

Perceptions of Asia — with a Focus on Sokichi Tsuda

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Introduction

In the modern history of Japan, the perceptions of Asia consist of the most important “image of the other,” and the framework of these perceptions, which includes pre-modern history research findings, has always been intimately intertwined with Japan’s relationship with Asia. It is true that the modern Japanese perceptions of Asia have faced criticism in postwar Japanese history, but since the 1990s, it has become necessary to understand it in a dimension within a new different phase that has emerged as an effect of the deepening of nation-state theory and the study of colonialism.⁽¹⁾ This paper aims to discuss the Japanese perceptions of Asia within the context of historical research from a historical perspective by drawing on the above themes of perception.

So, in order to obtain a frame of reference to understand these perceptions of Asia from a historical viewpoint, particularly Chinese and Korean perceptions, I wish to adopt the following method: to study the historical background of such perceptions of Asia by extracting the prototype representing a negative perception that now manifests itself on a daily basis with regard to Japanese perceptions of Asia today.

Over the past ten years or so, an abnormal level of discrimination against and contempt for China and Korea has inundated the mass media.⁽²⁾ For example, a certain evening newspaper published front-page articles expressing all sorts of criticism levelled at Korea on every issue for over four years since the South Korean President Lee Myung-bak landed in Takeshima in August 2012. When the paper had no material with which to criticize South Korea, it turned to criticizing China. On the other hand, presented on TV and other mass media is a naive glorification of Japanese people and Japanese culture so self-centered that it should be described as “self-favoritism.” Such phenomena did not suddenly materialize in recent years; they have roots that go back in history.

In this paper, I attempt to clarify the way in which present-day perceptions of Asia were formed due to the circumstances within various periods of time, by endeavoring to understand the relationship between the structural dimension of these perceptions and modern Japan, particularly with regard to colonialism. As the central theme of this study, I examine (as a model) the views of China and of Korea held by Sokichi Tsuda who, as a researcher on the intellectual history of Japan, has been recognized for his many achievements in research on Chinese thought, Chinese history, and Korean history. Needless to say, the aim of this paper is not to discuss the rights or wrongs of Tsuda’s views on China and Korea. By learning first of all how Tsuda perceived China and Korea, the kind of interpretations and value assessments on which Tsuda, who was known to be a strict scholar of historical documents, based his perceptions of China and Korea, and by examining the conditions under which such perceptions were established, we can form a framework from which to understand and study the views toward China and Korea in modern Japan.

1 Sokichi Tsuda’s perception of China and Korea

Many writers have commented on Sokichi Tsuda’s perceptions of Asia. Tsuda’s views on China and Korea are

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examined, as it can reveal a prototype representing a perception of Asia that many modern Japanese people unconsciously share. Below, this paper will discuss the historical conditions under which such perceptions emerged, the structure of these perceptions, and through Tsuda, who has had a significant influence on Japanese history, East Asian history, and research on the history of Eastern thought in modern Japan, I will examine the perceptions of Asia within the study of Japanese history up until the present day.

I wish to try and enumerate the characteristics of Tsuda's perceptions of Asia, most of which can be found in "Tsuda 1965c," from "*Nezumi Nikki*" in 1911 (he was 38 years old at the time), which is included in "Tsuda Sokichi Complete Works." At the time, under the guidance of his former teacher Shiratori Kurakichi, Tsuda had been involved in pre-Goryeo Korean historical geography research at the Manchuria-Korea Historical Geography Research Department of the South Manchuria Railway Tokyo office; his research from this time gave rise to world-class achievements in orthodox East Asian history in modern Japan [Hatada 1969: 188]. It is possible to get a glimpse of the inner world of Tsuda's lifestyle during this time when he had been engaged in such research endeavors.

- No matter how much you tidy up, a storeroom is a storeroom, the books on the shelves that have been stacked high up, the four walls are moldy and smell bad, they have blackened and the colors have aged, they are covered in the finger marks and dust and stains of excrement, this messy and mismatched accumulation of things, the atmosphere that is visibly that of a ruin is overflowing inside, and if you stand inside, you feel as if your head will rot moment by moment, and no wonder, these books have Chan and Yobo's past written in them, trickery and artifice, avarice and brutality, acts of endurance wrapped up in empty formalities, cruel hearts that embellish with flattery lurk beneath each of the pages of the several thousand volumes of books, a corpse covered in mud that was stamped on by a horse's hoof lays on its side in utter confusion, in a corner of a palace painted garishly in vermilion and patina is a princess dressed in heavy clothes, who is forced to drink poison and dies, the brazen and cunning Chinese-like people in the Katsura Cabinet, as might be expected are Japanese, they are not as extreme as the real thing, but we do not know how much their malicious utterances can damage the heart and body, it is a shadow of a past that is far away from reality, coming from the head of a Chinese person, such books that have fallen into the hands of Chinese people have emitted pollution, the air of which puts pressure on my head, it is probably not impossible for me to become unbearably ill, if you think about it, the mice who have made their nests in such a place also lead miserable lives,

As I think such things I say, "I hate these books," a shadow to the side (Hiroshi Ikeuchi) says, "All things made by humans are dirty," and when I protested and said, "That's not true," he says, "People like you always look at yourself from the one side that you like and think it's beautiful, but that is bias, there is no such thing as a human who does everything perfectly, I am more impartial," I thought to myself, "God is impartial, humans are partial by nature," 9 August.

