	16:30	<u>New York University</u> Tom Looser , Professor, the New York University “Japanese Studies in the US”; “Japanese Studies at the GSAPS” Yoshiyuki Aoki , “Comfort Women”, Bow Techtaveekijkul , “Japanese in Thai Pop Culture”, Andrius Gelezaukas , “Corruption in Japanese Politics”
2/19/09 (Thu) <i>Ramada Plaza</i> 144 Van Wyck, Jamaica NY 11430	11:30	<u>Ground Zero</u>
	13:30	<u>U.S. Mission to the United Nations</u> D. Shane Christensen , Advisor, Economic and Social Affairs John Senior , Advisor, Political Affairs
2/20/09 (Fri)	06:30	Leave New York JFK Airport (UA891)
	10:00	Arrive at Los Angeles Airport
	11:15	Leave Los Angeles Airport
2/21/09 (Sat)	15:55	Arrive at Tokyo Narita Airport



Wellesley 大学でのプレゼンテーション



The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis にて、James Schoff 氏と



Harvard University にて、Vernie Oliveiro 氏と

研修内容

初日（2009年2月15日）東京ーシカゴーボストン
移動日

二日目（2009年2月16日）ボストン

Harvard University（Vernie Oliveiro 氏のレクチャー）14時～16時

内容

Oliveiro 氏の博士論文のテーマである 70 年代の国際協力、及びハーヴァード大学での International History 教育について。

詳細

Oliverio 氏の研究は基本的に 70 年代の国際協力の変化を分析することで、グローバリゼーションの説明を試みるものである。Oliverio 氏の見解によれば、70 年代中盤は国際協力（international cooperation）が深化すると同時に、国際資本主義（international capitalism）の正当性、すなわち「正当な競争を定義するのは誰なのか」が問われるようになった。そして、この変化は、現在のオバマ政権の保護主義と類似性がある。

ハーヴァード大学では、international history, transnational history を超えて、New international history という概念がある。この New international history では、これまで米国ではあまり顧みられることのなかった、「世界の中の米国」という視点が強調される。

三日目（2009年2月17日）ボストン

The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis（James L. Schoff, 氏のレクチャー&議論）10時30分～13時30分

内容

日米同盟の変化とその要因

詳細

冷戦期、米国にとって日本は戦略の要であった。そして、日本側も米国の軍事力を必要としていたが、そこには民衆の、反軍事力、そして二国間関係重視という二つの背反する心性が働いていた。冷戦後、日本における米軍の存在は、日本のアジアにおける指導的立場を強調するのに重要であった。しかし、冷戦後の中国の台頭、および北朝鮮の核という新たな脅威の発生によって、日米は Security Dilemma を抱えるようになる。その流れの中で、沖縄、岩国、普天間、横田における基地の co-basing（基地の共同使用）が進んできた。また、朝鮮戦争、ベトナム戦争という東アジアでの戦争遂行の為に、米国は日本国内の基地を絶対的に必要としていた。しかし、現在の基地使用目的はアジアでの戦争遂行から対テ

ロ戦争へと変化した。

Wellesley College (Ellen Widmer 教授が全体の司会を務めた討論会) 16 時～18 時
参加教授: Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka 教授、T. James Kodera 教授、Eve Zimmerman 教授、Katharine
H.S. Moon 教授、その他多数。

内容

Image of America in Asia, Image of Japan in America

詳細

GSAPS 側の、タイ、日本、韓国、中国から見たアメリカイメージというショートプレゼンテーションの後、討論。主に議論された内容は、アジア系アメリカ人のアイデンティティの所在、オバマ政権の成立によってアメリカイメージの変化、アメリカイメージの向上に求められるものであった。そして、Yoshihisa Tak Matsusaka 教授の見解では、「アメリカはアジアを知らない、しかしアジアの人々もアメリカを知らない」ことが問題の根源であり、今回のような討論会を通して互いの理解向上へ繋がることが期待された。又、Wellesley の学生からも「プレゼンテーションにあったような、アメリカのネガティブなステレオタイプがあることは知っている。考えたいことはそれとは違うイメージをどう伝えればいいのかである。」というコメントがあった。このコメントに対して、なぜそのネガティブなステレオタイプイメージが定着したのかを、内省する必要性も投げかけられた。その一つの方策として、GSAPS 側の発表者から、教育課程において、他国の歴史、世界史 (International History) 等を積極的に学び他国への関心を高める必要性が提起された。

四日目 (2009 年 2 月 18 日) ポストン-ニューヨーク

New York University (Tom Looser 教授のレクチャー&討論会) 16 時 30 分～18 時 30 分

内容

アメリカでの日本学 (Japanese studies) の変遷

詳細

アメリカにおいて、日本学は戦後の日本の景気回復に合わせて経済的理由から始められた。その後、経済中心の研究から社会学、歴史学的研究が主流となる。それには、日本の独自性を分析するための、Cultural studies 的研究、日本の国際産業モデルの社会学的分析、日本の帝国主義、植民地主義を歴史学として研究するものなどがあげられる。

そして、後半に GSAPS の学生の『慰安婦』『タイにおける日本のイメージ』『日本の政治汚職』についてのプレゼンテーションについて討論を行った。

五日目 (2009 年 2 月 19 日) ニューヨーク

U.S. mission to the United Nations (D. Shane Christensen 氏 [Adviser, Economic and Social

内容

国連と米国の関係

詳細

国連の活動は、環境問題、社会活動、経済活動、女性の人権、食糧危機、人道危機、など多岐にわたるが、大きく分けて平和維持活動と政治的安全の維持の二つに分けられる。これらの二つの活動の根本となっているのは、人権、民主主義の理念である。この理念のもと、今起きている問題と取り組んでいるのが国連である。

現在の国連活動の 75% を占めるのが、スーダン、ソマリア、ジンバブエ、コンゴ等のアフリカでの食糧、人道、経済の危機である。ほかにも、アジアではミャンマー、EU 圏内では、コソボが中心となる問題となっている。そのような国連の活動は意義のあるものであるが、国連における多角主義の重視による米国のリーダーシップの阻害などは、米国にとって国連が両義的であることを示している。

米国は、オバマ政権の誕生で多国間関係を重視するようになった。それは、ブッシュ政権が行ってきた圧力をかける外交方策からの転換を意味している。また、クリントン国務長官のアジア歴訪に現れているように、米国は、欧米中心からアジア中心へ推移しようとしている。

六日目 (2009 年 2 月 20 日) ニューヨークーロサンゼルスー東京

帰国日

Trip Report

During February 15-21, 2009, ten members from our Shinohara seminar class organized a study trip to Boston and New York, the centers of Eastern America. The trip was funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, with the aim of improving graduate school education in Japan. The theme of this trip was East Asia and the US/ Japan and Asia in the US academic institutions. During those five days, our fellow members had one of the most unforgettable academic experiences as graduate students.

We started the first day of our trip in Boston by visiting the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, one of the famous tourist attractions in the city. The art works displayed at the museum were stunning. Our members had a pleasant time exploring artistic creations both from Eastern and Western traditions. In the afternoon on the same day, we visited Harvard University, arguably the most famous university in the United States. We were given a brief tour by Vernie Oliveira, a teaching fellow at Harvard University's Department of History. The atmosphere in this university town was very academically stimulating. According to Ms. Oliveira, students at Harvard work very hard at studying. However, they also perform well in other school activities and have a great social life. Apart from effective time management skill, Ms. Oliveira also gave us a brief lecture on her dissertation, "Taming the Titans: The United States, Multinational Cooperation and the Politics of Globalization in the 1970s." We were motivated to think about the role of capitalist MNCs in the politics of globalization, which led to the current global trade patterns. According to Ms. Oliveira, free trade is not absolutely free and it has always been controlled by governments. In addition, she also showed us the structure of some of the classes at the Department of History and shared with us her experience as a teaching fellow/PhD student. Her talks gave those of us who want to pursue a PhD degree a clearer idea of what to expect before choosing that path. Overall, our trip to Harvard challenged us to reconsider our passions for studying, and hopefully, strengthen our determination to do our best while we are still at GSAPS.

On the following day, all of us visited the Institute of Foreign Policy Analysis, where the Associate Director of Asia-Pacific Studies, James L. Schoff, kindly gave us a lecture on "US-Japan Alliance: The Future of Extended Deterrence". He gave us overall background information about the US-Japan alliance and pointed out some problems with how the future of extended deterrence can be sustained, when the interests of the two allies start to differ. During this session, one of our members, Kensuke Tanabe, who is studying the history of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, made some comments on Mr. Schoff's arguments, making the session a lively and interactive one. At the end of the session, our members had a deeper understanding of the current issues with the US-Japan alliance and how to consider the challenges that the two countries are facing in their management of the partnership.

Later on the same day, we moved on to visit Wellesley College, a famous women's college in the US, which is an alma mater of our member, Natsuko Hada. Hada-san gave us a quick tour of

the college before we joined a roundtable discussion with students from Wellesley College. The theme of the discussion was an image of America in Asia, where four members from our seminar each made their presentations on the image of the US in their respective home countries. Saori Ohgaki made a well-researched speech on Japanese image of America, while Yeji Park presented her observation on Korean image of America. Fan Wei made an interesting presentation on Chinese image of the US, and Pattaninun Jutimasakulboworn showed the participants the results of her small survey of Thai people on their image of the US. The discussion was very heated, as there were some agreements as well as disagreements. However, as Shinohara-sensei said, it was a great opportunity to have a frank exchange of opinions, which could provide a basis for a better mutual understanding in the future.

On the following day, we departed Boston for New York, where we spent two days. After checking in at the hotel, we headed to New York University, where Professor Tom Looser kindly welcomed us and gave us a little talk on Japanese Studies in the US. Professor Shinohara also told him about Japanese studies at our school. Then, three of our members, Yoshiyuki Aoki, Kajeeporn Techtaveekijkul, and Andrius Gelezauskas, made presentations on their respective researches. Professor Looser gave them some feedbacks and raised some questions which they could think about when they further conduct their researches. It was very fresh and interesting to listen to his viewpoints as well as those of other participants. It was without doubt that the three members of our seminar appreciate his suggestions as they can surely improve their researches.

On our last day of the trip, we started our day visiting Ground Zero and the Wall Street. While some construction work already took place at Ground Zero, we could see the huge empty space where the two towers stood. Though we already knew the 9/11 changed the international politics and affected the lives of people both in the US and outside, being there made us appreciate again the impact of the terrorist attack. At the memorial site opposite of Ground Zero, we were moved by the displays which showed the sorrow of the victims, the courage of the rescuers, as well as the kindness and compassion of the people who sent their cards or money there. Some of the cards and handicrafts were also from Japan. Leaving the memorial site, all of us were speechless, each of us deep in our own thoughts about the ugliness of the terrorist acts. After Ground Zero, we visited the once-busiest business site in the world, the Wall Street. However, as the world economic is currently in decline, the Wall Street was surprisingly quiet. We walked around the area before departing to our next destination, the United Nations Headquarter.

Before we started our tour at the UN headquarter, we had an honor to meet with Shane Christensen, who is working at the US mission to the UN. Mr. Christensen shared with us his experiences as a diplomat to many countries around the world, as well as lecturing us on what the US mission does at the UN. We also discussed on many challenges facing the UN as well as other interesting points concerning the US as the world leader. Undoubtedly, his talks were very useful for some of us who want to pursue a diplomatic career in the future. Then, we moved on to visit the UN headquarter and had a tour in the facility. The tour guide gave us an overview of the UN work as well as its challenges. Because not many of us were familiar with the UN work, it was an eye-opening experience to learn about the UN as well as see where the real action takes place.

Although this trip was short, our members had fun seeing new things, absorbing new knowledge, and interacting with people from different cultures. It was a worthwhile experience. We appreciate the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology as well as GSAPS for helping make this trip possible.

Image of America in Thai people's eyes

Pattaninun Jutimasakulboworn

As a superpower, America seems to be in an advantageous position to exercise soft power to create and maintain good relations with other countries around the world. American popular culture appears to have a big impact on the image of American people in other countries, especially in East Asia. Many people across countries in East Asia express their interests in American popular culture, such as Hollywood movies, American celebrities, music, etc. Meanwhile, it is common nowadays for Asian people to consume American products. American consumerism penetrates through all societies in Asia. It is usual for office workers in most countries to have McDonald and Coca-cola for lunch and then grab a cup of Starbucks for afternoon coffee. American consumer and entertainment products are also common. Many Asian people have access to American TV series, movies, news, or even magazines, while imported products from the US also constitute a big part of their consumption. While this project research conducted a study on images of America and its people in four different countries, Japan, South Korea, China, and Thailand, this section will specifically discuss briefly about an American image in Thailand.

To explore current attitude of Thai people toward America, a small survey¹ was conducted by this author via electronic mail correspondences. About 20 interviewees were asked this question: What is your image of America or its people? How will you describe the country or its people? Most of the interviewees used to study, or are still studying, at a famous university in Thailand, and all of them learn about America from the media, while some of them have some direct experiences with American people.

The survey presents both positive and negative images of America in Thai people's eyes. First, America is still viewed as a land of opportunities where social status can be upgraded, although the competition is very severe. The highly competitive nature is considered by Thai people to be a driving force for development in the US, where innovation can occur. Thai people perceive American people to be friendly and easygoing. American people are seen as generous toward friends. The people surveyed also consider the American society to be an open and multicultural society and receptive of different cultures. Moreover, some respondents report that Americans appear to be very proud of their country and are ready to defend their country, whenever criticized.

On the other hand, the most striking image of the current America seems to be its arrogance. 90% of the interviewees mentioned that America is too conceited of its power. They claim that America is acting like a world police, and that in some situation where the US does not have a right, its action to intervene in other people's affairs reminds them of that of a bully. This image is related to foreign policies of the US in the past decade, as during the Bush administration,

¹ The survey was conducted by this author during 3-12 February 2009 via electronic mail correspondence.

the US stance was more assertive and the US was seen to be willing to unnecessarily fight and destroy other countries to ensure its security.

Understandably, the US intervention in domestic affairs of other countries could invoke responses from nationalists in those particular countries. This reaction can also be seen in the case of Thailand, especially, when there was a political upheaval in 2006. After the coup de tat and the coming to power of the military in Bangkok, the US expressed its concern over Thailand's democratic situation and called on the government to call a new election to bring back democracy to the country. Some rightist newspaper, such as Thai Post, wrote in its opinion page that, "the U.S. should look back at its action in Iraq and see how could it be called democracy? The US used its power illegitimately to destroy other countries to take away their resources, under the disguise of democratization."² The US is said to be willing to interfere in other people's affairs, while fiercely oppose other nations' attempts to get involved in its own affairs. Such attitude, said the respondents, represents selfishness on the part of the US.

American people are also perceived as ignorant and naïve of the world. The respondents indicate that American self-importance may be responsible for this shortcoming. According to some opinions in this survey, "to the Americans, the world revolves around them. They do not bother to learn about other countries or other people." Some respondents report that they have been asked questions such as "Do you still ride buffaloes to school?" "Do you still ride elephants?" or "Do you have a T.V. at home?" To the respondents, these questions represent not only their lack of knowledge but also their derision of Thai people. In addition, some respondents make comments on Asian Americans, saying that from their experiences, some of the Asian Americans look down on other Asians, who are not American citizens or do not speak English fluently or with an American accent like they do. While not all Asian Americans behave that way, the action of some appears to have strong and lasting impression on the respondents, and leads to a negative image of the American in their mind.

Americans are also perceived to be loud and sometimes obnoxious. This is especially so when compared with more timid Asian people, whose traditions teach that loudness is not a proper form of behavior. In addition, probably related to the highly competitive nature of the society, American people are seen as very materialistic. The respondents compare family structures between Thai and American people, saying that for Thais, families tend to be large and grandparents help take care of little children, while the Americans are said to be individualistic with old people left on their own. This self-image is probably no longer true; however, as the Thai society is also changing as it modernizes. Nevertheless, the respondents still appear to unwillingly accept the new nuclear family structure that comes with modernization. Therefore, the image of American family seems to be undesirable to some people.

Finally, America, as a country, is seen as a problem-maker, rather than a problem-solver. For example, some respondents express their dissatisfaction that the US, one of the worst polluters,

² *Thai Post*, "Thailand: a Colony in American's Eyes," (translated by author), 6 October 2006.

<http://board.dserver.org/u/uthaisak/00006375.html> accessed 24 February 2008.

still has not signed the Kyoto Protocol to help curb global warming. Others blame the US for causing the recent economic crisis, which has affected other countries around the world. Of course, these opinions may not represent the general attitude of people in Thailand; it may not even be true. However, the fact that the respondents link the problems to the US shows the type of image that the respondents have of the US in terms of policy management.

It should be noted that these answers from the survey may not possibly represent the image that the general Thai people have toward the US. The respondents themselves also recognize that not all Americans fall into the images, as they are different individually and the characters of people also vary by areas that they live. Also, interestingly, while most of the images given are negative, the respondents say that they still want to visit the US, either for a short-term travel or long-term work experiences.

Some of the negative images, especially on the Asian Americans, can be seen as stereotyping of the Americans. During our discussion with American counterparts, such negative images were said to probably be rooted in the colonial mindset of people in Asia: Asian people should behave like Asians and not Americans, although they were born and are now living in the US. This is partially true, as can be seen in the conflicting identity of Asian Americans when they face expectations from the countries of their ancestors' origins, while they recognize themselves as American. To many people in Thailand, the term American represents white people and not Asian people. Therefore, Thai people also need to understand that American people have various origins as they live in a multicultural and multiethnic society. However, as mentioned above, an image of a group can be easily constructed by one person's action. Therefore, probably it is unavoidable for some people to have misconstrued image of the US, if they have bad experiences with some Americans.

This point raises a question of the difference between stereotype and image: how can we justify one as an image and one as a stereotype? This point was raised repeatedly during the discussion with our American counterparts. I argue, however, that both image and stereotype are the two sides of the same coin. Since image and stereotype are both constructed by people to describe a group of people, they are both not representative of the whole group. Most of the time, they are wrong when analyzed at individual level. It appears that image is used to talk about something in general, and thus, its nuance is neutral. Either an image is positive or negative. However, if one looks into details about what the negative image is, then one risks a chance of stereotyping. Instead of arguing what images are stereotypes, I believe that it is more productive to come up with ways to correct such misunderstandings, if there are ever ones, so that international mutual understanding could be further strengthened.

During the discussion, it was suggested that perhaps education about people in other countries in the US could offer some solutions to correct the image of ignorance. In contrast to other countries such as Thailand where studies on the US or world history start in high school years, students in the US generally have a chance to study cross-cultural studies or world history in universities, most of which are selective courses. However, there are still some problems related to this solution. As one participant said, "Within the US, there is the UN." Given the multicultural and

multiethnic society that the US is, it is necessary that such education about other countries will not be distorted, an issue that can raise objection from some parts within the American society.

There is also a problem of pragmatism. As suggested by one participant, the Americans cannot learn about all societies, although all societies know about the Americans. As a world superpower, all countries are required to know something about the US. On the contrary, the US is not required to know about other societies in the same way. If there is a need to learn about other societies, it is natural that the American allies or partners will be selected as the first choices for study. In addition, it is said to be already burdensome to learn about the American history, form of government, or even religious issues. Therefore, on practical note, cross-cultural studies may not be practical in the US.

However, such attitude combined with images of other countries shown in the questions to other countries' citizens like the one above will not solve the problem of misunderstanding or stereotyping. If we want to eradicate the stereotyping of each other, then mutual efforts to learn and embrace the differences between countries should be heightened.

Although it appears that the image of American people in Thai eyes is not good, it should be noted that some of the negative images are associated with the American administration's policies in the recent years. Therefore, if there is a change in the policy gestures in the US government, then probably the image of the Americans in Thai people's eyes could improve. After all, image construction is dynamic and depends on context. With the change in the US president this year, it is hopeful that the image of the US can be enhanced as time passes.

“Japanese Studies at GSAPS -Comfort Women-”

青木義幸

・日韓関係と歴史認識

玄大松(東京大学東洋文化研究所教授)は、編著『한국과 일본의 역사인식 (韓国と日本の歴史認識)』(나남, 2008)の中で日韓関係に横たわる歴史認識問題として①独島・竹島②靖国③強制連行及び「慰安婦」④歴史教科書を挙げている。

この、四つの問題の共通項は、日本の植民地主義と連関性がある点である。独島・竹島問題は、国際法の解釈と1905年の第二次日韓協約の正当性が議論の的になっており、靖国問題では、A級戦犯の合祀と共に元朝鮮・台湾籍の軍属の合祀が論点となる。一方で、教科書問題は、前者の二つよりもより直接的に「植民地収奪論」や「植民地近代化論」に明確に現れるように植民地そのものの評価についてが、主要な論点である。そして、強制連行については、国家総動員法を植民地に適用し、植民地解放後に植民地関係を清算してこなかったことに起因する。

しかし、「慰安婦」1問題は、日本側の植民地主義に対する認識不足に加えて、被害女性を歴史的に構築してきた、ジェンダー・家父長制・民族主義という変数のために、90年代まで論争化されてこなかった経緯がある。この変数の複数性の為、「慰安婦」問題は、その他の日韓歴史認識論争の様な直線的な論争とは異なる論争を展開してきたといえる。

¹ ここでは「慰安婦」を、「日本の植民地支配による公娼制度の投入と構造的な貧困と階級制度、日本帝国軍による管理、そして、朝鮮半島固有の家父長制及び、階級制度の被害者」と定義する。ここでは、山西省孟県で行われたような、性暴力・集団レイプは含まない。

・90年代以降2の「慰安婦」論争3の四段階

² 90年代以前にも、日本では、富田邦彦の『戦場慰安婦』（富士書房、1953）、朴慶植の『朝鮮人強制連行の記録』（未来社、1965）、千田夏光の『従軍慰安婦』（双葉社、1973）広田和子の『証言記録従軍慰安婦・看護婦』（新人物往来社、1975）、金一勉の『天皇の軍隊と朝鮮人慰安婦』（三一書房、1976）等によって、韓国では、林鐘国の『挺身隊』（일일서각, 1981）や、한국교회여성연합회（韓国教会女性連合会）の『국제세미나. 여성과 관광문화（国際セミナー. 女性と観光文化）』（한국교회여성연합회, 1988）等によって問題提起されてきた。しかし、ここで90年代を論じる意義は、高橋哲也が『戦後責任論』（講談社学術文庫 2005 p.194）で指摘するように、千田夏光の『従軍慰安婦』（双葉社、1973）が版を重ねながら50万部販売されてきたにも関わらず、社会問題として「慰安婦」が取り上げられる事がなかったことである。

この90年代における変化はCiNii及び、MAGAZINEPLUSでのフリーワード「慰安婦」についての論文・記事の検索結果が一つの目安となり得るだろう。1981年から1991年まで10年間における両者の検索件数がCiNiiでは5件、MAGAZINEPLUSでは12件であったのに対し、1992年の一年のみでの検索件数がCiNiiで36件、MAGAZINEPLUSで137件と激増している。一方で、国会図書館の所蔵検索で「慰安婦」を同様にフリーワードで検索してみると、1953年から1990年までが22件、1991年が3件である一方、1992年のみで、少なくとも22冊の書籍が出版された事が分かる。これらの検索結果から大まかに理解できる事は、90年代以前においても「慰安婦」の存在は認知されていたにもかかわらず、重大な問題として認識されてこなかった事である。そして、1991年に「慰安婦」関連の言説を、日本社会に知らしめ、流通化させる何らかの地殻変動が起こったということが推測される。

その地殻変動の要因になったであろうと思われるものが、1991年の金学順の証言である。つまり、上記の文献検索の結果にも現れているように、日本における「従軍慰安婦問題」という文脈において、金学順の証言以前において、「従軍慰安婦問題」は、広く論じられる言説として成立していなかったと言えるだろう。

その査証の一例は、『戦後史大事典増補新版』（佐々木毅・鶴見俊輔・富永研一・中村政則・正村公宏・村上陽一郎編『戦後史大事典増補新版』三省堂 2005）の表記に見る事ができる。2005年の増補版には1991年の初版出版時以後、「新しく起こった出来事」が増補編として加えられている。その「新しく起こった出来事」の中に、「従軍慰安婦問題」の項目はある。すなわち、1991年以前においては、「従軍慰安婦問題」は編者達の問題意識として成立していなかった事になる。無論、事典と銘打っている以上、「事実」に基づいた記述を追及しなければならない。そのため、性暴力が被害者の訴えがない限りさばかれることがないという親告罪という法制度を鑑みれば、編者の意識の高低だけが問題ではないだろう。しかし、初版には「青線」「赤線」「RAA」など女性と社会と性を取り上げた項目がある中、「慰安婦」や「からゆきさん」の項目は無い。

³ NYUでの発表時、この「論争」という言葉が、アカデミズムで展開したものなのか、ジャーナリズムで展開したものなのかを分けて論じる必要があるという指摘を受けた。

しかし、筆者は「慰安婦」問題を、アカデミズム、ジャーナリズムに分離することについて疑問を持っている。なぜなら、「慰安婦」論争の始まりとしての91年は、「慰安婦」の存在自体を公に認めさせる作業自体が始まった年だからである。すなわち、歴史的事実を学術研究が確認する作業と、ジャーナリズムによる問題提起が非常に近づいて、相互を補強材料として築いて来たのが、90年代の「慰安婦」論争の土台であるように思えるのである。

その一例として吉見義明と林博史は編著『日本軍慰安婦』の冒頭において次のように述べている。

「かつて日本軍が日中戦争からアジア太平洋戦争の時期において、『慰安所』を設け、多くの女性を『慰安婦』にしていたことは軍関係者や研究者の間では周知の事実だった。しかしながら、この問題の解明に正面から取り組んだ研究は千田夏光の先駆的な仕事である『従軍慰安婦』を除いて、最近までほとんどなかった。韓国や日本の人々がこの問題を取り上げ、政治の場でも問題にされるようになったのはようやく1990年ごろになってからだった。

（中略）戦後直後に日本軍資料の多くが廃棄され、さらに50年がたち、日本軍慰安婦・慰安所の資料が断片的にしか残

日本における、「慰安婦」論争にはおそらく4つの分岐点⁴が指摘できる。一つ目は1991年のキム・ハクスンによる証言。二つ目は、1995年の「女性のためのアジア平和国民基金」（以下、「国民基金」）発足。三つ目は、2000年の「日本軍性奴隷制を裁く女性国際戦犯法

されていないこと、元慰安婦の方が名乗り出ること自体が困難な状況にあり聞き取りにも制約があることなどのむずかしい条件があり、これまでの成果の多くは、それぞれ重要な側面をえぐりだしてはいるが、部分的な傾向がある。」（吉見義明他編『共同研究 日本軍慰安婦』、大月書店、1995、p. i - ii）

つまり、学術研究は50年前の問題に対して自ら問題設定をすることが出来ずに来た。それに変化を与えたのは、現在の問題を掘り起こすジャーナリズムであった。そのために「慰安婦」論争は、半世紀以上前の過去に起こった事柄と、現在においてそれらを取り巻く状況の両者を同時に論じなくてはならなくなったのである。そこでは、過去の資料を発掘することが、現在の問題を指摘することに直結した。そして、逆に現在の問題を指摘することで、過去にどのような事実を明らかにしなければならないかを示唆してきた。

さらには、慰安婦研究の基本図書とされているこの書籍の執筆陣を見ると、ルポライター西野留美子、ノンフィクション作家川田文子、当時修士課程の在籍者であった金富子、実際に元「慰安婦」の女性たちをサポートしてきたウリヨンネットワークの梁澄子、そしてそれらの中に学者である吉見義明や林博文が加わっている。つまり、歴史学における一次資料の発掘、学術研究からは一級の資料としては認められてこなかった生存者の証言、被害者の生活の保護、さらには個人の国家賠償に関するまでが相互に関連しあって論争を展開していったことが分かる。

別の表現をするならば、歴史になっていない分野に学問としての歴史学が参入しその基礎を固めながら、その学問の方向性は実際の生存者、被害者の証言から生み出され、その証言などをもとにして国際法の再解釈などに発展していったのが、90年代の「慰安婦」論争であると言える。つまり、「慰安婦」論争に関しては、アカデミズムとジャーナリズムを分けて分析することはあまり意味をなさないと思われる。

このアカデミズムとジャーナリズムの関係は、1990年代に論じられた歴史学において記憶をどう扱うのか、というポストモダニズムによる実証主義万能論への懐疑という形でも現れていた。（この点に関しては、1994年4月号の『思想』所収の、ゲオルク・G・イッガース「歴史思想・歴史叙述における言語論的転回」、ローレンス・ストーン「歴史学とポストモダン」、『岩波講座 日本通史 別巻1』（岩波書店、1995）所収のキャロル・グラック「戦後史学のメタヒストリー」、上野千鶴子「歴史学とフェミニズム―「女性史」を超えて」、ひろたまさき/キャロル・グラック監修『歴史の描き方③ 記憶が語りはじめる』（東京大学出版、2006）等を参照）

⁴ この四つの分岐点は、現在（2009年）起こっている、「慰安婦」論争の西洋化という筆者の問題意識から見える分岐点である。もちろん、「慰安婦」論争の変数となった事項は他にも多数ある。例えば、1987年/韓国民主化、1988年/韓国教会女性連合会「挺身隊研究委員会」設置、1992年/加藤談話発表・韓国での「여명의 눈동자（黎明の瞳）」の放送、1993年/ウィーン世界人権会議、1994年/高校教科書に「慰安婦」記述、1995年/「戦後50年国会決議」採択、1996年/国連人権委員会がクマラスワミ報告書全体に留意するとの支持決議採択、1996年/「新しい歴史教科書をつくる会」創立、1997年/「日本の前途と歴史教育を考える若手議員の会」結成、1998年/「関釜裁判」で山口地裁下関支部が日本国に対し「立法不作為による国家賠償」認定、1999年/マイク・ホンダ州議会議員の発議によりカリフォルニア州議会で「第二次世界大戦中に日本軍によりおかされた戦争犯罪」に関する上下両院合同決議成立、2001年/「新しい教科書をつくる会」中学校歴史・公民教科書検定合格、2002年/中学校歴史教科書「慰安婦」記述が8社から3社へ減少、2004年/韓国で自由主義連帯（ニューライト）結成、2005年/「真実・和解の為の過去事整理委員会」発足、2006年/中学歴史教科書から「慰安婦」記述消滅等これらの、国内外の要因が「慰安婦」論争の全体を作り上げていることは事実である。しかし、本論では、「慰安婦」問題の変数としての、植民地主義・民族主義・家父長制・ジェンダーの複合性を最も浮き彫りにしたと思われる4つの分岐点を取り上げた。

廷」(以下、女性国際戦犯法廷)の開催。そして、2007年の「国民基金」解散と、アメリカ下院「慰安婦」謝罪決議採決である。

1 植民地主義+家父長制

この段階の論争は、「慰安婦」の意義、「強制連行」の有無を巡る保守と進歩の論争であった。51991年のキム・ハクスンの証言は、本名による証言であったこともあり日本社会に衝撃を与え、日本においての「慰安婦」論争の開始点となった。このキム・ハクスンの証言は、日韓基本条約に盛り込まれなかった女性問題が、朝鮮人元日本兵の援護法からの排除などに現れたサンフランシスコ講和条約の植民地主義に対する訴えと呼応したものと捉えられる。キム・ハクスンの証言に対して、「慰安婦」否定派からは、「慰安婦」を「娼婦」と認識する家父長的言説が投げかけられた。

2 植民地主義+民族主義

そして、93年の細川内閣、94年の村山内閣誕生という日本政治の変化の中での、95年の「国民基金」の発足は、「慰安婦」問題を被害女性の立場から解決を目指していた運動体の間に、分裂を呼び起こした。そして、その分裂は、「慰安婦」否定派と「慰安婦」国家補償派という、既存の論争とは異なった、左派、もしくは良心的知識人と呼ばれた国家補償派の人々の内部で、「慰安婦」の主体と「慰安婦」問題解決の意味の多様性をめぐって論争を引き起こした。⁶

3 植民地主義+ジェンダー

2000年の女性国際戦犯法廷を可能にしたのは、以下の三つの要因が大きい。一つ目は、

⁵ 「進歩」の論陣としては、鈴木裕子「昭和史の最暗部 朝鮮人従軍慰安婦問題への接近」『世界』岩波書店 1991.9.金英姫「忘れることが優しさか ー従軍慰安婦問題、在日としての接近」『世界』岩波書店 1991.10. 吉見義明「いまこそ『過去の克服』を ー従軍慰安婦問題の基礎資料をめぐって」『世界』岩波書店 1992.3. 千田夏光「従軍慰安婦問題と戦争責任 ーいつ、だれが発案し実行したか」『文化評論』新日本出版社 1992.4. 阿部浩己「軍隊『慰安婦』問題の法的責任」『法学セミナー』日本評論社 1993.10. 荒井信一「創刊の辞」『季刊 戦争責任研究』日本の戦争責任資料センター 1993.秋季. 等。「保守」論人としては、西岡力『慰安婦問題』とは何だったのか 新聞が触れようとしない大騒動の意外な真相』『文藝春秋』文藝春秋 1992.4. 秦郁彦「昭和史の謎を追う 従軍慰安婦たちの春秋」『正論』産経新聞出版局 1992.6. 黒田勝弘「日韓最悪の夏ー『従軍慰安婦』と『日本征伐』」『諸君』文芸春秋社 1992.9. 佐藤和秀「慰安婦と世界史 兵に禁欲強制は可能か」『正論』産経新聞出版局 1993.12.等。この「慰安婦」娼婦論の論陣では、秦郁彦を除くと「慰安婦」そのものについて歴史的な学術的研究はあまりされなかった。これもまた進歩と保守の間での「慰安婦」論争の一つの特徴である。