- Today I studied a lot, by the afternoon I had knocked off 12, 13 pages, not so much as to blow away Yobo, as he boasted a great deal, which is a little painful as a matter of fact (22 August).
- Will it be cloudy or will it not be cloudy, is it or is it cold, this absolutely pointless weather has continued for days, this is called Saionji weather, whether it is the Manchuria Railway, whether it is the Korea Railway, if you're going to do it you should lie, you should do something that would make those brats' eyes pop out, a story that remains unsettled (September 29).
- While I was basking in the sun that was shining through the glass, before I knew I had fallen asleep, I got confused between Seoul and Pyongyang, Baekje and Goguryeo vaguely faded away, –This is an appropriate state of mind for Korea, (December 5).

As a way of expressing disdain for Chinese and Korean people, the names "Chan" and "Yobo" were widely used at the time among commoners, but Tsuda, for whom Korea and China were the focus of his research, expressed in his diary unequivocal disgust of the present and past of both countries. With regard to the candid way in which he revealed such viewpoints, he was becoming the subject of debate, as he was quoted by many researchers as being

something to be alarmed about [Ienaga 1972: 208-219, Masubuchi 1974, 1983⁽³⁾].

In particular, regarding the origin of Tsuda's disdain for China, Tatsuo Masubuchi indicates the following: Tsuda believed Western culture to be universal, and it is modern Japan that made this belief their own. This is therefore linked to a sense of national pride that looks down on China, which was left out of this notion where Western culture = world culture. Because this universal standard was supported by the self-consciousness of modern Japan, according to Tsuda's thinking, by measuring particularities based on the universal as the standard, Chinese thought is depicted in a judgmental way, as this perspective of disdain with regard to China, which has been "left out of world culture," stems from the self-consciousness of modern Japan that "takes world culture as their own" [Masubuchi 1974: 247]. In other words, for Tsuda, as Western universal existence essentially functions as the standard, various other countries and regions are ranked within a historical space and time that is based on the differences in how far away and how behind they are from the West [Odanaka 2015: 2].

Moreover, according to Masubuchi, because of the particularities of Tsuda's nationalistic world, it obliges him to judgmentally pigeonhole such countries. It is said that historiography since the 19th century has been possessed with the desire to classify things, but beyond such desires exist the desires to "rank" things (ibid.). As per the descriptions below, you will see that such a disposition is noticeable in Tsuda.

It is well known that Tsuda's biggest concern during his youth was his research on the Meiji Restoration [Omuro 1983], and Tsuda's awareness of the above issues is fundamentally rooted in the cultural structure of Japan since the Meiji era. Moreover, Masubuchi sees Tsuda's "attitude of disdain toward China as one that bears a symmetrical relationship with the common international mentality of Japan following the Sino-Japanese war" [Masubuchi 1974: 248⁽⁴⁾]. As I will discuss later, from a historiographical perspective, we must take heed of the establishment of East Asian history as an academic discipline during this time, with regard to research as well as education.

Incidentally, following the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, East Asian history as a field of study, which was newly established within Korean and Manchurian research in Japan in line with national policy, gathered momentum; the aforementioned research department of the South Manchuria Railway had played a central role in this. One day, while Tsuda was working at the South Manchuria Railway, he was overcome with strong feelings, which are described as follows:

Today, as I was at the front of the *Teikoku-za*, the image of yesterday's stage springs to mind, and while I do not wish to see it again, after it started, I imagined hearing lines from Hamlet and Ophelia's song, the world of art is nostalgic; and when I thought about this, I thought about how Paekche is, how is Silla; either way to use my head for questions that don't have any influence on my own inner life is really stupid, (May 23).

At the time, the Manchuria-Korea historical geography research that Tsuda was involved in was a part of a world that had no links with his inner life. As Mikio Omuro describes in detail in "*Adiantum ju*," Tsuda was deeply absorbed in the Western world of art, including literature, theater, painting, and music, and he continued to write critiques on painting and music [Omuro 1983]. As someone who had developed such a keen interest in Western culture, Tsuda had a very reluctant attitude toward Korean and Chinese research.

So, why was it that Tsuda continued his research on China? In 1920, when Tsuda was 42 years old, he was a professor in the literature department at Waseda University, and while he was, at first, giving lectures on "national history and East Asian history" in the history department, from 1924 he began giving lectures on "research in Chinese philosophy," and by 1928 he had transferred from the history department to the philosophy department [Tsuda 1989]. The reason as to why Tsuda became involved in Chinese research, despite his dislike of China, is described below [Tsuda 1965d: 270].

A person came to me and said, "You don't even like China, but you're doing stuff related to China, isn't that funny." Then I explained to him. No one thinks shit or urine tastes or smells good, but there are scientists who put

that stuff into test tubes every day and look at it through a microscope. I think this primarily applies to my research on China, or to anything, it is a genuine academic interest to want to know its essence and the truth of it. Next, when we think about our ideology, there are a lot of Chinese factors that are included in our ideas as a result of the long cultural history of Japan. So, Japanese culture, or more earnestly put, in order to clarify my own ideas, we must identify the essence of those Chinese factors, and accordingly Chinese culture, which is my second point. Also, no matter how much you dislike Chinese people, they are still humans. Chinese thought is also thought that emerges from humans. So, research on Chinese thought is basically research on humans. Human research is a manifestation of the human mind. From here, we transcend mere academic interest, as we create an interest as humans. This is my third point. Moreover, it's not like there are only very bad things about Chinese people. Somewhere, there needs to be some respectable element as a human-like human, for such a culture to have developed. My interest also emerges from wanting to find the good parts from within the bad parts and wanting to discover a jewel from the bottom of the trash. This is my fourth point (May 24, 1925, postscript added on the 25th).

As you can see, despite regarding himself as someone who dislikes China, Tsuda came up with four reasons why he engaged himself in Chinese research, namely, 1) Pure academic interest, 2) To identify the thoughts and ideas with regard to Japanese culture and himself personally, 3) An interest in humans that transcends mere academic interest, and 4) An interest in discovering a jewel from the bottom of the trash. Despite Tsuda's eccentric academic interest in China, which was likened to research in feces and urine, according to Masubuchi, his research in Chinese thought "was, strictly speaking, groundbreaking research at the time, when Japanese academia study was centered on Chinese classics, and we cannot deny that he made a substantial contribution to the academic world with his great achievements" [Masubuchi 1974: 250]. Having said that, can we really make such open assertions?

2 Sokichi Tsuda's perspectives on China in "Chinese thought and Japan"

"Chinese thought and Japan" is regarded as a critique of the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere and the "common destiny" theory for the people of Japan and China, which rationalized and legitimized the Sino-Japanese War during the 1930s; the book was highly acclaimed and was read continuously even during the war. In fact, in December of 1938, the year after the book was published, Muneki Minoda accused Tsuda of *lèse-majesté*, so, in January of the following year, Tsuda was forced to resign from Waseda University. Furthermore, in February 1940, his writings on ancient history were banned from publication, and in March, Tsuda and publisher Iwanami Shoten were indicted for violating the publishing law. Because of such events, "Chinese thought and Japan" was received as a criticism of the dominant trend that opposed the current political climate. In particular, we cannot make light of the fact that directly prior to Muneki Minoda's accusation against Tsuda (November), the right-wing organization Genri Nihonsha, which included Minoda, intruded upon Tsuda's lecture at the University of Tokyo and questioned him on the content of "Chinese thought and Japan," all of which was recounted in an essay by Masao Maruyama that was presented after the war (Maruyama 1963). The above opinions on Tsuda have been reinforced since the postwar period.

Saburo Ienaga, in his most systematic book on Tsuda to this day, "A historical study on Sokichi Tsuda's ideas," quoted the foreword of Tsuda's "Chinese thought and Japan," and draws attention to the following parts near the beginning of the book that indicates Tsuda's strong motives for his book.⁽⁵⁾

A These two parts were written prior to the forthcoming incident, but because of the incident the cultural exchange between Japan and China resulted in a new present which is a real problem; however, discussing it again does not necessarily make it meaningless. With regard to Japanese people and their own culture contrasted with that of the Chinese people, and Chinese people and their own culture contrasted with that of the Japanese people, never should we desperately feel the necessity to have a correct opinion. If there was something wrong about the opinion and something was planned based on this erroneous opinion, it is because you will realize how terrible the consequences are.

In such sentences, Ienaga saw Tsuda's academic beliefs, and below is his response to the above passage.

Tsuda's serious concerns regarding China policies constitute the motives for this publication as it indicates (and in this, I can vividly read a sense of righteous indignation toward the widespread hollow propaganda that easily calls Japan and China a country "of the same script, and the same race") and glorifies a war of aggression denouncing the United States and the United Kingdom with the integration of Japan, Manchuria, and China. In this respect, Tsuda played an active role as a resistant, as he leveled harsh criticism against the trends in unscientific Asianism for the justification of Chinese aggression [Ienaga 1972: 362].

As you can see, Ienaga thought very highly of Tsuda, and his understanding of "Chinese thought and Japan" was afterwards shared widely across the academic world. However, we cannot overlook the fact that there is a fundamental misunderstanding in all of this.

Although it is largely ignored today, Sho Ishimoda was quick to detect a major misunderstanding that was contained in Tsuda's "Chinese thought and Japan," and indicated that "the essence of Tsuda's ideas have been incorrectly assessed." One of the causes for this misunderstanding lies in the significant change between the foreword of the old version and that of the new version in "Chinese thought and Japan." That is to say, Ishimoda emphasized that the new version of the foreword in the postwar era had been "substantially corrected, so in order to understand Tsuda's opinions regarding Sino-Japanese relations, it is necessary to read and compare both versions" [Ishimoda 1990: 307].