⁶ 国家補償派内部の論争として、荒井信一「村山内閣と『従軍慰安婦』問題」歴史科学評議会編『歴史評論』校倉書房 1995.4. 西野留美子「民間基金は『慰安婦』の解決にはならない」『週刊金曜日』金曜日 1995.6.23. 高木健一「国民基金に賛成の立場から 『基金』をステップに正義の実現を」『週刊金曜日』金曜日 1995.10.13 藍谷邦雄「国民基金に反対の立場から 被害者自身の想いを第一に」『週刊金曜日』金曜日 1995.10.13 大鷲淑子、下村満子、野中邦子、和田春樹「なぜ『国民基金』を呼びかけるか」『世界』岩波書店 1995.11. 李効再、尹貞玉、池銀姫、朴元淳「返信 やはり基金の提案はうけいられない ー韓日間に横たわる深淵の深さを見つ」『世界』岩波書店 1995.11.等。

1992 年から続けて国連に問題提起をし続けてきた韓国挺身隊問題対策協議会の働きによって国際法的解釈を得たこと。二つには、90年に起こったルワンダ紛争や、92年から95年にかけてのボスニア紛争で用いられた性暴力に対する問題意識が国際社会に認識され始め、98年の国際刑事裁判所ローマ規定7によって性暴力が「人道に対する罪」と明記されたこと。そして、最後に、国際NGO間のネットワークの成熟があげられる。⁸

このような国際的文脈のなかで執り行われた女性国際戦犯法廷の下地として、「慰安婦」問題を裁く主体と裁かれる主体の意味づけをするために論争が起こった。それは、別の言葉で言えば、「慰安婦」問題をグローバル・フェミニズムのような女性すべてが抱えるような普遍性として捉えるか、日本の植民地主義という状況下で起こった、朝鮮半島という地域の特殊性で捉えるかという論争であった。そのため、論争が「慰安婦」問題の解決を目指す女性主義を主張する論客と、脱植民地主義を主張する論客の間で行われた。⁹その意味で、この段階の論争も「国民基金」をめぐる論争と同様、保守論壇とは切り離された良心的知識人達、中でも運動体やNGOグループの内部で起こった論争であると言える。

4 植民地主義＋民族主義＋ジェンダー

そして、2007年の「国民基金」解散は、「国民基金」の12年の活動の功罪を総括する場を与えた。そして、国民基金の活動家からは、韓国の民族主義とグローバル・フェミニズムの関係を論じる声があった¹⁰。しかし、この論点が十分に論争化される前に、アメリカ下院の「慰安婦」謝罪決議採択によって別の論争が巻き起こった。

2007年7月のアメリカ合衆国議会下院、「慰安婦」謝罪決議採択は、その後11月のオランダ議会下院、カナダ議会下院、そしてEU議会での類似の決議採択へと繋がった。この、

⁷ ローマ規程には第二部十一条一項において「本裁判所は、本規程の発効後に行なわれた犯罪に関してのみ管轄権を有する。」という規定があるため、国際刑事裁判所は日韓の「慰安婦」問題は取り上げることができない。

(http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/treaty/pdfs/treaty166_1.pdf 参照)

⁸ 鄭鎮星著『일본군 성노예제 :』

(日本軍性奴隷制：日本軍慰安婦問題の実情とその解決のための運動)』서울대학교출판부 2006、第八章参照

⁹ 上野千鶴子「『従軍慰安婦』をめぐる」上野千鶴子著『ナショナリズムとジェンダー』青土社 1998、吉見義明「『従軍慰安婦』問題と歴史像」日本の戦争責任資料センター編『ナショナリズムと「慰安婦」問題』青木書店 1998、徐京植「『日本人としての責任』をめぐる一難民の位置から」日本の戦争責任資料センター編 前掲書所収、金富子「朝鮮人『慰安婦』問題への視座—フェミニズムとナショナリズム」日本の戦争責任資料センター編 前掲書所収 早川紀代「『ナショナリズムと「慰安婦」問題』を読んで フェミニズムは国民国家を相対化する」『季刊 戦争責任研究』1999 春季、宋連玉「『ナショナリズムと「慰安婦」問題』を読んで フェミニズム連帯の可能性」『季刊 戦争責任研究』1999 春季、松井やより「『女性国際戦犯法廷』をなぜ開くのか—その目的と今日的意義」『季刊 戦争責任研究』2000 年夏季、高橋哲也「歴史と裁き 女性国際戦犯法廷をめぐる」『世界』岩波書店 2000.12.、西野留美子「置き去りにされてきた日本人『慰安婦』」『世界』岩波書店 2000.12.等。

¹⁰ 大沼保昭著『「慰安婦」問題とは何だったのか メディア・NGO・政府の功罪』中公新書 2007、和田春樹「アジア女性基金問題と知識人の責任」小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著『東アジア歴史認識論争のメタヒストリー』青弓社 2008、上野千鶴子「アジア女性基金の歴史的総括」小森陽一他編 前掲書 2008、鄭鉉栢「国民基金と被害者の声」金富子・中野敏男編著、『歴史と責任』青弓社 2008

一連の「慰安婦」問題の西洋化は、「慰安婦」問題をめぐる「ジェンダー主義」と「歴史主義」の論争となった。11「歴史主義」が眼目を置く植民地主義の清算は、類似の文脈で2001年のダーバン会議でも、元被植民地国家から提議された¹²。さらに、「慰安婦」問題がアメリカや西洋諸国によって取り上げられたことで、それまであまり大きな声をあげてこなかった保守論壇が再び声を上げ、90年代前半のような論争も展開される¹³。

・現時点の「慰安婦」認識と「慰安婦」謝罪決議の意味

そして、現在、日韓の間で、「慰安婦」論争は再び変化を迎えている。その変化は、『歴史と責任』¹⁴、『東アジア歴史認識論争のメタヒストリー』¹⁵（以下、『メタヒストリー』）という二冊の書籍の出版に現れている。

『歴史と責任』は「慰安婦」問題を取り巻く90年代を総括することで、現代の植民地主義を問い直しており、一方の『メタヒストリー』は日韓両者の民族主義や一国史を乗り越える試みとして「慰安婦」問題を論じている。つまり、両者は「慰安婦」問題を認識し、解決しようとする出発点は同じだが、それぞれが解決方法として志向するベクトルが同一方向を向いていないと言える。

それは、『歴史と責任』の中で、金富子¹⁶、宋連玉¹⁷は、『メタヒストリー』に寄稿している上野千鶴子や朴裕河が連帯して目指す和解を、「帝国のフェミニズム」の連帯が目指す、「歴史修正主義的な和解」として批判していることからも見取れる¹⁸。金と宋の批判は、韓国の民族主義を日本の民族主義と同列で語ること¹⁹、及び朝鮮半島の植民地と解放後の

¹¹ この点については以下に論じる。

¹² 「World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance Declaration」参照
(<http://www.un.org/WCAR/durban.pdf>)

¹³ 古森義久「『慰安婦決議』ホンダ議員の策謀」『文藝春秋』文藝春秋2007.5. 秦郁彦・大沼保昭・荒井信一「激論『従軍慰安婦』置き去りにされた真実」『諸君』文藝春秋2007.7. 西岡力「今こそ『反日宣伝工作』に対抗するシンクタンクを」『正論』産経新聞出版局2007.10. 呉善花「歴史の捏造に救いを求めた元慰安婦たち」『正論』産経新聞出版局2007.10. 徳留絹枝「いまなぜ『従軍慰安婦』なのか 米下院議員マイケル・ホンダ氏に聞く」『論座』朝日新聞社2007.9. 関口すみ子「歴史学と現実政治『慰安婦』問題の射程 境界人の位置から」『論座』朝日新聞社2007.9. 三谷博「歴史学と現実政治『記憶の穴』を埋める 東アジアの対話に見合う近代史の補習を」『論座』朝日新聞社2007.9.

¹⁴ 金富子・中野敏男編著、『歴史と責任』青弓社2008

¹⁵ 小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著『東アジア歴史認識論争のメタヒストリー』青弓社2008

¹⁶ 金富子「『慰安婦』問題と脱植民地主義 ― 歴史修正主義的な『和解』への抵抗」、金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収

¹⁷ 宋連玉「植民地女性と脱帝国のフェミニズム」、金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収

¹⁸ 金富子や宋連玉の批判は、主に朴裕河の著作『和解のために』（平凡社、2006）での「慰安婦」記述、特に韓国挺身隊問題対策協議会の民族主義的な運動方針に対する見解と、『和解のために』の最後に所収されている上野千鶴子による「あえて火中の栗を拾う」で展開される植民地という認識の欠けた女性主義的立場に向けられている。

¹⁹ ここには、韓国語の「・・・」、日本語の「民族主義」、英語の「nationalism」の翻訳概念の違いによるミスコミュニケーションも生じているように見受けられる。

軍事独裁という歴史性を看過することに対する批判に集約する。

一方の「メタヒストリー」は、「韓日、連帯21」という小森陽一、朴裕河を中心として立ち上げられた、日韓の学者が開催してきた研究会での発表分を論文形式にして編まれた著作である。そのため、何か一つの主張を展開するものではなく、所収された論文一つ一つが独自の観点から、日韓の歴史問題を論じている。だが、小森陽一によれば「韓日、連帯21」の参加者の根底にあるものは、日韓の対話を阻んでいるものは両国に共通してある「ナショナリズム」であり、それを解体する実践が求められているという点である²⁰。その方向が、日本人学者は、日本のネオナショナリズムに向かい、韓国人学者は、今まで韓国で民主化運動という名の下、無条件の正当性を勝ち取ってきた民族主義に向かっている。このように向いているベクトルは異なるが、この二冊には共通項がある。それは、日韓の間に横たわる、植民地主義清算の必要性を認識している点である。それは、2001年のダーバン会議で論じられた、日韓関係にとどまらない植民地主義の清算へと繋がる可能性を持つ。

また、この二冊が日韓両国で、各々の言語で出版されている点も共通点として指摘しておく必要があるだろう。なぜなら、植民地主義認識の翻訳作業は、日韓の問題として、植民地主義と「慰安婦」について議論する新たな「場」を作り出すと思われるからである。その意味で、この二冊が出版された2008年は、後の「慰安婦」論争に関わる世代が振り返った時、転換の年と認識される可能性があるのである。

『歴史と責任』『メタヒストリー』、両著の「慰安婦」記述は、「国民基金」の活動終了とアメリカ合衆国下院の「慰安婦」謝罪決議の採択の重なった2007年を一つの転換点として捉えている²¹。

1995年から国家補償派の間で賛否両論を巻き起こしてきた「国民基金」が、その役目を終えた事で、活動全体を評価することが可能になった。そして、その「国民基金」は基本的に植民地支配を認めた「戦後50年村山富市内閣総理大臣談話」²²を土台としていた。そして、その活動終了を受けるかのように決議された「慰安婦」謝罪決議は、「国民基金」の償いのためのプログラムやプロジェクトを評価する文言が盛り込みながらも、日本が国家として若い女性たちに性奴隷制を強要したことに對して謝罪することを求めている²³。

²⁰ 小森陽一「『韓日、連帯21』の役割と課題—発案者の一人として」、小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著 前掲書所収

²¹ 和田春樹「アジア女性基金問題と知識人の責任」小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著 前掲書所収、上野千鶴子「アジア女性基金の歴史的総括」小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著 前掲書所収 / 野中敏男「日本軍『慰安婦』問題と歴史への責任—本書の認識と課題」金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収、鄭鉉栢「国民基金と被害者の声」金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収、荒井信一「アメリカ議会下院と『慰安婦』問題」金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収

²² <http://www.awf.or.jp/6/statement-10.html> 参照

²³ 「AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. RES. 121

OFFERED BY MR. LANTOS OF CALIFORNIA AND MS. ROS-LEHTINEN OF FLORIDA」(以下 H.Res.121)

([http://www.wam-peace.org/main/modules/newbb/HR121-COMMITTEE-TBD_001_xml\(1\).pdf](http://www.wam-peace.org/main/modules/newbb/HR121-COMMITTEE-TBD_001_xml(1).pdf)) 参照。) 欧州議会の「慰安婦」謝罪要求決議は、アジア女性基金の活動を歓迎しながらも、国連での報告に基づいた国際人道法の観点から不十分

しかし、米国の謝罪決議には植民地に対する特別な謝罪を求める文言はない。つまり、米国下院の「慰安婦」決議が、アジア女性基金を評価するのは、「女性」に対する犯罪に対して償いを行ったという点なのである。それは、米国の「慰安婦」決議が「日本軍が若い女性達に『慰安婦』として知られるようになった性奴隷を強制したことについて」24謝罪を求めていることにも表れている。すなわち、この「慰安婦」謝罪決議では、植民地支配という構造のもとで慰安婦になったことについての謝罪は求められていない、さらに突き詰めれば植民地支配の清算を米国が求めているわけではないと、読み取ることができる。この「慰安婦」の意味内容の変化を「慰安婦」問題の「アメリカ化」²⁵、もしくは欧州議会での決議を含め、元列強を示唆する意味で「西洋化」という言い方もできるだろう。この米国による「慰安婦」問題の「西洋化」と、村山談話を土台としていた「国民基金」の意義の不和をどう理解することができるのだろうか。

一方で、この植民地という構造に対する意識と女性への暴力に対する意識の不和は、先に述べた、女性国際戦犯法廷での植民地支配責任に関する議論でも表明されていた。韓国側は、「植民地犯罪という属性を持つ日本軍「従軍慰安婦」問題が、「女性」に対する「普遍的」な犯罪としてのみ構成されることにたいする問題提起を法廷の中でしようとした。」²⁶しかし、一方で女性国際戦犯法廷は日韓に限られない国際的な女性ネットワーク²⁷が主体的に参加していたため、法廷自体を一つの連帯の場として作っていくために、問題の特定の側面を強調する必要があった。そこで法廷運営側は、「現代の紛争下の女性に対する犯罪」国際公聴会を開いた。そこでは、世界の紛争地域から訪れた女性とともに、日本人女性である沖縄の被害女性も証言をした。つまり、国境を超えた連帯のために、あらゆる「女性」に対する国家暴力という問題提起を行うことにしたのである。しかし、この連帯のための女性主義に不快感を表していたのが韓国の運動体であった。

このような米国の「慰安婦」謝罪決議による「慰安婦」問題の西洋化や「慰安婦」問題をめぐる、女性主義と脱植民地主義の不和を現時点ではどのように捉えるべきなのであろうか。その一つの方策を本論の最後として以下述べる。

「歴史と責任」「メタヒストリー」の両著に寄稿²⁸している米山リサ²⁹によれば、「慰安

であると議決している。（欧州議会ホームページ参照。

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P6-TA-2007-0632&language=EN&ring=P6-RC-2007-0525>)

²⁴ H.Res.121

²⁵ リサ・ヨネヤマ/水溜真由美訳「『ポスト冷戦』の終結と日本の『人道に対する罪』のアメリカ化」『現代思想』青土社 2002.7.