Furthermore, according to Ishimoda, Tsuda's central argument in "Chinese thought and Japan" was that Japan and China had separate histories and were a part of different worlds created upon separate civilizations, that an Eastern world that includes both countries historically does not exist, nor does an Eastern civilization or such a world exist today; as it does not exist still today, Ishimoda explained that such claims, which were asserted during a period when the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, as well as the claim that both races were forming a "common destiny," were received as a criticism of the dominant trends of the time, so this sort of understanding explains the erroneous assessment of the essence of Tsuda's thought [ibid: 307-311].

First and foremost, the primary matter of concern for Tsuda was figuring out how to establish the relationship between Japan and China, which, from the very beginning, comes from a different world. Accordingly, the claim that the people of China and Japan originate from different civilizations is on no account a means by which to establish a relationship of equality and coexistence between the two peoples, but it is part of the argument supporting the objective for the domination of the Chinese people. That is to say, according to Tsuda:

It is absolutely necessary for Japan to function in many directions with regard to China. Japan is currently overcoming the anti-Japanese sentiments of the Chinese people, and both races, with regard to China, are making desperate efforts to create a new situation whereby both countries can cooperate together [Tsuda 1989 ... 395]

As described above, what Ishimoda understood from the old version of the foreword for "Chinese thought and Japan," was that research on China by the Japanese people was a part of a future guidance policy regarding China; in other words, it is only used, as long as necessary, to determine policies aimed at dominating the Chinese people. There is no doubt that the issues in this book strove to develop arguments for the purpose of establishing historical foundations of the imperialistic conquests of Japan and their domination over Chinese people during the Sino-Japanese War [Ishimoda 1990: 308]. We must draw attention to the fact that these parts are, however, completely deleted from the new version without explanation. Moreover, to think of these omissions as a product of the regret for the war of aggression and the postwar transformations of history in Japan and China is, in fact, far from the truth. As for the proof, it is written in at the end of foreword, where most of the deleted section had been. Tsuda's new opinion with regard to the situation following the Chinese Revolution was augmented in the new version, and concerning Chinese Communism that followed the Russian Revolution, he wrote:

Chinese intellectuals originally possess the qualities suitable for imitating the Soviet government. In the past, the Chinese were always obedient to political state power against the backdrop of military power, or they pander to such power, whereby they will, during that time, occupy some sort of position. Due to this, since early times, dismissals in the royal family were becoming legitimized [Tsuda 1965a... 199].

As you can see from the passage above, even in the new version after the war, Tsuda continues to look down upon Chinese people. In this way, Ishimoda indicates and summarizes the controversial points of the old version of the foreword, and on that basis, the Chinese aggression and the discrimination against the Chinese people, and the historical traditions seen in the historical foundations for the domination over the Chinese people are also evident in the augmented parts of the new version.

Up until now, the substantial deleted sections in the new version had only been indicated in parts. As Ishimoda indicates, Tsuda's publication objective for "Chinese thought and Japan" is clearly explained in the foreword of the old version, and there one can see the essence of Tsuda's ideas. So, in view of the reality that the issue of what ought to be called the essence of modern Japan and its perceptions of Asia in this paper has been condensed into this foreword, I would first like to re-examine the old version of the foreword content together with an examination of the reason why it was substantially deleted and revised.

3 Chinese perspectives discernible in the foreword and the reorganization of the postwar version

As Ishimoda indicates, as sections were substantially deleted inside the foreword of the new version, we cannot help but consider that these sections had a decisive importance to understand the prewar original version of the book

B After all in society from now on, as Japan must act together with China politically and economically as well as culturally, or both races must cooperate together in the direction of the Chinese, and if you look at Japan's cultural past and China's as one and the same Eastern culture, I would think that your thoughts would get too congested, as the two are originally completely separate. Regardless of the kind of cultural relationship Japan and China had in the past, it has become absolutely necessary, in the future, for Japan to contribute to China in many aspects. Today, Japan is overcoming the anti-Japanese sentiments of China, and both races are, with regard to China, making desperate efforts to create a new situation whereby both countries can work together. As mentioned above, however, Japanese people and Chinese people have created separate cultures and cultivated separate ethnicities, so we must fully understand that the two are completely different races. Japanese people must not only identify this for themselves, but they must also make Chinese people understand this, too. Today in particular, Japan's unique mentality that has been developed, little by little, over the course of a long history, as well as the unique culture and strength that has been created because of this, and as Japan makes this contemporary world culture its own in a new way, it has brought a worldliness to its own culture, and this is what is so extremely different from that of China up until now, and it is this that we must make the Chinese people understand. Even when we talk about cooperating on a cultural level, this actually means that Japan, which has taken contemporary world culture as its own, must guide China, as it is yet to reach this point, and this kind of guidance must be provided only once these differences have been identified. If we randomly confuse Japanese and Chinese people, or Japanese culture and Chinese culture, and create terms such as oriental people or Eastern culture, is it not already a tried and tested fact that you don't get any feeling of the Chinese people? [Tsuda 1989: 395].

Firstly, I would like to draw attention to the underlined parts of this old version of the foreword, which were deleted from the new version. The reason these parts were deleted will be discussed below, and we must not ignore the fact that, at the time following "the incident," Tsuda did not deny what the government was promoting, such as acting together "with China politically and economically as well as culturally," that "both races must cooperate together," and that "both races, with regard to China, are making desperate efforts to create a new situation whereby

both countries can cooperate together.” Tsuda emphasized that by affirming the reality that such cooperation was necessary, that “to see Japan’s cultural past and China’s cultural past as one and the same Eastern culture” is to overcome “Chinese anti-Japanese sentiments,” there is a risk of mistaking the situation for “making desperate efforts.”

Why is it that we cannot see China and Japan as forming a unified East? Regardless of the fact that this “Chinese anti-Japanese sentiment” that Tsuda was wary of was originally very slight, this feeling of contempt for Japan led to a rapid strengthening of ethnic consciousness and nationhood and was expressed as being anti-Japanese in form; Tsuda sees this as being associated with the feeling of contempt that emerged from a view of Japan as being weak. From such a situation, Japan adopted the use of *kanji* and made imitations of Chinese poetry, but this “makes one feel as if Japanese culture is subordinate to China and more often functions to demonstrate contempt for Japanese, rather than to be useful as a means for the Japanese people to feel a sense of friendship toward the Chinese people.” “If someone who thinks they are better than you does the same thing as you, you may feel a sense of friendship, but if they think they are inferior and do those things, it will only strengthen your sense of superiority” [Tsuda 1989: 397], so these types of Chinese people feel a sense of superiority toward Japanese people and deride them, so to view this relationship between both parties as a unified “East,” in this present situation, is absolutely not an option.

What is important here is that in addition to the Japanese people’s mistaken Eastern perception, a point just as worthy of note is that the Chinese people are given a sense of superiority over the misunderstood Japanese people, which is indicated repeatedly below.

- There is not enough awareness of the uniqueness that Japanese culture naturally possesses, and those that think of it as a mere imitation of Western culture helps along the Chinese people’s mistaken view of Japan; today, Japan still cannot help but accommodate themselves to the Chinese people’s Chinese consciousness or their sense of superiority [ibid.: 396].
- If you allow the Chinese to believe in the erroneous perception that Japanese people, based on the reputation of Eastern culture, worship China’s cultural past and insist on doing so, for a reason different from what was mentioned above, Japan could give rise to feelings of contempt or provoke antipathy among young Chinese intellectuals, and one must also consider how their hearts may be drawn toward Europe or America. From now on, the ones with whom the Japanese people have to cooperate are the young Chinese intellectuals, so the Japanese people have to continue with their efforts of turning the hearts of these people toward Japan, as they must be guided and be moving in the right direction. We must understand that China is also currently going through a period of change [ibid.: 397].
- It is self-evident that in order for Japanese people to work effectively with regard to China, Japan must increasingly improve its worldly contemporary culture and surpass that of Europe and America. Only if Japanese culture reaches such a level, the Chinese people will no longer think of European or American culture as being more superior to Japanese culture, and Japan’s cultural power will be sufficiently exercised with regard to China, so that the Chinese people will truly understand and respect Japan [ibid.: 398].
- By implementing such multifaceted research, we can guide the Chinese people naturally in the world of academia, and Japan will be able to demonstrate the power of its contemporary culture to the Chinese people [ibid.: 399].

The sense of danger that Tsuda felt regarding the Chinese people’s opinion of Japan was a crucial sentiment that defined his work at the time. For example, directly following the publication of “Chinese thought and Japan,” he wrote the following in “Chinese studies mission in Japan,” which was published in “*Chuokoron*” (“Central Review”) (March 1939):

- C If Japanese people provide distinguished research on China, it will allow Japan to contribute toward getting Chinese people to respect Japanese science, and accordingly Japanese culture. (On the contrary, if Chinese studies in Japan were to follow the teachings in China, there would be no other effect than to evoke

feelings of contempt from the Chinese people.) {middle part omitted} Japanese people must avoid, in the first place, similarly taking a desultory sense of racial superiority toward Chinese people, but regarding whether we are in fact superior, it is necessary to at least have the confidence. Needless to say, we cannot let the Chinese people feel superior to Japanese people. This is because there is absolutely no scenario today where Japanese culture would need assistance from Chinese culture [Tsuda 1965b: 375].

In this way, we can understand from where Tsuda had been experiencing this sense of danger. For Tsuda, Japan absolutely ought to be superior to China, and more than anything, he sought to differentiate Japan from China and rank them academically.

After speaking at great length about this sense of danger, the end of the foreword of the old version of “Chinese thought and Japan” concluded with the following:

D Japan is currently concentrating all of its strengths toward its great Chinese enterprise. From all aspects, this enterprise must be undertaken adequately and thoroughly. This can be achieved because the unique mentality of the Japanese people, which has, as mentioned above, been developed over the course of history, and the worldly contemporary culture and its foundational modern science as well as the workings of the newly cultivated mind is integrated as one and from there a strong power emerges. The complete opposite of this situation that Japan is facing, however, is the real form of China today. It must be said that the recent event most aptly demonstrated how completely different Japanese culture and Chinese culture, as well as the lifestyles of the Japanese and Chinese people up until now are, and how these two races were inhabitants of a completely different world, together with the fact that the unique Japanese mentality and contemporary culture, modern science, and the mind are by no means a mutual thing. Such findings have probably been made clear to the Japanese people who are in contact with Chinese people for various meanings and in different ways. The two parts that have been included in this book are, to sum up, little more than a study into the historical origin of this obvious reality of today [Tsuda 1989: 400].