²⁶ 姜ガラム「韓日社会のなかの日本軍『慰安婦』問題とトランスナショナルな女性連帯の可能性—『二〇〇〇年女性国際戦犯法廷』を中心に」、小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著、前掲書、p.163

²⁷ http://www1.jca.apc.org/vaww-net-japan/womens_tribunal_2000/organizer.html 参照。

²⁸ 米山リサ「批判的フェミニズムと日本軍性奴隷制—アジア/アフリカから見る人権レジームの陥穽」、金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収 / 米山リサ「日本植民地主義の歴史記憶とアメリカ—『ヨウコ物語』をめぐって」、小森陽一・崔元植・朴裕河・金哲編著、前掲書所収

婦」論争は現在、女性国際戦犯法廷で表出したように、「慰安婦」の歴史的多重性をめぐり二つの正義が対立し、膠着状態にある。一方は、朝鮮半島の置かれてきた植民地主義という歴史性を重視する「リドレス正義」、そして、もう一方は和解という「慰安婦」問題解決のための共通項を単一の主体としての女性に求める「ジェンダー正義」である。しかし、米山は、「輻輳性」(intersectionality)³⁰という概念を使って、この両者が対立するべきものではなく、互いに「慰安婦」という車輪を認識するための輻のような役目を果たすものであると主張する。

この「輻輳性」を通した「慰安婦」認識の一例として、アメリカ合衆国下院の「慰安婦」謝罪決議を「リドレス正義」と「ジェンダー正義」で分析すると、以下のようになる。

「慰安婦」制度を、男性による女性に対する普遍的な性暴力とみなす「ジェンダー正義」の言説は、女性の人権レジームのようなグローバルなアジェンダを推進する。この「ジェンダー正義」のアプローチは、謝罪決議は安倍元総理の謝罪に現れたように、日本政府に対する即効性を発揮したと言える。しかし、ここの即効性の為、「ジェンダー正義」の言説が見落としてしまっている「慰安婦」とアメリカの関係は、その歴史性すなわち、アメリカ自身の植民地侵略の歴史、拡張主義的な軍事支配の現実、アメリカ国内でも継続する構造的な差別と暴力への視点である³¹。

一方で、「リドレス正義」の言説は、「慰安婦」制度を、現在も続く駐留アメリカ軍の暴力や基地村における暴力との構造的・歴史的つながりとして問題化してきた。その視点からすると、アメリカの「慰安婦」謝罪決議には、終戦直後から冷戦期にかけてのアメリカによるアジアへの政治的・軍事的介入がいかに「慰安婦」問題を隠蔽してきたかについての内省的言及が欠けている。

しかし、同時に謝罪決議に異論を投げかける「リドレス正義」の言説のみを強調することは、本来の意図とは異なるにせよ、歴史省察の不十分さに対する責任を日本ではなくアメリカのみに転嫁してしまう危険性を孕むこととなる。³²

つまり、2009年現在、日韓の歴史認識問題として「慰安婦」問題を理解するためには、「リドレス正義」「ジェンダー正義」のどちらか片方の概念では「慰安婦」の全体像をとらえるには不十分なのである。しかし、『歴史と責任』『メタヒストリー』に関して論じたように、現状では上記の二つの正義の概念の対立によって「慰安婦」に関する議論が停滞して

²⁹ 米山リサ「批判的フェミニズムの系譜と女性国際戦犯法廷」、米山リサ著『暴力・戦争・リドレス 多文化主義のポリティクス』岩波書店 2003

³⁰ 米山リサ「批判的フェミニズムと日本軍性奴隷制—アジア/アフリカから見る人権レジームの陥穽」、金富子・中野敏男編著、前掲書所収 p.242

³¹ 「ジェンダー正義」は、アフガン女性の解放という名目のために、米国政府によるアフガン戦争に正当性を与えた。つまり、現実としては様々な歴史条件によって構成される様々な女性が抱える問題を「女性共通の問題」とだけ捉え、その問題解決のためだけに利用されてしまう危険性があるのが「ジェンダー正義」と言える。このような歴史性を無視した問題の立て方に異論を唱えてきたのが、第三世界フェミニズム、フェミニズム・オブ・カラー、ポストコロニアル・フェミニズム、ポスト構造主義フェミニズムであった。(江原由美子・金井淑子編著『フェミニズム』新曜社 1997 参照)

³² つまり、「リドレス正義」のみを強調することは、日本での「保守」の論陣が「アメリカ陰謀説」を掲げ「慰安婦」問題についての謝罪を拒むような姿勢と、共鳴してしまう危険性があることを示している。

しまっている。

ここから読み取るべき重要な点は、「慰安婦」の存在が植民地主義と家父長制の交錯した場にあることを日韓の人々が再度認識することである。言い換えるならば、米山が指摘するように、一つのアプローチだけで接近した時、自らが意図せぬ結果を導く可能性に意識的になることが重要になる。このことを「慰安婦」認識の根底に据えることで、「リドレス正義」と「ジェンダー正義」が双方を矛盾として捉えるのではなく、「慰安婦」認識の為のツールとして捉えられるようになるだろう。そして、ツールとして二つの正義を使いこなすことで、「慰安婦」問題の複合性に惑わされずに議論を進めながら「慰安婦」問題の全体像に迫り、さらには現代の植民地主義まで問題意識を広げることが可能になるとと思われる。

Wellesley College-Waseda University Joint Seminar Report

Images of Asia in the United States, Images of the United States in Asia

Natsuko Hada

Background

On February 17th, 2009, nine Waseda University graduate students led by Professor Hatsue Shinohara attended a seminar hosted by Wellesley College East Asian Languages and Literature department. The theme of the seminar was “Images of Asia in the United States, Images of the United States in Asia,” which was aimed to instigate an exchange of ideas between American students from Wellesley College and Asian students from Waseda University.

In preparation for the seminar, four Waseda students from Thailand, Japan, Korea and China have prepared short presentations on what they perceive as “image of America” in their respective countries. The presenters’ preconceptions of the United States were formed through varying degrees of experience. While some had spent a substantial amount of time in the US as exchange students, others were paying their first visits to the United States during this seminar.

The participants from Wellesley College included professors who specialized in studies of Japan, China, Korea or general East Asian area. Their students also participated in the seminar, whose interests ranged from East Asian languages, literature, history, sociology, political science, and religion.

The entire seminar lasted for about an hour, during which the presentations by Waseda students were followed by responses from the Wellesley audience.

Presentation 1: Thai’s Perspective of the United States

The first presenter from Thailand shared her perceptions of the United States mainly based on interviews with Thai people who had direct interactions with Americans. The response to the interview was dominated by criticisms against the United States. On a personal level, many Thai people recognized how little attention Americans paid to foreign nations and its cultures. The presenter had personally been asked several times if she rode buffalos in Thailand. This inquiry showed that the image of Thailand still remained primitive and uncivilized in the questioners’ minds, and that they felt no hesitation in sharing such conjecture with Thai people. The presenter analyzed this ignorance of the Americans as the result of indifference towards the world around them, which gave an impression of arrogance to American people.

American politics, especially its foreign policy, also rouse negative feelings towards the US in Thai people’s minds. The lack of consideration towards foreign thoughts and culture seemed to permeate all levels of American society, from individuals to the federal government. The presenter also pointed out that Americans are “loud,” and are rarely considerate of the repulsive feelings caused by their bluntness.

Lastly, the presenter touched upon the emotional gap that existed between Asians and

Asian Americans. She and the interviewees felt that Asian Americans tended to deliberately distance themselves from their Asian heritage, and that they looked down upon Asian natives.

Presentation 2: Japanese Perspective of the United States

The second presenter shared the images of the United States in Japanese society, by conducting research on how American products are received in Japan, and by looking at public opinions revealed in recent polls.

The presenter summarized Japanese perception of the United States to be a juxtaposition of amity and antagonism. She concluded that the positive feelings toward the United States were promoted through the influx of American popular culture in Japanese society. Japanese movie magazines are centered on Hollywood films, as the Japanese public is not only interested in the contents of the movies but also in the gossips surrounding American movie stars. Also, the Tokyo Disney Resort remains to be the greatest theme park in Japan both in its scale and its popularity. Starbucks and McDonalds continue to be successful even in the recessional period of the Japanese food service industry. These examples suggest that the Japanese public holds no antipathy towards American popular culture, which is sometimes better received in Japan than its authentic culture.

Despite embracing American popular culture, the repulsive feelings towards American political and military affairs are still high among the Japanese public. The existence of the US military bases that spread throughout the country is another aspect of “America” that Japanese have no choice but to accept. Statistics show that a large portion of Japanese population feels that the American military presence in Japan must be reduced, an idea that prevails over the opinions to maintain or increase the American military presence. Japanese aversion towards the US military is largely due to the chronic conflicts between American soldiers and Japanese locals around the US bases. Incidents of rape crimes committed by American servicemen severely damage the reputation of the US military, yet these problems are not even close to eradication.

Presentation 3: South Korean Perspective of the United States

The third presentation on the South Korean impression of the United States was remarkably similar to the Japanese view of the US. Again, American popular culture was a major contributor in enhancing Koreans’ amiable feelings towards the US. However, the political aspect of the United States was not well received in Korea, partially because South Korea is also a site of major American bases. One recent incident that exacerbated Koreans’ negative feelings towards the United States was the conflict over American import policy, when cases of BSE contamination was found among American beef products.

The three perspectives from Thailand, Japan, and Korea all mentioned public resentment towards American foreign policy, even though none of these countries is in antagonistic relationship with the US. These perceptions show that the hard power of the United States is no match to its soft power when it comes to promoting harmonious relationship with Asian countries.

Presentation 4: Chinese Perspective of the United States

The last discussion on the image of the United States in China presented a perspective that was different in nature from others, for it is the only nation with internal barriers for the free flow of information. The academic program supported by the Japanese government allowed the presenter to visit the United States for the first time, which is an opportunity that is not easily opened to Chinese citizens. It was not until 2008 that the Chinese government finally allowed its citizens to travel to the United States for sightseeing purpose. However, individual trips are still not permitted and the travelers are always required stay within a group. Thus, the images of the United States in China are constructed mainly through reports from national media and censored culture, not through people who had direct experience with the United States.

In spite of the strict governmental control on the flow of information, American mass culture is increasing its popularity in China. American soap operas are enjoyed by Chinese youths, as is the case with other East Asian countries. This cultural influence is only a recent phenomenon, for a long time the only Americans who set foot upon China were there for religious, political or economic purposes. The limited interaction between the Chinese public and the United States has dichotomized the Chinese public's perception of the US, which is well represented in the paradoxical proverb: "If you love him, send him to New York as it is Heaven. If you hate him, send him to New York as it is Hell."

Wellesley Responses

While the tone of the presentations may have been inclined to criticisms against the United States, American students were generally receptive of such views. A student admitted that the only thing she knew about Thailand was Thai restaurant in the United States, and that the idea of self-sufficiency may have caused this ignorance and self-centeredness of the American mass.

On the theme of Asian Americans' superiority complex, a couple of Asian American students among the audience were able to share their opinion on the subject. Some students mentioned that the dual identity of being both Asian and American could be a source of personal dilemma. In the United States, they are constantly pestered by the question "Where are you from?" for which the simple and correct answer of "I am from America" will never satisfy the questioner. They must always clarify their ethnic origin, as if being an "American" does not suffice their full identity. Their struggles tend to be even greater in the Asian countries of their origin, as they often feel alienated by the locals for their Americanized character. A Japanese American student mentioned that she must "swim between two identities." She claims herself to be an American while in the US and calls herself Japanese when she visits Japan. She feels that in order to assimilate into both societies, she must undermine half of her identity as "Japanese American."

Some critical comments were made from the audience that the presentations were not based on a well-grounded research, that they did not go beyond depicting the stereotypes of the United States. While it may be true that the Americans are not making adequate efforts to comprehend the world around them, such attitude may be mutual between the United States and other countries. One of the remarks that concluded the seminar was an emphasis on the continuous efforts to build understanding and trust across the world, for which academic contributions and

exchange of ideas between youths will be most crucial.

Conclusion

As a Wellesley College alumna and a current student of Waseda University, this joint seminar held a special significance for me. I have had the opportunity to experience both sides of perspectives, studying about Asian countries within an American academic institution and familiarizing myself with the Japanese view of the United States. I used to believe that such an opportunity has allowed me to broaden my consideration of the two sides of the Pacific; not until this seminar did I realize that this unique situation has actually limited my own viewpoint. I have failed to notice that the generalized images are the major determinants in shaping international relationships, especially on developing public sentiments.

While the Asian students' stereotypical view of the United States has invited certain criticisms from the American audience, it is also true that stereotypes represent the essence of a nation's image. Once stereotypes are established, it is extremely difficult to break them and to draw attention to a more complex reality. A Wellesley professor mentioned that it is a bit heedless to conclude that Americans are indifferent to the world around them. He argued that Wellesley College is a good example of the US efforts to learn about others, as it requires undergraduate students to take at least one of its fifteen language courses and a non-Western cultural studies course. However, such argument is only a facet of truth, as an institution like Wellesley does not represent an "ordinary" America; educational opportunity that promotes understanding of diversity is only opened to a minuscule proportion of the American population.

The United States is not the only nation that must promote better understanding of the other parts of the world. Any country that seeks harmonious relationships must make continuous efforts to learn about others, and learn about itself through the stereotypical images it propagates. The significance of fieldwork should not be undervalued in such learning process, as information reported through national media is not enough in constructing a comprehensive picture of a foreign country. The "Support Program for Improving Graduate School Education" has allowed me such fieldwork opportunity to discover the new reality of the United States and Asian countries, and I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to all who have made this program possible.

Japanese Images in Thai Popular Culture

Kajeeporn Techataveekijkul

Research Question: How Japanese are shown in Thai popular culture?

Background

The history of World War II, which Japan was under military authority, caused a strong bad impression among the countries that were occupied or invaded. The South Korea trauma of 36 years under harsh Japanese colonization is still kept alive by the country education system and mass media. The rape of Nankin left a scar in Chinese people's heart. However, even there was invasion of Japanese army to Thailand during the World War II which caused lost and hate against Japanese people among Thai people, today talking about relationship between the two countries, there is no bringing up topic of history of the invasion.

In Thailand, people learn history from text book and literatures which, I believe; it created a notion of nationalism among Thai people. Text books and literatures usually present picture of Thailand under monarchy system and intelligent Kings who always brought the country into independence, creating a strong monarchical system until today. Some literatures about history were produced as movies which created a big hit and also gained a huge benefit all over the country.

Among the World War II, Japanese image in Thai society was aggressive because of the military government. In 1972, under the nationalist government, there were protests against Japanese commodities in Thailand because of the influx of Japanese goods that made people afraid that they were going to replace Thai commodities. These events are also mentioned in Thai text books and literature.

Today Japanese popular culture is one main craze among Thai children and teenagers which I believe that young Thai have been developing a new image of Japan through their culture consumption. Thanks to globalization, Japanese media flows to Thailand easier and faster than in the past. Japanese media have been gradually acquiring positive viewpoints of Japan, and a fascination toward contemporary aspects of the country's society and culture. The nature of this appreciation is constructed through the consumption of popular culture, and correlates with Joseph Nye's description of soft power, which emanates in the subjective fascination of a country.

The new image of Japan has been reflected from Thailand own mass media as we can see that, nowadays, there are many books, movies and TV drama about Japan in Thailand and the

image of Japan is beautiful opposite from it was long time ago; for instance, the Thai anti-Japanese movement during the World War II (1941 – 1945), protests against Japanese commodities in 1972.

In order to understand the image that reflects from Thai people, observing from Thai mass media is one way to examine. Also, we can also study relationship context between the two countries by analyzing from mass media. In the case of the United States and Japan, according to Sheila K. Johnson's book, *The Japanese through American Eyes*, the generalized Asian stereotype also comes in positive and negative versions, depending on how the United States feels about a particular nation at a given time. When Americans were at war with Japan, quietness turned into deviousness, and stoicism (another trait commonly ascribed to all Asians) became cruelty. When Americans were fighting the Chinese in Korea, the same negative attributes were attached to them, whereas the Japanese suddenly became our trustworthy, hard-working, gentle allies. In Thai case, it is also possible that stereotype of Japan has been changing from time to time.

Methodology

I am using empirical framework by observing from Thai popular culture: TV advertisement, fiction, non-fiction, and woman magazine. I also conducted some interviews with Thai people who have never been to Japan (5 people whose ages are in 20s and 5 people whose ages are in 40s). The interviews will be used as supplementary information

Timeframe: Chapter 1: 1941-1945, 1972
Chapter 2: 2005 - 2008

Research Outline

Introduction

1. Research Question: How Japanese are shown in Thai popular culture?
2. Research Approach: Empirical framework
3. What kind of subject to be used, reasons and how to choose the sources
4. Literature reviews: Studies on Japanese Image, Thai Perceptions on Japanese
5. Definition: Image, Popular culture
6. Outline of thesis

Chapter 1: The 'old' Japanese

1. Before and during the WW II (1941 – 1945)
2. Protests against Japanese commodities (1972)

Chapter 2: The 'new' Japanese: 21st century

1. Japanese children and teenagers

2. Japanese workers
3. Japanese seniors
4. Japanese men and women

Conclusion

1. Comparing “the old” and “the new”
2. How the images of Japanese in Thai popular culture show Thai’s opinion toward Japanese and Thai’s concerning

What kind of subject to be used

- TV advertisement

TV advertisements are appeared on TV which can be accessible from most of Thai people in the country. TV advertisement, unlike other TV programs; for example, drama, game show, people cannot choose to watch from their preference. Moreover, as each advertisement has to be short in order to fit the time, it has to show all the essences in the limited time. I will use two websites that collect all of the TV advertisement that on-air on free TV which are www.adintrend.com and www.kosanathai.com.



Thai TV advertisements

- Fiction

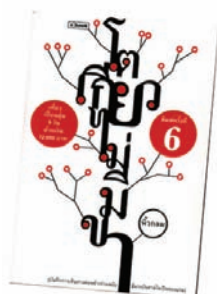
In 21st century, there are still many fictions writing about Japanese, mostly were written by teenagers and teen novels. I chose one publisher that published only teen novels written by Thai teenagers and chose only best-selling novels of the publisher that in the novels Japanese characters appear. The publisher is *JAMSAI Publishing*. All the published novels are easily accessed by Thai people (mostly in urban area) as they are all appeared in every book stores.



JAMSAI Publishing booth in Book Expo Thailand 2006
(The picture was taken by the author)

- **Non-Fiction**

There are many non-fictions about Japan are sold in Thai book stores, most of them are guidebooks and books written about experience in Japan, all of them included some comments and opinions about Japanese. As there are many of them, it is difficult to observe all of the books. Therefore, since Thailand does not have bestselling books data which can represent the whole country, I chose books which have been published more than two times, which can guarantee that the books were sold to many people.