That is to say, Japan will thoroughly undertake this “great enterprise” regarding China, with “the unique mentality of the Japanese people, who have developed over the course of history, and the worldly contemporary culture and its foundational modern science as well as the workings of the newly cultivated mind that is integrated as one where a strong power emerges” (= “the unique mentality of the Japanese people and contemporary culture, modern science, and the mind”); and to change “China’s present reality,” which is “the complete opposite to Japan’s situation,” is the objective of this book, all of which is emphasized in the foreword.

Seen from such a perspective, we understand that in the preceding section where Ienaga quoted from passage A, which is close to the beginning of the foreword, Tsuda’s sincere concerns discerned by Ienaga, who “vividly read a sense of righteous indignation toward the widespread hollow propaganda that glorifies a war of aggression denouncing the United States and the United Kingdom,” were assessed with a total disregard for the context. What Tsuda wanted to indicate in the foreword A was, as explained at the beginning of section D, that political activities had to be carried out thoroughly in China, and in order to accomplish this, the Chinese people developed a sense of superiority over Japan and looked down upon its people, so the idea of the “East” unifying both countries was simply unthinkable. For that reason, we must see foreword A as a warning, that “if something was planned based on the wrong opinion, the consequences would be terrible.”

As already indicated, a large part of the old 1938 version of the foreword was deleted in the new version published after the war, which was revised and made into a concise version. With regard to the omission, Ishimoda indicated that “to think of these omissions as a product of the regret for the war of aggression and the postwar transformations of history in Japan and China is in fact far from the truth.” However, the reason as to why Tsuda deleted a large portion of the old foreword after the war remains a mystery.

According to a recent study, however, which used publication review materials (Prange Collection, stored at the

University of Maryland Library) collected as a part of a postwar review, when “Chinese thought and Japan” was submitted to the authorities for reprinting, there was a deletion request.⁽⁶⁾ According to this source, the two parts that were to be deleted, as indicated by the inspection authorities, were, as quoted above, the underlined sections in gothic font of the foreword B and all of section D.

While a large portion of the new, postwar version of “Chinese thought and Japan” was deleted, Ishimoda paid attention to Tsuda’s continuing disdain for China, and although he could not find signs of “regret for the war of aggression and the postwar transformations of history in Japan and China,” the two parts that were asked to be deleted, as indicated in the Prange Collection books, showed that the substantial reorganization of the foreword was in fact, more to do with the authorities examination rather than Tsuda’s own ideas.

According to Kaori Shiono, the old version of the foreword to “Chinese thought and Japan” consisted of 14 pages in total, and approximately 6,150 characters, whereas the postwar new version was reduced to a total of six pages and roughly 3,000 characters. When the sections that were to be deleted – the gothic font section in B and section D – were put together, this made roughly 700 characters, but the section between B and D, as explained in this chapter, was about 1) getting the Chinese people to understand and respect Japan, and 2) ensuring that the Chinese people do not develop a sense of superiority over Japanese people, and included various examples. With regard to the substantially deleted and reorganized postwar version of the foreword, Tsuda wrote the following at the beginning:

This book is a reprint of the 1938 (Showa 13) publication of “Chinese thought and Japan,” and other than the 12 misprints that were corrected, it remains the same as the original edition. However, in the foreword of the original version, some sections took into consideration the Japanese and Chinese political environment at the time when the book was first published. Some of these parts, which accordingly are not necessary today, had been written into the book, so I have decided to rewrite them [Tsuda 1947: i].

However, at the end of the foreword in the new version, Tsuda wrote the following as one of the reasons he published “Chinese thought and Japan”:

Of the Chinese intellectuals, somehow there are apparently those who think Japan does not possess a unique culture, and that Japan’s cultural past is little more than an imitation of China’s, and of the Japanese people, they have no understanding of the uniqueness of Japan’s cultural past, and they think of it as something that is subordinate to China’s culture, and it appears that they use the title ‘Eastern culture’ with the above understanding. One of the reasons why I decided to publish this book is to identify that such thoughts are indeed erroneous [ibid. … v].

Tsuda left untouched the underlined parts in gothic font in section A as an explanation for another reason and said, “this is the reason I wrote this. This still holds meaning even to this day,” and insisted that “in the original version of the foreword {middle part omitted}, I wrote that classical Chinese writing should be omitted as a subject in ordinary education, and that Japanese people, even from an academic point of view, should not have to be involved in academic research and criticism with regard to Chinese culture, and that from today such claims should be strongly asserted” [ibid].

For Tsuda, regardless of the fact that the publication of the new version after the war had to be revised, the idea of an East or an Eastern culture, whereby Japan and China are unified, was something that Tsuda just could not recognize. However, as a result of the revision, similar to the part of the foreword B that had to be deleted, “the fact that we are two completely different races,” “they must also make Chinese people understand this too,” “they must let the Chinese people know and make it clear to them,” were deleted by Tsuda himself; phrases such as “Japanese people and Chinese people must fully understand this,” “Japan {middle part omitted} must clearly understand this,” indicate that Tsuda is no longer putting pressure on Chinese people, but rather he has shifted the issue to his own consciousness. The sense of danger felt by Tsuda urged him to make known that the perception of a united China and Japan as the “East” would only cause Chinese people to develop a sense of superiority over Japanese people. By

finding out the truth behind the revision of “Chinese thought and Japan,” we are able to catch a glimpse into Tsuda’s academic beliefs.

4 National community and perceptions of Asia

Tsuda flatly rejected the idea of an Eastern culture where Japan and China share a culture. For Tsuda, Japanese culture and Chinese culture had to be completely different. Comments that pointed toward similarities were seen by Tsuda as a means for Chinese people to develop a sense of superiority over Japanese people.

Incidentally, Tsuda had a unique way of approaching the issue of “race” and “nation” that separates the two cultures. The first systematic book on this, according to Tsuda, was “Research on national thought in Japan through literature (during the aristocratic literature period)” (1916), but the way in which Tsuda captures the idea of “race” in other books that followed was also peculiar; the term “race” already existed during pre-modern times and what is more, it was such that race existed prior to nation. It is said that the notion of ethnic state = nation state was established not during the modern period, but during the early period of the ancient times (before the 5th century) [Ueda 1974: 205]. Ienaga captured Tsuda’s fragmented language and emphasized “the denial of a fixed national identity” [Ienaga 1972: 172-177], but this merely refers to how unlikely it is that an ethnic group’s “manners, national mind-set, or national identity are static and remain unchanged from the old days to the present.”

On the one hand, Tsuda repeatedly emphasized the importance of not portraying the national identity, the citizens’ lifestyles, manners, and the national mind-set of the Japanese people as fixed phenomena, but on the other hand, he said the following about Chinese people:

- In any case, wicked things are difficult to handle. The same goes for the Chinese race. They take pride in the false reputation of “China” and the hollow vision of an “Eastern culture,” old and new people alike are full of deceit. So, if I provide honest advice, you should feel hostility toward them and oppose them. They are a very troublesome neighbor (March 23, 1927) [Tsuda 1965 d: 442].
- Although the disturbance at Nanking was unpardonable {middle part omitted}, during the earthquake, the Japanese people, who massacred the Korean people, are not in a position to say anything, but that was a massacre and there was no plundering involved. This time, there was no massacre, but there was plundering. What does this mean? I do not know, but anyway, the fact that the Chinese people are not superior becomes clearer, day by day. In fact, the same thing has been happening from 3,000 years ago (March 29, same year) [ibid.: 444].
- There have been no big changes in the way Chinese people live their lives, and it may have to do with the fact that their culture has generally become stagnant. The lifestyles of the Chinese people are always the same, and if it is unthinkable to reform and improve it through the strength of the people, then it is natural for the lifestyle to remain for no other reason than to seek fame and wealth for oneself [Tsuda 1946].

In this way, he emphasizes a fixed national identity. Moreover, he says the following regarding Korean people:

The Korean people did not embrace A NATIONAL [Korean] literature. They are a race that is lacking in independence when it comes to culture. So, from the same cause emerges a phenomenon whereby the people are excessively crooked. They are not pure (night of July 22, 1925, recorded during the day on the 23rd) [ibid.: 312].

In this way, contrasting Japanese people with the constantly negative image of Chinese and Korean people, has resulted in a structure that reinforces the way Japanese people are assessed under a more positive light.

As Ishimoda has already indicated, even after the war ended, Tsuda claimed in “Once Again, About Historical Education” [Tsuda 1965a], that “a reason for the annexation of Korea by Japan is that the *the Peninsular*’s state of mind is expressed in the form of vicious behavior,” and the RESPONSIBILITY of the “Annexation of Korea” lies not in Japan, but in the peculiar mind-set of the Korean people and their vicious behavior. According to Tsuda, Korean people are subservient to strong, external power, but if the opponent becomes weak, they act like the stron-

ger side, as they have a habit of displaying irrational and barbarous behavior, which is one of the reasons put forward to justify the necessity of Japan's colonial rule over the Korean people [Ishimoda 1990: 310]. Here, the "habit" of Korean people is exactly the same as the racial characteristics of Chinese people described in "Chinese thought and Japan." For Tsuda, the creation of a national community for Japanese people requires Japan to be distinguished from China and Korea, and China and Korea must be discriminated against.

Tsuda's strange perceptions of China and Korea are by no means just a part of Tsuda's scholarship [Isomae 2016]. Studies in the history of nationalism (national history), which Tsuda pursued, and literature (Japanese literature) were paired, and we must see how this led to a structure from which the foundations of Japanese nationalism were established. This was absolutely imperative for Tsuda's thesis on national history, Japanese literature, and nationalism, and for Tsuda, discrimination against China and Korea was essential.