Tokyo Has No Leg (2005)
(Now is the 8th edition)

- **Woman magazine**

Apart from the image of being modernized country with all electronic commodities, Japan is also considered as fashionable country, mostly among women. The image appeared in woman magazine which sometimes has a column about Japanese trend and fashion. Among many woman magazines in Thailand, I chose to observe CLEO magazine which was ranked as the best selling woman magazine in Thailand in 2004¹. Moreover, among many woman magazines, the contents of CLEO are considered to attract woman in middle class than other magazines, for instance, ELLE and Cosmopolitan, which show mostly brand name goods.

¹ <http://www.komchadluek.net/news/2005/03-03/soc-16573963.html>



CLEO Magazine (July 2007)

*****To be noted that I will conduct my research as content analysis which means I am not going to see what the subjects affect people's opinion but I would rather see what it shows in the content.**

Literature Reviews

- **Studies on Japanese Image:**

Sheila K. Johnson, *The Japanese through American Eyes*

Akira Iriye (edited), *Mutual images: essays in American-Japanese relations*

- **Thai Perceptions on Japanese:**

Kunio Yoshihara (edited), *Thai perceptions of Japanese modernization*

Khien Theeravit, *The Thai Perception of China and Japan*

Supang Chantavanich, *Survey on Thai Youth opinion toward Japan and ASEAN*

Warinthorn Wuwongse, Weerawan Washiradilok, *Comparing Opinions of Thai and Japanese toward Each Other*

Definitions

- **Image**

The idea that stereotype content may stem from features of the social structural relationships between groups is also the basic premise of the image theory of international relations in political science. Unlike traditional representations of social stereotypes as lists of traits and attributes that are believed to be characteristic of individual members of a particular social group, images are patterns or configurations of coherent beliefs about the character, intentions, motives, and emotions attributed to or associated with the outgroup as a whole.(Alexander, Brewer, Livingston; 2005)

- Popular culture

'Popular culture' has emerged as one of the main sites of investigation within contemporary mass communication research and cultural studies. Most of that work is concerned with fiction, particularly in television, and with other forms of expression which generally go under the heading of 'entertainment'. (Dahlgren; 1992)

Chapter 1: The Old Japanese

Before and during the WWII (1941 – 1945): As Thai government at that time took the Japanese side during the 2nd World War, there are many journals about Japan. One of them is "Traveling Japan" which has many advertisements of Japanese commodities; for examples, Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha, Mitsui Ship, also, a Thai tailor shop called "Tai Fah" promoted that they were specialize in making modern cloth for going to Japan.² These advertisements show that Japanese commodities were interested by Thai and in order to go to Japan, it was better to dress smart. During the WWII, there are many books writing about Japan which were translated from foreign languages; for example, "Thai-Japanese Conversation" by S.Mikey (1940), "Buddhism and Japanese People" by Pro. T. Byodo and Pro. K. Takagami (1941), and books which where written by Thai people; for example, "Memoirs of Students Who Got Scholarship to Go Travelling in Japan" by Center of Studying Japanese-Thai Culture (1942)³



Travelling Japan (April 1937)

Mentioning in Colonel Nonglak Limsiri's research about Thai's opinion toward Japanese during the WWII, the relationship between Thailand and Japan was generally speaking in a good way; for instance, Thailand was a country that Japan gave a special treatment or Thailand was the only country the did not hate Japan. However, there is no specific research about the opinion,

² Anake Nawigamune, *Thai Advertisements Vol.1* (Thailand: Saitharn Publication House, 2008), pp.205-206, 215.

³ Ibid, pp.266-267.

mostly mentioned as a small opinion in some works.⁴

Image of Japanese people during the beginning of the 1970s was not a good image in Thai people's eyes especially among scholars. Articles which contained critics against Japan's role were published in a large amount. During 1970-1976, there were 310 articles (from 756 articles) about Japan published in Thailand⁵. During 1950-1980, articles the were written about Japanese as "Economic Animal" encouraged the feeling of anti-Japanese toward Thai people especially articles in "Journal of Sociology Review"⁶

Moreover, the image of domination of Japanese economic in Thailand during the time is explicit in the poem by Sakda Jintanvijit, "Values", which was published in Thairath, the most popular newspaper in Thailand, in 17 December 1972.⁷ The poem described about Thai's way of living which had a lot of relations with Japanese commodities; for example, using National Rice Cooker, Seiko watch, Sanyo radio, Toyota car, Daimaru department store, Toshiba TV etc. The end of the poem, the writer wrote in both Thai and Japanese that "Am I Thai?" (*Watashi wa tai jin desu ka?*).⁸

The research will be conducted by using both primary sources, for instance, Thai fiction (*Koo Gum*) and secondary sources.

One of the most effective literatures which shaped the idea of Japanese people in Thai's heart is *Khu Kham* which is the love story of Japanese soldier and Thai woman during the World War II. The story is very popular and was remade many times as TV drama, movie and play. The novel was also planned to produce as film in Japan in order to celebrate 120 years of Thailand – Japan diplomatic relations.⁹

Book Summary – คู่กรรม (*Khu Kham* - メナムの残照 - *Sunset at Chaophraya*)

(First published in 1963)

⁴ Nonglak Limsiri, Colonel, *Japanese-Thai Relations during the Second World War* (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Press, 2006) p.110.

⁵ Banyat Surakanvit, *Japanese Studies in Thailand* (Japan Foundation's News Letter, October 1983).

⁶ Banyat Surakanvit, "Thai-Japanese Relations: Aid or Slander," *Thai-Japanese Relations: 10 Years after the Anti-Japanese Commodities*, Banyat Surakanvit, ed. (Bangkok: Old Japan's Students Association, Thailand, Center of Japanese Studies, Thammasat University, 1982), p.52.

⁷ Ibid, p.53.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Komchadluek, "ทมิฬคืน" ภาคภูมิใจ "คู่กรรม" โกอินเตอร์," [http://www.komchadluek.net/news/2006/01-12/ent-19613473.html], 12 January 2006.



In 1939, the early days of [World War II in Siam](#), to Angsumalin whose father left her mother to marry with another elite woman meeting one last time with her childhood friend, a young Thai man named Vanus. He is leaving for [England](#) for his studies and hopes that Angsumalin will wait for him and marry him when he returns.

Shortly thereafter, Thailand is invaded by [Japanese](#) military forces. In [Thonburi](#), opposite [Bangkok](#) on the [Chaophraya River](#), the Imperial Japanese Navy establishes itself at a base. The forces there are led by Kobori, an idealistic young captain who is a Japanese commander's nephew. One day he sees Angsumalin swimming in the river and falls for her. She, being a proudly nationalistic Thai woman, despises him because he is Japanese. One day Angsumalin's neighbors are caught because of they steals oil from Japanese camp, Kobori punish them by pouring liter of oil through their mouth. Angsumalin judges this kind of punishment as uncivil then she tries to stop it but saying:

“These two men are Thai, this land it also Thai so even they are working for Japanese army, it does not mean that they have to be under Japanese force. If they did something wrong, they should be punished by Thai people not by the Japanse army!”

From this situation, Angsumalin's hate of Japan increasing gradually, even how hard Kobori tries to be good to her. Nonetheless, Kobori persists at seeing her and a courtship develops. Angsumalin sees a way to use Kobori to serve the underground [Free Thai Movement](#) while she waits for Vanus. Then, for political reasons, Angsumalin's father insists that she marry Kobori. Understanding that Angsumalin is not marrying him out of love, Kobori promises not to touch her, but he breaks that vow after the wedding because he is drunk. Despite this, Angsumalin develops tender feelings for Kobori, but is still torn by her feelings for her nation and Vanus, who returns to set in motion a conflict between the two men. Angsumalin finds out that she is in love with Kobori after they spend time together. She finds out that Kobori is kind and gentle to her. He protects her even he knows that sometimes it is against the rule of the army. After she meets Vanus who

escapes from Japanese army camp after he is caught as a member of Free Thai Movement, she returns the promise to Vanus and runs to find Kobori to tell him that she loves him.

That day there is bombing around Bangkok-noi area, Kobori goes there and the bomb takes his life away. Angsumalin comes to Bangkok-noi and finds Kobori just before he passes away. She tells him “Anato wo aishimasu” which is the sentence that Kobori has told her for many time. It is 1944, and the [Japan's](#) efforts to win the [Pacific War](#) are failing, and a Thai woman, Angsumalin, has just lost her husband, Kobori, an officer in the [Imperial Japanese Navy](#).

Discussion: For *Khu Khum* or *Sunset at Chaophraya*, Angsumalin represents nationalistic Thai woman who proud of her pride and her nation. She judges Japanese people as evil as a whole at the beginning of the story. She also mentions that she has never wanted Japanese to be in her country; Kobori once says that sakura will never be beautiful outside Japan and Angsumalin says that she never wants sakura to be in Thailand as well. Kobori represents an idealistic man who does everything for love even it is sometimes against the rule. In my opinion, Kobori’s action is against his own nation but for Thai people who read the novel, it is the way they want Kobori to do, to devote himself to love rather than his own country; once Angsumalin helps a western prisoner of war as she said it is for humanity, Kobori knows about it but he does not report it to the army even it may cause bad affect to his own nation. Even though Japanese soldiers represent the image of Japanese as harsh and cruelty, Kobori represents a good image of Japan for Thai readers and Thai audiences. The novel has been published up to 14 times today and it was remade as film and TV drama for several times.

Chapter 2: The New Japanese

In Thailand especially in 21st century, there is no specific research on Thai’s opinion toward Japanese people which is using the observation of Thai popular culture. There were some researches on the image by using quantitative method. Nowadays, it can be said that Korean Wave is concerned as more popular in Thai society as there are more Korean Dramas than Japanese that broadcast on Thai TV. However, the Japanese still appear on Thai popular culture as a character. In the case of printing sources, Japanese are represented in both fiction and non-fiction works. In fiction, today Japanese appears a lot in teen’s novels as a leading character, mostly presented as a man. In non-fiction, Japanese people are mostly presented as opinion of a writer who visited Japan in guidebooks or magazines. Women magazine usually presented Japanese women as fashionable and they have independent to dress up as they like, even sometimes it is considered as weird. On the other hand, women’s role will usually changed when they go across teenage.

Lakkana Korvanichkul mentioned in her master thesis, “The Significant of “Green Tea” in Contemporary Thai and Japanese Society,” after conducting interviews in 2006 that for Thai people the image of Japanese are mostly in positive way and Thai people interests a lot in Japanese

culture.¹⁰

I believe that, in Thai popular culture, Japanese in Thai's opinion share some common character. Therefore, I would like to separate those opinions more specifically which are Japanese children and teenagers, Japanese workers, Japanese similes, Japanese men and women.

1. Japanese children and teenagers

Children: cute, lively, healthy with red cheeks

Teenagers: 1. Extremely crazy (especially on the way they dress)
2. Girls are fashionable, guys are cool

2. Japanese workers

Have loyalty on their company, hard-working, the boss is very strict so that they have to concentrate a lot on their works, mostly appeared as office workers

3. Japanese seniors

Healthy, mostly appeared in Kimono drinking green tea

4. Japanese men and women

Men: workaholic, devote themselves to work

Women: housewife, have good manner, have great skill in cooking or house-keeping, women in office always do easy job, no woman appeared as boss

Conclusion

- Comparing Old and New
- The images of Japanese in Thai popular culture reflect not only how Thai people see Japanese today but also show Thai's current concerning, for instance, in order to have good health and long life like Japanese, Thai should drink green tea.

Comments from professors and commentators in New York University

1. Comments on Chapter 1: The Old Japanese that the author should write more on the history part, especially, regarding to capitalism, consumerism and nationalism, and discuss on the topic why Thai nation created block of Japanese commodities in 1972 but not now.

¹⁰ Lakkanna Korvanichkul, *The Significant of "Green Tea" in Contemporary Thai and Japanese Society* (Master thesis, Faculty of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University, 2006), p.55.

2. Discuss if anything of Japan be braded as trade goods, and if the brand make Thai people forget the bad memory of the past
3. Discuss more if the pictures of Japanese showing in Thai popular culture are as ironic feeling of Thai people toward Japanese.
4. As the author is using the methodology of Sheila K. Johnson, the author of "*Japanese through American Eyes*", the commentator suggest that the author should specific more about the methodology and comparing what are the different between the two.

Response to the comments

According to the comments of professors and commentators in New York University, I agree that I should write more on the history part in Chapter 1. The protest against Japanese commodities was intensely uprising during 1972. Mentioning in *Thai-Japanese Relations: 10 Years after the Aniti-Japanese Commodities (1982)*, the images of Japanese that Thai felt during that time were nationalism, collectivism, business-animal, dishonest, and tricky. These images are some main factors that made the Thai people afraid of being overwhelmed by Japanese increased, as well as, Japanese would come to have influence in Thai politics at last.¹¹ While in the present time, as mentioning in Chapter 2: The New Japanese, the images of Japanese in Thai popular culture do not related to the cruelty in the past anymore. The fear that Thai people had during the past does not appear in Thai people's heart today as the advancement of globalization and as Thailand's economic system is capitalism, however, it does not mean that Thai people forget the bad memory of the past, but it seems that The new image of Japanese appear in order that the producers can sale more products. Both images of Japanese in different time reflect not only trend in Thai society but also political atmosphere in specific time. In some Thai popular culture, Japanese are portrayed as serious office workers which in some context, the image is the same as it was which is business-animal. Sometimes Japanese are portrayed as funny characters, yet, in my opinion, it does not mean that it is an ironic feeling toward Japanese. Funny Japanese characters appear in TV advertisements which mean Japanese characters in the ad encourage people to buy goods. Lastly, as the methodology I am using to conduct the research got a great influence from Sheila K. Johnson, the author of "*Japanese through American Eyes*", however, as Johnson's chapters were categorized by issues in history, this research contents were classified by characteristic of Japanese people as Japanese children and teenagers, Japanese workers, Japanese seniors, Japanese men and women which I believe that it is the uniqueness of the research.

¹¹ Banyat Surakanvit, ed., *Thai-Japanese Relations: 10 Years after the Aniti-Japanese Commodities* (Bangkok: Old Japan's Students Association, Thailand, Center of Japanese Studies, Thammasat University, 1982), p.65.

CORRUPTION IN CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE POLITICS (1994-2008)

Andrius Gelezauskas

Presented at the New York University, United States of America, 2009/02/18

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Preface

Japan and United States of America (later U.S.) are mutually-related close partners in many fields, including politics, economy, and security.

To deepen mutual understandings as well as to share mutual views on different issues with the people in the U.S., we, students of the seminar of Prof. Hatsue Shinohara, traveled to the U.S. from February 15th 2009 to February 20th 2009 to visit some of leading universities (Harvard University, New York University, Wellesley College), the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, and the US diplomatic mission office to the United Nations. The main theme of this field trip was “East Asia and the US/ Japan and Asia in the US academic institutions.”, and the each seminar member made the presentations, exchanged opinions with the students, the professors, and the diplomatic people in the United States. The theme of my presentation was on “Corruption in contemporary Japanese politics (1994-2008).” which is based on my recent research.

Thus, in this report, I will submit the main outline of my research and discuss main questions concerning my presentation which were raised by Looser Tom, the Professor New York University, and his colleagues. However, it should be mentioned that as this research is at initial stage, it might lack sophisticated analysis or verified conclusions, and data content analysis of mass media should be added to this research later on.

Introduction

Corruption is an elusive phenomenon which is difficult to be captured in a single crisp definition. There are plenty of definitions to describe corrupt activities. Taking this into consideration, I found it useful to adopt the definition by Gibbon (1993), which describes corruption as any kind of behaviors, that if it were to become public knowledge would lead to a scandal. What we know about corruption tends to come from scandals that often become the main topic of mass media. Therefore, despite many obstacles, mass media remains one of the most important sources in researching corruption scale and main actors within one or another political system.

Transparency International is the most famous Non Governmental Organization whose

mission is to fight against corruption, and conduct researches on this issue. According to the Transparency International Global Corruption Barometer data 2007 (this world wide survey have been started from 2003), Japanese people perceived political parties, as well as politicians too, to be the institutions which are one of the most affected by corruption. Interesting to mention is that, not only in Japan but in other countries also, the political parties, politicians and police are perceived to be institutions which are most affected by corruption.

Furthermore, necessary to mention is that the government performance against corruption is regarded to be ineffective and inadequate to the real situation. In Japan only 8 percent of respondents have answered that those government efforts in fighting against corruption is effective while world average is about 28 percents.¹

Another important survey conducted by Transparency Internationals is Corruption Perception Index (CPI). According to this research started in 1995, CPI point of Japan was 7.5 in 2007, which was 17th place among 180 countries where this research was conducted. Corruption Perception Index in Japan has quite high positive value even compared with other economically-developed countries such as U.S. marking 20th in the ranking, Germany, 16th, France, 19th, and Italy, 41st (refer to map no. 1 „World Map Index of Perception of Corruption (2007) ”). Local Transparency International office in Tokyo then made comments on CPI data, affirming that police, courts, activity of the Fair Trade Commission, and the movements of media and civic groups are seen to be very positive in this context. Bribe cases and rot are often reported on newspaper as scandals. Therefore, it may be interpreted that these organizations and groups are seriously working for the rot extermination. Consequently, further expectation is put on mass media role in dealing with corrupt practices.

To sum up corruption in Japan is very important issue especially ordinary Japanese have keen concern toward Japanese political parties, politicians' activities and preventive measures by the government. Therefore, it is important to have a closer look on the reasons why Japanese political parties and politicians are being perceived to be exclusively corrupted and why governmental measures in fighting against corruption tend to be evaluated quite negatively among Japanese people. Also, the role of mass media playing in dealing with corruption is not less important issue in this research. Taking them into consideration, the purpose of this research is to focus on political corruption phenomenon in the context of Japanese mass-media.

Theoretical approach toward corruption studies

In the literature on corruption, it is frequently suggested that corruption results from these three mutually co-existing and reinforcing factors:

1. Ambiguous borders between the state and markets (economic benefits depends on political decisions)
2. Tolerance of corruption by citizens (it provides incentives for politicians to make corruptive actions)

¹ Transparency International Japan. <http://www.ti-j.org/corrupt/07/GCB2007.pdf>, visited 2009/02/26

3. Malfunctioning of the (political, administrative or judicial) mechanism of control limiting the discretionary power of public decisions makers.²

As we can see from Transparency International studies tolerance of corruption by citizens may be questionable in Japanese case.

Main topics in corruption researches are:

- Newness, scale and varieties of corruption. To what extent has the phenomenon growth in recent years? What is its perceived scale? To what extent has the nature and variety of corruption changed?
- Causes of corruption. What is the relevance of potential common conditions (such as the financing of parties, institutional change, restructuring of economy, changes in values and public morality) as well as the causes that appear to be distinctive to the country under study?
- Dynamics of corruption. Who are main practitioners? What are resources they wield? What are 'secret exchanges' based on?
- Anti-corruption laws and campaigns, remedies and solutions. To what extent have there been legal and political attempts to thwart the practice and growth of political corruption? To that extent have they been successful and corruption been exposed?
- Impact of political corruption and exposure of political corruption. What has been the impact of political corruption on the functioning of the political system, and what has been the impact of the exposure of corruption on parties and the political system?
- Socio-cultural background and its impact on political corruption.³

However, to answer all of these questions seems to be extremely difficult. Therefore, in my research only some of them will be focused on. On the other hand, some of those issues are crossly-related, thus, it may be difficult to understand some processes without analysis of other processes.

Previous researches on Japanese political corruption

Main focus in Japanese political corruption researches have been made on:

1. Political financing issues
2. Lockheed case study
3. Recruit case study
4. Cases on distribution of national funds (f.e. Showadenko in 1948, Zosengigoku scandal in 1954. Zosengigoku or scandal occurred in 1954 when "Shipbuilding corruption" scandal the shipping and shipbuilding industries made approaches to the government and related ministries in order to recover from the recession by lowering the interest rates and the

² Bull J. Martin, Newell L. James. 2003. „Corruption in Contemporary Politics“. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. P. 15

³ Bull J. Martin, Newell L. James. 2003. „Corruption in Contemporary Politics“. Palgrave Macmillan. New York. P.

like.)

5. Cases on the enactment of Laws
6. Cases on permission and certification etc.

However, main topic frequently studied in political field has remained to be political financing as it has systematic influence on whole Japanese political system.

Other scholars focus on Lockheed and Recruit scandals. Both of them had huge impact on the dominance of Japanese Liberal Democratic Party. In this case, the case study by Chalmers Johnson on “Lockheed” scandal and the role of Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei is the very good research example concerning political corruption. Not only the essence of scandal but also the impact it had brought on the whole Japanese party political system was highlighted in his case study.

In 2006 Transparency International carried out another well-grounded research on Japanese political corruption issue. This research is called “National Integrity Systems: Transparency International Country Report, Japan 2006.” The concept of the National Integrity System (NIS) has been developed and promoted by TI as the part of its holistic⁴ approach to countering corruption. The NIS approach provides a framework with which to analyze both the extent and causes of corruption in a given national context, as well as the adequacy and effectiveness of national anti-corruption efforts.

The main “pillars” of the NIS are considered to be the following: Executive; Legislature; Political Parties; Electoral Commissions; Supreme Audit Institution; Judiciary; Public Sector; Police and Prosecutors; Public Procurement; Ombudsman; Anti-corruption agencies; Media; Civil Society; Private Sector; Regional and Local Government; and International Institutions.

Key ideas of this National Integrity Studies on Japan are:

1. “Many of the corruption scandals which occurred in recent years in Japan have taken place in newly emerged social, economic and environmental policy fields in which bureaucrats can maintain various roles and functions.
2. In the ministries whose influence is increasing in these contexts, a practice called amakudari (golden parachute) among senior officials is projected to remain in future.
3. Politicians, especially ex-bureaucrat politicians, are deeply involved in cooperation with bureaucrats and industries. What is called the “rotten triangle of politics, bureaucracy and business” may be identified as characteristic of corruption in Japan.”⁵

Five Types of Corruption

The causes of corruption in Japan have changed in accordance with the stages of Japanese economic development and the changes in levels of governmental intervention.

⁴ **Holism** - is the idea that all the properties of a given system (biological, chemical, social, economic, mental, linguistic, etc.) cannot be determined or explained by its component parts alone. Instead, the system as a whole determines in an important way how the parts behave.

⁵ National integrity systems: Transparency International country report, Japan 2006

www.transparency.org/content/download/14728/156321/file/japan_r.pdf, pp. 7, visited 2009/02/26

Five major types of corruption can be identified.⁶

1. Administrative corruption. In which lower-level government officials and private individuals are involved in small-scale malfeasance.
2. Individual political corruption. In which high-level government officials, politicians, businessmen or intermediaries are involved in secret collusion, with illegal donations and collusive bidding dominant.
3. Institutionalized or systemic corruption. In which powerful political leaders and business interests try to personalize and manipulate the state organs and wealth in their own interest through close relationships with bureaucrats.
4. Corruption within the private sector.
5. International corruption. This is committed by politicians, businessmen and their agents in collusion with government officials from both donor and recipient countries.

In my research the biggest attention will be paid on individual political and institutionalized or systemic corruption because it may provide answers how to understand corruption origins in Japanese national level political system. When talking about political corruption practices within Japanese political system, it seems that the political finance, “amakudari” (golden parachute) and “dango” (bid rigging) issues remain the most serious questions. Also it is important to mention that can be seen new tendencies in political corruption area. According to the NIS, “new social issues, such as preparation for an aging society, environmental policy, response to internationalized criminal activities, earthquake policy and the like, are emerging, providing bureaucrats with new roles and functions. Many corruption scandals in recent years have occurred in these new social fields.”⁷

Research question, task and methodology

Japan has experienced a series of major scandals throughout the postwar period. Various kinds of factors are historical, institutional, societal-structural and political-cultural or, to say more precisely, their complex has had an influence on corrupt practices development in politics. Many researchers assume that the political corruption tends to occur in a society where a kind of clientelistic exchange has deep roots. These two phenomena, political corruption and clientelism, are closely related in Japanese politics too. For that reason Japanese corruption schema through analysis of the political corruption scandals published on newspapers should be examined.

Research question - what are the structure, extent and causes of political corruption in Japan after 1994? The structure of political corruption will be discussed more in detail, by examining both the characteristics of the actors who are directly engaged in the corruption and the resources they exchange. Does the frame of political corruption in Japan anyhow reflect

⁶ National integrity systems: Transparency International country report, Japan 2006

www.transparency.org/content/download/14728/156321/file/japan_r.pdf, pp. 12, visited 2009/02/26

⁷ National integrity systems: Transparency International country report, Japan 2006

www.transparency.org/content/download/14728/156321/file/japan_r.pdf, pp. 10, visited 2009/02/26

governmental attempts to reduce it by introducing new electoral reform and political companies financing law?

Tasks of this research are:

1. To provide empirical data on Japanese political corruption during the period of 1994-2008 in the context of political scandals.
2. To identify major Japanese political corruption scandals in 1994-2008
3. To identify main actors of political scandals in Japan
4. To give analyzes how Political Funds Control Law (政治資金規正法) which had an the intention to make the flow of political donations more transparent and other systematical changes have influenced on the nature of political corruption in Japan.

In other words, political corruption discourse in Japanese national newspapers will be analyzed. Objects to be measured depend on more concrete tasks of research. Though there are still some points to be discussed, it may be valuable to give analysis on frequency of headlines concerning political scandals and corruption on the front pages of Japanese national newspapers; time; number of headlines concerning corruption; percentage of total number of headlines appearing on front page; percentage of total number of headlines on Japanese politics appearing on the front page, acting officials etc.). It is expected that mapping and categorization of political scandal phenomena as well as research on correlated words with “corruption” in political scandal context in Japanese newspapers can provide valuable data for making deep-rooted conclusions on the nature of Japanese political corruption scandals.

Methodology to be used in research is national wide newspaper and weekly magazine content analysis and descriptive analytic method.

Albrecht Rothacher in his research on “Political Corruption in Japan” affirms that “There is plenty of material known to national media. Yet only a few instances of corruption give rise to full blown “Scandals”, with the culprits <...>” The Japanese media (never the parliamentary opposition) might choose particular cases carefully to make it known to the public. Rothacher argues that “they only pick cases in which a major national figure, usually already on the downward slope in terms of his political influence.”⁸ It would be academically useful to give a reliable quantitative data to these statements.

Research will focus on the period after the year of 1993 when the long-time ruling Liberal Democratic Party lost its majority in the Diet for the first time after 38 years. I found this date important because a package of legislation for political reform was introduced. It is essential to research how efficient these measures were.

Criticism and Comments

In this part I would like to discuss criticism and comments to my presentation at New York University in more detailed way.

⁸ Bull J. Martin, Newell L. James edition. 2003. „Corruption in Contemporary Politics“. Albrecht Rothacher “Political Corruption in Japan” Palgrave Macmillan. New York. Pp. 110-111

First comments was made by New York University Professor Tom Looser, who appreciated my efforts which was not concentrating on trying to explain Japanese political corruption by cultural differences or “unique” Japanese practices as gift giving (お中元、お歳暮) etc. Murofushi Tetsu and other researches in previous studies have tried to explain Japanese politics in the light of specific Japanese culture. However, in point of view detailed analysis of more measurable data may give academically well-grounded answer to research questions.

In general, Japanese study can be categorized into three main approaches – mainstream (Ellis Krauss, Scott Flanagan, Ezra Vogel, Gerald Curtis, Edwin O. Reischauer etc.), revisionist (Chalmers Johnson, Karel van Wolferen, Clyde Prestowitz etc.) and culturalist (Ruth Benedict, John Embree and Nihonjin Ron representatives).

Mainstream model is the most popular. This model affirms that although there are some deviations, Japan is fully operating liberal democracy and free market country. Japanese economical, political and social systems are similar to other countries.

On the contrary, revisionists perceive Japan very negatively. According to them, Japan is completely different from liberal democracy countries, claiming that structural corruption is the dominant feature of political system, economy is closed to foreign companies, competitions are regulated by the government, and Japanese foreign and defense policy is based on manipulations.

Culturalist approach supporters tends to explain Japanese political system features and economical and social organization form the point of view of the cultural differences. Thus, Japanese cultural uniqueness is emphasized.

Although there are differences among these approaches, there may be many points which are common to them. Even mainstream approach does not argue against that Japan has some cultural elements which may influence economical, social and political development. Thus, in my research I found it reasonable to employ mainstream approach which can be regarded as more rational rather than culturalists approach.

Second comment of my presentation was that this research on Japanese political corruption may have logical mistakes; conclusions will be made from mass media (newspaper, magazine) data analysis while many of corruption scandals tend to remain unknown. Partially, I agree with this comment. Since mass media mainly focus on scandal or scandalous politician activities, it is quite doubtful if the conclusion of the study would really reflect or represent the real situation in politics. Media, to some degree, defines “corruption” in its context by picking up some “corruptions” among all corruptions existing, and therefore there is no concrete and subjective way to measure it. Furthermore, one the most biggest problems in corruption studies in Japan is so-called “press club” system (記者クラブ制度) in Japanese mass media. Because of “press club” system, some critics say that this can hinder free competition among media companies, which tend to make implied agreements to avoid being scooped by their competitors. Reporters from major media outlets meet in a press room as passive recipients of information provided by the government and other public offices. There are strict rules concerning performance of “press club” activities. These Japanese mass media features is big obstacle to examine the difference between competitors newspaper because they may not compete in the field there good relations with government official bodies or

politicians as a news source is in the first place. However, Japanese magazines do not belong to the “press club” and it would be interesting to have a comparison between one of national newspapers and a weekly magazine. It is known that sometimes news which can not be published in national newspaper are being published in weekly magazines because they can act more freely. Another thing is that weekly magazines may be published more scandalous data which do not have obvious proof.

Overall I do not argue that mass media is publishing all corruption related news but there is no another source to check Japanese political corruption systematically. It is important to remember that corrupt practice and especially politician corrupt activity becomes known only then it is public known. Another question is that the original task of my research is to provide quantitative data analysis on Japanese political corruption – who, when, how and why it is happening in Japan. This research does not answer to all the questions but it is an attempt for better understanding concerning the roots of Japanese political corruption and its impact to the political system. To answer these questions, the possibility to conduct interviews with professionals, for example, Transparency International local office professionals in Tokyo is also being considered. The insight of these professionals may be very valuable in attempts to understand and interpret the data acquired from mass media analysis.

Third comment was that it has to be very clear the relationship between corruption and scandal, the definitions of those terms as those two term can be easily mixed up together especially in mass media. I fully agree with this statement because these two issues are closely related. Thus I should have clear operational definition how to describe political corruption.

Last comment during presentation was about overlapping and mutual relationship between administrative, individual, systematical, private sector and international corruption. It is certain that this viewpoint should be carefully taken into consideration. However, at this stage of research, it is difficult to answer to this question.

Afterward

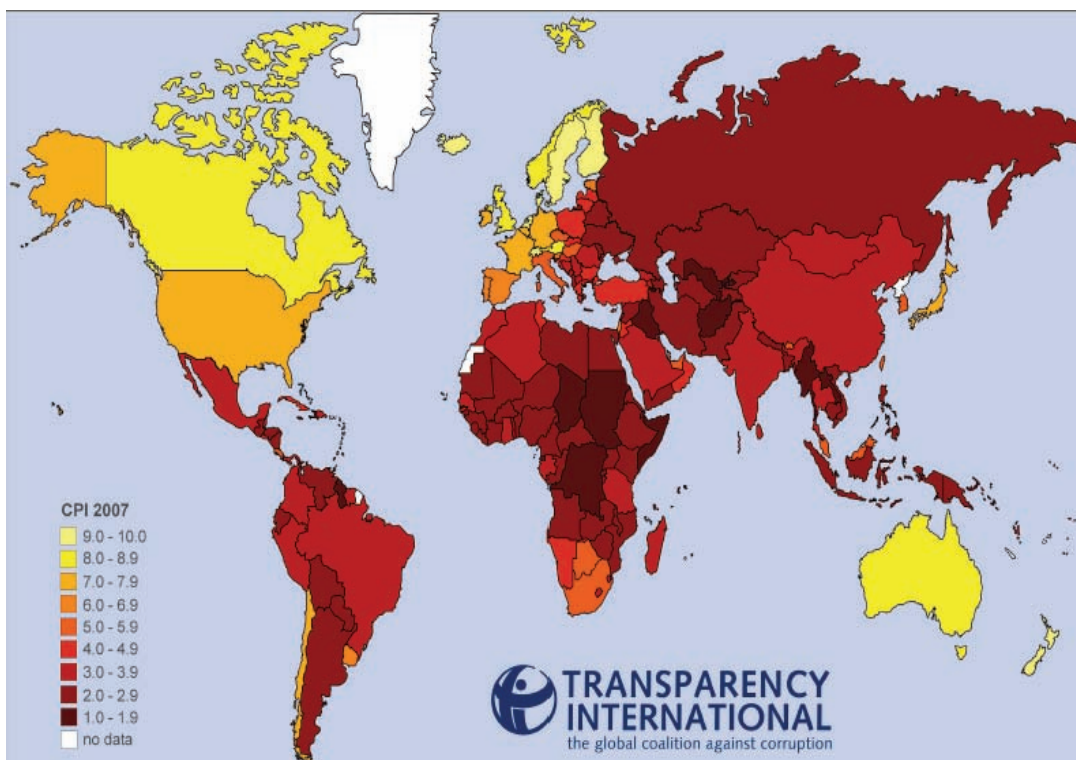
The field trip to U.S. and the visit to leading universities, think tanks and other institutions had positive impact not only on my thoughts concerning my own research topic “Corruption in contemporary Japanese politics (1994-2008)” but also provided an opportunity for more comprehensive understanding of “East Asia and the US/ Japan and Asia” studies in the U.S. academic world. The comments I have received on my research after presentation are very valuable for further development of the topic. Constructive comments of Professor Tom Looser and his colleagues have highlighted the most arguable points of my research. It would be true that the good discussions always lead the best results. Therefore, I would like to express my profound appreciation for having such a precious opportunity to participate in this program.