Basically, in the latter half of the 19th century, as the class system and kinship were becoming less prominent, nationalization was progressing and consequently, within the industrialized society, racial discrimination was increasingly becoming a governing principle [Sakai 2008: 146], and from within Tsuda's nationalistic study of history we can clearly identify this type of racial discrimination. For example, in section C, which was quoted earlier, he says, "Japanese people must avoid, in the first place, similarly taking a desultory sense of racial superiority toward Chinese people, but regarding whether we are in fact superior, it is necessary to at least have the confidence. Needless to say, we cannot let the Chinese people feel superior to Japanese people. This is because there is absolutely no scenario today where Japanese culture would need assistance from Chinese culture." The underlined part adopts a rhetoric in which he appears to have reservations with regard to racism, but it remains that he is using racism to support his domineering confidence.

In order to establish racial nationalism like that of Tsuda's, one must have a negative "other." For the establishment of nationalism in modern Japan, Chinese and Korean discrimination is essential, and an inferior neighbor is necessary. This will allow for the creation of a boundary to regulate the Japanese people, and by protecting this border, the identity of modern Japan can be established. In order to boost this national identity amid rivalry with the "West," an inferior "other" that differs from the self is required.

It was exactly during such a period that modern Japan established East Asian history as a discipline. Korea, Manchuria, Central Asia, South East Asia, and the developing field of East Asian history, similar to what the "West" would call the Orient, is also called the Orient in Japan. By capturing the European elements of Japanese history, the aim is to erase the image of Japan from the Orient, enabling Japan to create its own Orient centered on China and Korea [Im 2015: 16].

Accordingly, by no means shall Japan be included in this kind of East Asia. The formation of the three parties consisting of the West, Japan, and the East acts as a major premise upon which Tsuda pursued his academic research.

Finally, let us consider the publication of "Chinese thought and Japan" in November 1938, which became a turning point for Tsuda. Two essays included in the book, "Chinese thought in Japan" (1933) and "East Asia's peculiarities regarding transplant history and cultural history" (1936) had already been published. The foreword, which was written so the two essays could be published as one book, was completed in October 1938. Perhaps something had happened to Tsuda during this time.

What we must remember here, is that three months prior, on July 19, 1938, the Konoe Cabinet published the "Chinese government internal guidance guidelines" (Five Ministers' Conference (*Gosho Kaigi*) decision). These "guidelines" set out three points: to eradicate the anti-Japanese trends in China by using coercive measures based on "authority," as a policy to promote the "voluntary cooperation of the Chinese people," to win the hearts of the people through improving the "national economy," and to establish a leadership mentality based on the revival of "Eastern culture." In particular, with regard to the revival of "Eastern culture," it sought to "respect the cultures characteristic of Chinese people and especially the mutual Sino-Japanese culture, revive the Eastern mentality civilization, completely ban anti-Japanese discussion, and promote Sino-Japanese cooperation." Sannosuke Matsumoto commented that this policy came together under the anti-Japanese factor and manifested in the efforts toward changing the situation in China [Matsumoto 2011: 226].

By referring to the above facts, we can see why Tsuda attached the old version of the foreword to the already

published TWO essays and published “Chinese thought and Japan” as his true intentions become clear.

With regard to the government policy of “respecting the culture characteristic of Chinese people and especially the mutual Sino-Japanese culture, reviving the Eastern mentality civilization, completely banning anti-Japanese discussion, and promoting Sino-Japanese cooperation” as a part of the “Chinese government internal guidance guidelines,” Tsuda’s academic beliefs led him to develop a sense of danger. To revive Eastern civilization would include China, which according to Japan, is a country of the Orient, and for Tsuda this is an absolutely unthinkable proposal. Unable to handle the anti-Japanese sentiment, he did not oppose the promotion of political measures against this but proposed that “if something was planned based on this erroneous opinion, the consequences would be terrible.”

Conclusion

As explained in the introduction, the objective of this paper was to understand the origin of the abnormal level of discrimination against and disrespect for China and Korea that inundates today’s mass media and to look at the ways in which the structural characteristics of Japan’s perceptions of Asia concerns modern Japan. These areas were considered through a focus on Sokichi Tsuda’s perspectives on China and Korea, and by treating such perspectives as a prototype for a Japanese perception of Asia.

From this emerges the realization that Japanese perspectives on China and Korea were deeply associated with the formation of an academic system that sought to provide the academic foundations for the establishment of Japanese nationalism. East Asian history that was established for modern Japanese people was called Oriental studies, much like the study of the Orient as seen by the West. By capturing the European elements of Japanese history, the aim is to erase the image of Japan from the Orient, enabling Japan to create its own Orient from that of China and Korea. To establish the identity of the people of modern Japan, discrimination against neighboring countries is absolutely imperative.

Since 1990, Japanese society has been confronted with postcolonial circumstances, that is to say, regardless of the fact that colonial rule as the national regime and form of economic control is over, we must say that the condition in which the colonial system developed as the structure of consciousness and the condition of self-identity continues on. Despite having lost colonial economic supremacy and political privileges, colonialism endures within the core of Japan’s national identity; nay, these factors have enabled it to endure, and regardless of the changes on a global scale, the present situation has compelled Japan to cling to it [Sakai 2015:25].

By looking at Tsuda’s work, this paper endeavored to identify the structural characteristics of Japan’s perceptions of Asia that has continued until today, but the study requires further examination from the standpoint of overcoming colonialism.

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