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Map No. 1 „World Map Index of Perception of Corruption”



Transparency International http://www.ti-j.org/TI/CPI/Images/cpi_2007_worldmap.pdf, visited 2009/02/26

「日米同盟」の誕生 ～安保条約と吉田ドクトリン～

田辺賢介

1. はじめに

1952年に発足した日米安全保障条約（以下、安保条約と表記）は、戦後における日本の安全保障体制とともに、日米関係の基軸として象徴的な存在となった。冷戦下、米国は東アジアの安定という名目により、安保条約に伴う沖縄をはじめとした駐留軍を自らの戦略拠点として大いに活用した。一方、日本は当時の吉田茂首相が、経済発展優先主義を掲げ、また安全保障面においては米軍依存という「吉田ドクトリン」を、後の新安保体制以後も継承される戦後日本の安全保障体制として作りだした。日米双方は安保条約に関して、互いの目的を理解しつつも、異なった視点でその重要性を見出してきたのである。安保条約は後には「日米同盟」と呼ばれるなど、日米関係は冷戦終結後もより緊密化してゆく一方、「同盟国」としての日本の役割を求める米国に対して、経済発展を第一目的としてきた日本はその期待に応える準備も世論の支持もなかった。結果、米国の期待、国内の反発が相対し、安保条約はジレンマと化したのである。そして21世紀に入り、世界同時多発テロを発端に世界情勢は大きな転換期を迎えている。そんな中、日米関係は今後どの方向に進むのか、ひとつの岐路に立っていると考える。本論文では、「同盟」と呼ばれる日米関係の移り変わりを、安保条約に焦点を当てながら歴史的に考察する。

2. 安保発足と吉田ドクトリン

米国にとっての安保条約とは、当初大方はそれまで続いていた日本の占領の延長上であった意味合いが強かったと言える。条約の内容として、例えば米軍による日本国内の内乱の鎮圧や無制限の基地使用は、日本国内だけでなく朝鮮戦争に揺れていた東アジアに米国の強大な影響力を示すという戦略であった側面は大きい。一方で、安保条約による米国との安全保障の提携は、サンフランシスコ講和により国際復帰を果たしたばかりの日本にとっては非常に効果的であった。朝鮮戦争が勃発する中、米軍の存在は日本にとって不安な安全保障を海空から支える防衛力となった。加えて、安全保障が確保されたことにより、日本は米国の強大な経済力も背景に貿易の加速や米国を中心とした海外市場への参加を果たすことができた。

この状態を巧みに利用したのが当時日本の首相であった吉田茂であった。吉田の特徴として、第一に戦前の軍国主義から一転して戦後は経済復興・発展こそ日本の最優先課題と考えていたことが挙げられる。第二に、吉田は日本の再軍備を強く拒否した。朝鮮戦争が勃発する中、日本に再軍備を要求したのは他でもない米国であったが、吉田は米軍の無制限の日本駐留を認めつつ、日本は経済復興に専念し、軍事は米国に依存するという姿勢を明確に表していた。

吉田がこのような政策を打ち出した理由としては幾つかの点が考えられる。第一に日本の再軍備は国民の支持が得られそうもなかった。第二に当時の日本の崩壊した経済状況を考えれば、軍事支出を抑えて経済復興を目指すのは合理的であった。第三に、そして

最も重要なこととして戦前の経験から、日本国内外で日本の軍国主義復活を危惧する声が強かったことも挙げられる。米軍側の強い圧力により、日本はその後自衛隊に前身となる警察予備隊を配置することは受け入れたものの、吉田の打ち出した「経済復興、米軍依存」という考えは、「吉田ドクトリン」として戦後日本政治の軸となったのである。

3. 安保改定と吉田ドクトリン

吉田ドクトリンにより確立された戦後日本の安全保障体制であったが、一方で安保条約が象徴する「不平等な日米関係」は日本にとって克服すべき課題であった。この問題で大きな成果を挙げたのが1957年に発足した岸政権であった。自由主義諸国との協調を外交の原則として掲げた岸政権は、対等なパートナーとしてより強固な日米関係を構築するために安保条約の改定に取り組むことを決断する。

冷戦の激化の中、国連加盟やソ連との国交回復を実現させ、経済復興が軌道に乗り米国依存が弱まりつつある日本を危惧していた米国にとっても、安保改定は日本をつなぎとめておくための手段となった。日本にとって安保改定の最大の目的は、米国の日本防衛義務を明文化することであった。そこに条約の期限を付け、内乱鎮圧条項の削除、日米経済関係の強化、安全保障に関する日米の協議等を加えた。つまり、安保改定とは日本にとって対等な形式を持つ目的であったと同時に、一方的な米軍依存は変わらなかった。その証拠として、米国の日本防衛は沖縄等の基地提供により事実上義務化されていたし、他方で新安保条約でも日本の海外派兵や米国が攻撃された場合の日本の米国防衛義務もなかった。形式上対等な相互条約を結び米国との安全保障体制を自ら納得いく形に改めることができた日本であるが、その真意とは、安全保障は米国に依存し経済発展に専念するという吉田ドクトリンの継承であり強化であったと言える。

4. 安保への反発

安保条約の発足、改定、そして今日の日米関係の軸となっている安全保障体制であるが、その過程には常に安保体制に対する根強い反発も存在する。その原因として三つの視点から考えてみる。第一に「戦争」である。そもそも安保条約とは、前述のとおり米国の日本防衛義務が最大の目的である。他方で、現状として安保条約により日本が戦争に間接的にしても関与していると解釈することもできる。朝鮮戦争では沖縄をはじめとした在日米軍が大きな役割を果たしたといわれているが、同じ現象がその後のベトナム戦争、湾岸戦争でも起きている。とりわけ1960年代後半に激化したベトナム戦争では、米国の行った正当性の疑わしい軍事介入に対する世界ないし日本国内の猛反発は、安保条約により基地を提供する日米協調路線を大きく揺るがした。

第二に「核問題」が挙げられる。安保条約発足後の1954年、ビキニ環礁で行われた米国の核実験は日米関係を大きく揺るがす。日本人乗組員が被爆して日本へ帰港するという第五福竜丸事件として知られるこの事件は、被爆国としての記憶がある日本人にとって心理的ダメージとともに日米安保という関係に強い疑問、反発を生むことになった。その後、後の佐藤政権では、「非核三原則」により、建前上は米軍たりとも沖縄に核兵器は持ち込ませないという方針を固めているが、安保条約に付帯する核問題への強い反発がそ

の要因となっている。

第三に「沖縄基地問題」である。日米関係において、安保条約を象徴する地が在日米軍基地の多くが置かれている沖縄であることは言うまでもない。戦後日本が主権を回復し国際社会への復帰を果たす中、米国の占領下に留まった沖縄において安保条約に対する反発は根強いものがあつた。なかでも米軍が軍用地として沖縄県民の土地を強制的に買い上げたことが大きなきっかけとなり、沖縄中で島ぐるみの反米・反基地運動が繰り広げられた。加えて、沖縄内外での駐留米軍による日本人への暴行は反米感情を一層と強め、沖縄施政返還を求める瀬長亀次郎、兼次佐一といった那覇市長のもと、反米・安保条約の波は沖縄中に拡大していったのである。1972年の沖縄返還は安保条約という観点においても日本国内での対米感情を著しく好転させた事実はあると言える、しかしながらその後も続く沖縄基地問題は、前述の戦争、核問題と併せて日本国内での安保条約への反発を依然強く残している。

5. 日米にとっての「同盟」

1981年に当時の鈴木善幸首相がレーガン米大統領との会談で日米の関係を「日米同盟」と発したのをひとつの契機として、今日「同盟」と言われる日米の関係を考えてみたい。1980年代、同盟と呼ばれた日米関係は政治、経済においても確かにより密接な関係を築いていた。1980年に行われたモスクワ五輪では、日本は米国の同盟国として不参加を表明した。また、1983年に起きた大韓航空機爆破事件においてはソ連側の責任を追求したのは日本であつた。経済面では、日米間の貿易額は年毎に最高を更新し続け、日本の巨額な黒字と米国の赤字により摩擦が起きていた。

一方で「同盟」という表現はとりわけ軍事面においてジレンマを引き起こした。鈴木首相の同盟発言を好意的に受け止めた米国は、軍事面において日本の積極的態度を求めるようになる。日米防衛協力の実現のため日本の防衛予算の大幅増額を求め、1986年には日本の防衛費の対GDP1%枠の撤廃にも影響を与えた。それに対し、日本国内では「同盟」という表現に対して大きなアレルギーと反発があるのが露呈された。発言者の鈴木首相は、同盟に軍事的意味合いがないとの釈明を余儀なくされ、またイランからの原油輸入、ソ連への工作機械輸出といった、日本外交を縛る同盟の限界も存在した。

日米の安保体制を「同盟」と評するのであれば、冷戦後の日米関係こそ評価に値すると言えるかもしれない。冷戦の終結によりパワーの二極構造が崩壊し、ソ連という明確な敵に対して機能を果たしてきた安保条約も軍事的にはその必要性は失われるはずであつた。加えて、五五年体制と呼ばれる戦後続いてきた自民党の一党独裁の終焉は、日米関係において多大な影響を及ぼすと危惧されていた。この心配をより一層強めたのが湾岸戦争であつた。憲法問題、国内での反発により資金援助のみにとどまった日本の国際協力の消極性は、世界中からの非難を浴びる結果となつた。それは吉田路線が依然継承されている日本の姿勢であつた。これに対し、日本はその後国連への協力により国際社会への尽力の姿勢も見せる。カンボジア和平構築を目的とし、1992年に成立したPKO協力法により自衛隊を海外派遣することを可能にしたのは、湾岸戦争からの教訓であつたと言える。日米関係での大きな変化は1994年の村山内閣の成立が考えられる。反軍備を明確に打

ち出してきた社会党の党首が日本の首相になったことは日米関係に大きな変化を及ぼすことも考えられたが、自民党との連立もあり、村山内閣は安保条約堅持の立場を明確に打ち出したのである。その後、1996年の橋本内閣では「二十一世紀に向けての同盟」と称され、安保条約は「同盟」として再定義されることとなったのである。

6. おわりに

本論文では、日米関係の移り変わりを日米安全保障体制の基盤である安保条約に焦点を当て、安保発足、改定、反発、そして同盟の四視点からその経緯を追究したものである。安保条約が締結された時、そこには経済優先・米軍依存主義の吉田ドクトリンが付帯していた。この概念は安保改定においてもむしろより明確となり、それは冷戦後から現在までも受け継がれてきた概念と言えるだろう。他方、日本の防衛義務を果たす安保条約の抱える矛盾は常に反発を生み出し、その根強さは日米関係に大きな影響を与えている。

最後に、安全保障という観点から現在、そして未来の日米関係を考えてみたい。二十一世紀に入り、世界同時多発テロ以後の新たな戦争や、中国という様々な分野においてのパートナーの台頭により、再び日米同盟の存在意義が問われている。他方、同じく中国の脅威としての台頭、また北朝鮮の核問題により、安保条約の本来の目的が再考察されている。米国新生オバマ政権では、クリントン国務長官が最初の外遊地として日本を訪問した。伝統であった欧州ではなく、アジアを最初に訪問するという意図には、東アジアの安全保障とともに、コーナーストーンと呼ぶ日米関係の重要性を理解したものであったと捉えることができる。今後日米関係がどの方向に進むのか、「日米同盟」はひとつの岐路に立っている。

韓国とアメリカの国民が思う各国に対するイメージ

朴イェジ

1. はじめに

韓国とアメリカの関係は他の国に比べてもっと厚い関係だと思う。韓国戦争の苦しい経験は韓国人にとって特別である。戦争に参加して韓国を共産主義から救った英雄の国だからである。特に韓国戦争を経験した世代はアメリカに対する信頼は絶対的だと言える。これとは反対に若い世代は違う考えを持っている。最近駐屯しているアメリカ軍が起こった問題とか輸入されたアメリカ牛肉に対するろうそく集会を見れば世代別に考えの差が見られる。若い世代はアメリカという国に対しては反感を持っているがアメリカの文化とか商品に対しては誰よりも熱狂的である。スターバックスは若い人達のアジトのように利用されているし、ハリウッド映画が開封同時にたくさんの人気を集める。また全世代はアメリカ製品は優秀だというイメージを持っていて愛用している。このように韓国人はアメリカの文化や商品などにはいいイメージだが、アメリカという国に対しては世代別に違う。これから韓国人の世代別に思うアメリカのイメージと共にアメリカ人が思う韓国のイメージを調べて見る。

2. 韓国人が思うアメリカのイメージ

韓国戦争を経験した世代と若い世代間のアメリカへのイメージは違う。駐韓米軍と輸入されたアメリカ牛乳の問題を通じて世代別にどう思っているか比べる。

1) 駐韓米軍に起こる事件事故

韓国戦争の後、アメリカ軍は北朝鮮から韓国を守ってくれて国民たちはありがたく思っている。世代を問わず駐韓米軍に対して悪いイメージは持ってないと思う。しかし、駐韓米軍が起こる事件事故について彼らの態度が問題である。2002年の時アメリカ軍の訓練中装甲車にぶつかって死ぬ事故があった。その時、訓練中で起こった事故だから過ちはないと言いながら謝ることさえしなかった。この事件で反米感情が深くなるきっかけになった。若い世代はろうそく集会を開いて敏感に反応したが韓国戦争を経験した世代は大目に見て深刻に思わなかった。彼らは駐韓米軍のおかげで韓半島に平和が守っているからこんな事件事故はあまり重要な問題ではないと思う。この世代はアメリカを信じすぎる傾向があって若い世代との思い違いが大きい。

2) 輸入されたアメリカ牛肉の問題

昨年アメリカから輸入された牛肉で韓国は大騒ぎになった。狂牛病に感染される可能性が高い牛肉が輸入されることになった。韓国政府の対応策が大きい問題でしたがこの反感は韓国現政府だけではなくアメリカにも影響を与えた。アメリカ国民さえ食べない牛肉を韓国へ輸出することは韓国人は理解できなかった。これは韓国を無視する行動だと思うしかなかった。そのため、アメリカのイメージは悪くなった。今まで見られなかったろうそ

く集会を通じて悪いイメージは反米感情に変わった。今までアメリカの行動に寛大だった戦争世代さえ反米感情を持つきっかけになった。

3. アメリカ人が思う韓国のイメージ

1) インターネットで行われた設問調査を通じて見たイメージ

設問調査の内容は ①韓国と言われたら思い出すこと であつた。

②韓国・韓国人への好み

③韓国の評価

要約すると50%以上のアメリカ人は韓国と言われる時韓国戦争が思い出すと答えた。私は88年開かれたソウルオリンピックと2002年のワールドカップで韓国へのイメージがよくなったと思ったが実際にはまだ戦争中という悪いイメージが残っているようである。でも最近韓国企業の海外進出成功で韓国の好みが増えていることが分かれた。またアメリカで活動しているスポーツ選手や芸術家を通じて韓国が知らせている。このおかげで韓国に対してアメリカ人の評価はこれからのいいイメージに変わっているとと言える。しかし日本・中国と比べて韓国に対して分からないと答えた人も多かつた。それで国に対して感じる親密感も日本・中国より劣つた。

2) 映画に映っている韓国のイメージ

映画は大衆の意識世界の影響を及ぼせるメディアである。大衆は映画を通じて無意識的に現われたイメージを受け取る。今までハリウッド映画で現われた韓国のイメージは設問調査のように悪いイメージが強かつた。映画では韓国はまだ戦争中の国としてもしくは北朝鮮と同じ国で現した。それで、大体に貧しい生活で苦しんでいる姿であつた。しかし、最近封切りされたハリウッド映画で韓国に関したいいイメージが出て注目を浴びている。映画で主人公が使う品物で韓国企業のもので出たり、主人公を手伝う役割として韓国人がでたりする。特に“YES MAN”という映画では主人公が韓国語を習って韓国語で話すシーンも出た。以前には想像さえ出来ないことである。これはUN事務総長として韓国人が選ばれるなど世界で韓国の地位変化の影響ではないかと思う。

4. おわりに

各国に対して国民が持っているイメージはまったく違う。韓国人は世代別にちょっと違いはあるけど全般的に見ればアメリカに対してはまだ悪いイメージ、すなわち反米感情が深いと思う。反米感情は今韓国だけではなく全世界で広がっていてアメリカにとっては深刻な問題になっている。しかし、こんな反米イメージは今の状況を表すことだけである。韓国でこんなアメリカのイメージが定着されないように新しい政策が要求される。アメリカ人が思う韓国のイメージもいいとは言えない。まだ韓国という国に対して分からない人もいるし、韓国についてわかっているけど悪いイメージ（韓国戦争など）を持っているが多い。アメリカだけではなく西洋の国々は日本・中国より韓国に対してあまり分からない。これは旅行する時、“あなたが韓国人ですか”という質問をもらったことがない経験でもよく分かる部分である。韓国はアメリカ人にとってアジアの国で一つだけである。ちょ

っと衝撃だがこんな現実を認めるしかない。アメリカで韓国という国を知らせることが優先でまたいいイメージを築いて行く方法を模索しなければならないと思う。井の中の蛙としての韓国は世界時代にはいないからである。

Image of America in China

Wei Fan

(A Part of this paper was from the presentation in Wellesley College, during the Support Program for Improving Graduate School Education academic trip.)

I. Introduction

The key of image of a country is its reputation. The country governments do care about their country images is because other countries and their people will judge her future base on this. on one side, in the country-to-country conflicts ,a good reputation can overawe the enemy. on the other side, in the country-to-country cooperation is very similar like the Prisoner's dilemma, trust is so important that countries always work hard to build their images. Also Eugene D. Jaffe and Israel D.Nebenzahl have wrote a book called *National Image & Competitive Advantage: The Theory and Practice of Place Branding* to tell the relations between country images and brand building, *Consumer Behavior in International Market*.

There are rarely similar points between America and china, but America is absolutely one of the countries which have affected China history most. And we can say today America maybe the foreign country have the biggest influence power to China.

How does the one of the biggest countries of the world – America, shows up in another one of the biggest countries of the world --China? How do the Chinese people think about America thought their oriental value? What images of the United States are held by the Chinese public?

There are several America study center in china: The Institute of American Studies (IAS) of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS),which publish *AMERICAN STUDIES QUARTERLY*. And another one is The Center for American Studies (CAS) in Fudan University.

Compared with the many study about the Image of China in America, image of America in China study in china is very few and rarely about nowadays, For example, only *Beautiful Imperialist: China Perceives America, 1972-1990* is ,but written by an American. The other books written by Chinese like *Chinese's view of the United States: A Historical Survey*¹, *Chinese intellectuals view the United States (1943 —1953)*², are all about the past old time. Most of the studies are taken by the governmental political study situations.

¹ Yang Yusheng, 杨玉圣: 《中国人的美国观:一个历史的考察》, 复旦大学出版社, 1996 年版

² Zhang Ji-Sun 张济顺: 《中国知识分子的美国观(1943 -1953) 》, 复旦大学出版社,1999 年版

II. Image of America in China has three characteristics:

Because of the particularity of United States, the history, the nations, the culture and politic system, and because of the particularity of China-US relationship, the image of America in China also different with any other countries. Take a general view on all aspects of this, we can see some characteristics.

- It formed according to indirect experience more than direct experience.
- It is complex, like a mixture of two sides.
- It changes during the long history.

III. Indirect experience more than direct experience

Although the first contact between the post-revolutionary Americans and the Chinese occurred during the voyage of the trader ship *Empress of China*, which arrived at Canton in 1784. Most Chinese know about America according to indirect experience not direct experience, even today.

1. Causation:

First we can think it dues to the geographical conditions. To across the Pacific Ocean is too difficult in poor condition of science and technology. So the first American who managed to come over to China was a businessman in 1784. Whatever happened beyond the Pacific Ocean in 18th century, China Qing Dynasty knew nothing about America. But although today, the time difference, which is hard to get over, made the communication between these two countries still not easy.

Except the time difference, the information technology is reducing the distance impediment, therefore humanities' factor highlights. The two countries have very different history and value, and the difference of social formation. Language difference is also a great gulf fixed, which removed the majority of social people in the lower education level. Also the politic condition is not well. Chinese people were not allowed to visit America for sightseeing tour until 17th June, 2008. Even after that time, only group tour is allowed. As a result by indirect experience was the only way that most people to know about America.

2. Form : People communication & Things-communication

Compare the indirect experience with direct experience (base on experience of myself and interviews to friends)

If assort the China-U.S. communication by form, it will be people communication and

things-communication.

People communication begins very early and brings out things-communication. As mentioned, 1st American who came to China in 1784 was a businessman. The Americans who came to China in the early time included three kinds: merchant, foreign minister and the missionary.

And on the other side many of the students return from America became the experts or the political leaders who did affect China a lot, and at the same time introduced America to Chinese people indirectly but deeply. For example, I am very afraid but it is true that know nothing about Wellesley College till I know that Soong Mei-ling' graduated from here. I was very surprised and inferred it must be an amazing and great school because she really affected china deeply.

In 18century the earliest Chinese book mentioned America, nowadays American movies, pop music, international companies, and mass media effect china.

The things-communication is wide. Globalization brought with it a marked increase in opportunities for Chinese people to know American culture. Compared with the period before China's reform and opening-up. This led to an ongoing process of blending between traditional Chinese and Western culture, centered on American culture, and the Chinese public, and particularly young people, have willingly absorbed imported American culture. The American diet, including Coca-Cola, Kentucky Fried Chicken and MacDonal'd's hamburgers, steadily increased its market as it caught on with youth, an indication of the strength of the U.S. food industry in the Chinese market.

In the sales rankings for 2002 released by the Restaurant Association of China, only one Chinese restaurant made the top 10 list, with the remaining nine held by five Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets, three MacDonal'd's outlets, and one pizza restaurant.

In the area of culture, roughly half of the foreign films and animated cartoon films for television programs authorized by the Chinese government for airing in China were made by American companies. Thus, American culture has won overwhelming support in China in a broad range of areas, including business, academic research, movies and music.

And what I want to accentuate is that English language and literature study is really an important way which spread the America culture widely.

The Chinese students are required to study English form elementary school or middle school. Especially in the famous universities of China, like Peking University, Tsinghua University and our Fudan University, and so on, more than half student will go on master program oversea, and most of them choose America. As a result almost every university student knows GRE and GMAT test.

At the same time, in order to study language they watch America media, there is VOA (Voice of America) in the old days, and nowadays American dramas became a boom. Almost everyone knows [Prison Break], even person like me who rarely watch US drama know the names like [24 hours], [Heroes], [Desperate Housewives] from friends chat.

3. Influence

As a result of the limit channel's condition, the indirect contact effect direct contact the image of America in China much more than indirect contact.

First, the image build up with indirect experience will be much more easy to turn to be one-sided, very simply, easily to be changed by external agency.

Next, this results that indirect experience's main channel - - Chinese mass media have decisiveness effect to Image of America. And there is a research in 2005 by [China Global Times] shows that the mass media has the biggest influence in creating American images in China. 62.7% of china citizens know America by mass media, 20.7% by movie, and 3.7% by direct communication.

To see further, the Chinese view to America can be deeply changed by mass media and always with emotionalism. The large crowd demonstrated happened when May 8th 1999 the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia was bombed by NATO can prove this.

Although the situation is changing while the internet and mechanics, and changing by the Chinese people's raising English proficiency, the Chinese can obtain direct information about America easier and easier. This situation will keep exist until the direct communication widespread.

IV. Complex , like a mixture of two sides

The images of America held by Chinese people are complex and ambivalent, involving two contradictory vectors of friendliness and animosity.

1. Meaning of "two sides" (base on the date of a questionnaire research)

Within China, there is a love-hate attitude towards the United States.

On one hand, American consumerism and culture are seen as stylish. The plus side begins from very early. The translation of the word "America" is "美国", ""国""means "country", ""美""means "beauty, nice" in Chinese.

At the same time, there is resentment of American intervention into other nations' affairs, combined with a fear of American power. On national security issues, Chinese people cannot wipe away concerns about America.

In Jun. 2002 《Youth Studies》 (published by Chinese youth Politics Institute), an article³ used the interview investigation to inspect the American image in China university students. As a result of the interview of more the one hundred students of 8 universities in 3 different cities, it is very clear that especially in China youth's mind, the image of America and the division of love-hate attitude is more obvious. The anti-US sentiment, mainly aims at US's foreign policy, particularly US's policy toward China. The university student to the US the appreciation and yearned for that mainly aims at US's domestic environment and value.

At the beginning of the Reform and opening-up policy in China, to the Chinese university students who have been restrained many years, the West wealthy material life, the free life style, the democracy political system was so attract, and worships US has become a boom for a while. Clothing and hairstyle, Sartre philosophic thinking, democracy, successively became popular in campus. In Tiananmen Incident (1989), they set up a Statue of Liberty in the Tiananmen Square can be seemed as an expression of this.

In the other side, books like 《China Can Say No》 caused a university campus surging. When American President Clinton visited Beijing University in 1998, a student did severe interrogation. People may think this scene is only the minority university student in the special occasion words and deed, but when May 8th 1999 the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia was bombed by NATO, tens of thousands of Chinese university students went to the US Embassy and consulates, expressed their anger with stones and ink bottles. And more anti-American demonstrations followed *Hainan Island incident* -- a collision between U.S. - Chinese military planes.

These two kinds diametrically opposed manner, not only exists in the university student community, but also frequently exists in each one concrete university student.

Compared with the past ,this kind of “two sides U.S.” view is a kind of progress. It shows that today's Chinese people see U.S. much maturely and more rational.

V. The image changes during the long history

From deferential aboriginal tribesman to a great country of Stars and Stripes, from infinitely adoration for George Washington to the construction of American political Utopian blueprint, from the racial conflict in Lin Shu's translation of 《Uncle Tom's Cabin》 to Chinese laborers' misery in the new continent, there has been no clear and exact definition of the image of America in Chinese view.

³陈生洛 《两个美国: 中国大学生的美国观》 《青年研究》 2002 年第6 期

In 1993, which is a time when there were very few dramas which were chosen very carefully. There was a very popular TV drama called [A Native of Beijing in New York] While many years later somebody produced a TV drama called 《A Native of Shanghai in Tokyo》, but which has much less effect in public. Beside this two, there is almost no other Native Chinese in Foreign city story known by people.

1. The image in different time periods

Briefly examine the changes in the Chinese public's images of the United States.

The outbreak of the Pacific War gave Chinese people a strong “comrades-in-arms” image of the America. Even immediately before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, there were high expectations of the United States.

However, with the establishment of the People's Republic of China, and in particular with the direct engagement between the United States and China in the Korean War, the United States became “the American imperialists” and the U.S. government became “the first target to be defeated.” With this, China entered into a period of confrontation with the United States.

In the 1970s, when U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China and the Sino-American rapprochement was achieved, the United States became a friend.

2. Several occurrence

First contact between the post-revolutionary Americans and the Chinese occurred during the voyage of the trader ship Empress of China, which arrived at Canton in 1784. The result was the considerable exportation of specie, ginseng, and furs to China, not to mention the much larger influx of teas, cottons, silks, lacquerware, porcelains, and furniture to the United States.

The end of the First Opium War in 1842 led to the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of Nanking, which forced open many Chinese ports to foreign trade. After China's defeat in the Second Opium War, the Xianfeng emperor fled Beijing and the Treaty of Tianjin was ratified by his brother, Yixin, the Prince Gong, in the Convention of Peking on October 18, 1860. This treaty stipulated, among other things, that along with Britain, France, and Russia, the United States would have the right to station legations in Beijing (a closed city at the time).

Chinese Exclusion Act

During the California Gold Rush and the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad, large numbers of Chinese emigrated to America. After being forcibly driven from the mines, most Chinese settled in China Towns of cities such as San Francisco, and took up low end wage labor

such as restaurant work and laundry. With the post Civil War economy in decline by the 1870s, anti-Chinese animosity became politicized by labor leader and Party, whom blamed Chinese "coolies" for depressed wage levels. In the first significant restriction on free immigration in U.S. history, the United States Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882.

The outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 saw aid flow into the Republic of China (ROC, which was led by Chiang Kai-shek) from the United States. Since the Second Sino-Japanese War was undeclared, Roosevelt denied that a state of war existed in China and proceeded to send aid to Chiang.

For 30 years after its founding, the United States did not formally recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC). Instead, it maintained diplomatic relations with the Republic of China government on Taiwan, and recognized the ROC as the sole legitimate government of all China. The new PRC Government was hostile to this official American presence, and all U.S. personnel were withdrawn from the mainland in early 1950. And even worse because of the Korean War, Vietnam War, The United States continued to work to prevent the PRC from taking China's seat in the UN and encouraged its allies not to deal with the PRC. Despite this official non-recognition, beginning in 1954 and continuing until 1970.

U.S.-China relations since normalization

In the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations dated January 1, 1979, the United States transferred diplomatic recognition from Taipei to Beijing.

There was a meeting between Deng Xiaoping and Zbigniew Brzezinski in 1979. PRC have initiated hundreds of joint research projects and cooperative programs under the Agreement on Cooperation in Science and Technology, the largest bilateral program. As a consequence of high-level and working-level contacts initiated in 1980, U.S. dialogue with the PRC broadened to cover a wide range of issues, including global and regional strategic problems, political-military questions, including arms control, UN and other multilateral organization affairs, and international narcotics matters.

after Tian'anmen, Relations between the U.S. and the PRC were severely strained for a time by the NATO Bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in May 1999, accredited to an intelligence error but which some Chinese believed to be deliberate. By the end of 1999, relations began to gradually improve. In October 1999, the two sides reached agreement on humanitarian payments for families of those who died and those who were injured as well as payments for damages to respective diplomatic properties in Belgrade and China. In April 2001, a U.S. EP-3 reconnaissance aircraft, flying south of the PRC, collided with a PRC J-8 fighter jet in what became known as the Hainan Island incident. It was widely believed that the EP-3 recon aircraft was conducting a spying mission on the Chinese Armed Forces before the collision.

3. Case study: America image in Chinese history textbooks

Zhao Mei has done a research on America's Image in Chinese High School History Text books⁴: A Survey since the Late Qing Dynasty. Based on a review of Chinese high school history text books from 1902 to 2003, together with their curriculum standards and syllabuses, she analyzes and categorizes the content and views in the instruction of world history, particularly American history. According to examining how the image of America changed in the text books since the late Qing period, the study shows that the description of American history underwent remarkable changes with the time. New materials were added and historical issues were reinterpreted in different periods. Nevertheless, some topics remained unchanged in American history teaching, such as the War of Independence, American Constitution, the Civil War, and FDR's New Deal. The author holds that text books are products from collaborative academic research. The change of America's image and the different interpretations of American history reflect the evolution of American studies in China and Chinese understanding of the country in the last century.

VI. Conclusion

The Chinese image about America has been at some kind of ambiguous condition. In most time, the Chinese does not regard America throughout with UK, France and Germany, the absolute hostile strengths, but certainly, the American has not been treated as a genuine friend. American image's ambiguous and contradictory must trace to the Chinese imaginable mold in modern time. In a sense, in the Chinese eye "America" is actually unceasingly molded and revised by the Chinese spontaneously, not genuine America itself. This point also precisely constituted all sorts of dislocations and the misunderstanding in China and America cultural exchange process.

And indeed, for Chinese, images of the United States in the 1980s were in fact a "mirror image" of our own society. In other words, many Chinese tried to "give China renewed inspiration" by reflecting an "Ailing China" in the mirror of the United States.

If we include the image of America in China before the reform and opening-up policy simply, it is "the imperialism America" view. And we can call it "the free democracy America" view at the beginning of the reform and opening-up policy. For these days, we can call it "two sides America" view. Compared with the past, this kind of "two sides U.S." view is a kind of progress. It shows that today's Chinese people see U.S. much more maturely and more rationally.

First, today's Chinese have initially got rid of the either-or ideological mode (either black or white,

⁴赵梅,清末以来中国中学历史教科书中的美国形象

either right or false, either enemy or friend), which has ruled the Chinese's brains for a long time. The view starts to penetrate into the different domain, gives the different appraisal to the different domain. Because past "the imperialism" view and "the free democracy" view's biggest malpractice is that it only allows one kind of appraisal, with simplification and extremeness. The "two sides America" view is more complete, is more comprehensive, more close to the reality of America.

Second, today's Chinese America view has been more concrete, a more comprehensive understanding. In "the imperialism America" view, the image is mainly an invader, in "the free democracy America" view, the first performance is the Statue of Liberty. In "two sides America" view, US's image must be much more colorful. And today's Chinese has the understanding nearly about all the American society's aspects. Much more attention and understanding about the details.

In November 4, 2008 《China Southern Weekly》, a journalist wrote a report named [Actually how many journalist are there reporting the American presidential election] it says he received an email from an official of the US foreign country reporter center Department, then find 14 Chinese reporter's and the media's name in the cc list. Not only the main media of china, but also the regional media and researchers are there, though reporter in us are not require to register unless need help. He can only infer that at least 14 Chinese reporters are covering the American presidential election. This shows today the China public great interesting to America.

アメリカの東アジア観・世界観 地球主義と覇権を考える

The US Views on East Asia and the World: Regionalism and Hegemony

平成20年度大学教育改革支援プログラム

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