

Creating World Histories from Asian Perspectives

4th AAWH Congress

5 & 6 January 2019, Osaka

PROGRAMME



Asian Association of
World Historians

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The Asian Association of World Historians

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WORDS OF WELCOME

Welcome to Osaka University!
In October 2014, Osaka University, on the initiative of its President, established the Institute for Open and Transdisciplinary Research Initiatives (OTRI). ‘Global history’ became one of nine principal research areas incorporated in this new organizational framework. The global history division proposes to explore, among others, ‘global history’ from Asian perspectives through interdisciplinary research embracing a wide range of academic fields: history, international relations, economics, the arts and social sciences, and cultural studies. In addition, Osaka University can draw on a wide range of expertise in area studies and Asian studies which it inherited from the previous Osaka University of Foreign Studies. The global history division consists of three research groups focusing on: (a) the supra-regional history of networks and interactions in ancient Central Eurasia and early-modern maritime Asia; (b) the micro-history of medieval Kansai (Japan) and modern China; and (c) global economic history and the Modern World System. As the host of the 4th AAWH conference at Osaka University, the Osaka research group will build on these academic foundations.



At the turn of the second millennium in 2000, new research trends in world and global history attracted increasing attention, mainly focusing on the reevaluation of Asia’s position in the world. Two studies have given a strong impetus to the so-called ‘global turn’: Angus Maddison, *The World Economy: a millennial perspective* (OECD, 2001), and, in a provocative manner, Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence—China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, 2000). The publication of these two books led to the reconsideration of the ‘early-modern period’ or the ‘long eighteenth century’ based on reciprocal comparisons between Europe and Asia. Nonetheless, the exchange of views between experts of ‘global history’ and ‘local’ histories is still limited. Even after the ‘California School’ presented revisionist views challenging the Eurocentrism of the received approaches to globalism, the latter continued to adhere to an analysis along the lines of an East-West binary.

In the last ten years since the establishment of AAWH at Tianjin/Osaka, the association has continued to explore new interpretations of world and global histories from Asian perspectives. As stated in the AAWH Charter at its foundation, ‘the concepts and methods of world/global history differ considerably from country to country in this region’. We still need more time before we can present a grand alternative vision and interpretation of world and global history from Asian perspectives. However, the Osaka conference will serve to explore and present new interpretations based on *trans-regional* or *trans-national* analyses. This framework combines a vertical historical perspective of the *longue-durée* from the ancient to the contemporary period with a horizontal analysis encompassing a range of specific regional studies beyond the purview of national histories.

The conference is anchored by three plenary lectures by distinguished Asian historians. Prof. Li presents an analysis of Central and Eastern Eurasian history based on the study of global economic

history. Prof. Mitani reconsiders the historical significance of the Meiji Revolution on the occasion of its 150th anniversary, and Prof. Mukherjee examines the modern and contemporary development of the world economy and globalization from perspectives of the ‘Global South’. These keynote lectures together with 17 large panels and 30 individual papers promise to offer valuable insights and perspectives for creating world and global histories from Asian perspectives.

By drawing on the expertise of our participants, the AAWH Osaka conference will explore perspectives on a long historical period from ancient to contemporary times within a *trans-regional framework*. In doing so, the conference hopes to promote the study of world and global histories from Asian perspectives.

In addition, our aim is to make a lasting contribution to society by collaborating with senior high-school teachers and journalists in view of reforming world history education in Japan and Asia through the publication of several text books. Collaborations with prominent senior-high school teachers are arguably the most promising outreach activities that allow historians to demonstrate the usefulness of their research for society.

Shigeru AKITA

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AAWH 2019 Osaka

The Conference **AT A GLANCE**

Saturday, 5 January

- 8:30 Registration
- 9:10 - 9:20 Welcome Remarks
(Saji Keizo Memorial Hall)
- 9:30 - 12:00 Panel Sessions 1
- 12:00 - 13:30 Lunch
- 13:30 - 15:30 Panel Sessions 2
- 16:00 - 17:00 Plenary-Keynote Speech I
(Saji Keizo Memorial Hall)
- 17:00 - 18:00 Plenary-Keynote Speech II
(Saji Keizo Memorial Hall)
- 19:00 - 21:00 Reception
(Rihga Royal Hotel)

Sunday, 6 January

- 9:30 - 12:00 Panel Sessions 3
- 12:00 - 13:30 Lunch
- 13:30 - 14:30 Plenary-Keynote Speech III
(Saji Keizo Memorial Hall)
- 14:30 - 15:00 Tea Break
- 15:00 - 17:30 Panel Sessions 4
- 17:30 - 18:30 General Assembly & Closing
Remarks
(Saji Keizo Memorial Hall)

The Keynote Speech **AT A GLANCE**

Saturday, 5 January

(Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F)

16:00-17:00

Plenary-Keynote Speech I

LI Bozhong

The End of the Silk Road? A CRITICAL Reaction to the Hot Discussion of the Concept throughout China

17:00-18:00

Plenary-Keynote Speech II

Aditya MUKHERJEE

The Transformation of the Indian Economy in the Contemporary Period: From the Colonial to the Post Colonial

Sunday, 6 January

(Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F)

13:30-14:30

Plenary-Keynote Speech III

Hiroshi MITANI

Meiji Revolution in Global History

The Panels **AT A GLANCE**

Saturday, 5 January

Panel Sessions 1 9:30 am – 12:00 pm

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
1.1	International Trade in East Asia during the 16th-Century Korea War	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
1.2	The Influence of Chinese Seals, Signatures and Kaō-Signatures on Official Documents in Pre-Modern Japan, Korea and Vietnam: A New Methodological Approach to East Asian Comparative History	Seminar Room 301
1.3	The Role of Universities in the Reform of High School-Level History Education	Seminar Room 703
1.4	Maritime Asia in Modern and Contemporary Eras	Seminar Room 304
1.5	Reconsidering the Teaching of Japanese History: Based on Recent Studies of Global History	Seminar Room 507
1.6	Knowledge Transfer and Translation in Eurasia in Early Modern and Modern Era	Seminar Room 406

The Panels AT A GLANCE

Saturday, 5 January

Panel Sessions 2 13:30 pm – 15:30 pm

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
2.1	India and Modern World	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
2.2	Inter-regional Connections	Seminar Room 507
2.3	Through Japan to the World	Seminar Room 406
2.4	East Asian Historiography	Seminar Room 301
2.5	Different Perspectives to World History	Seminar Room 201

The Panels **AT A GLANCE**

Sunday, 6 January

Panel Sessions 3 9:30 am – 12:00 pm

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
3.1	‘Energy Diverse Societies’ in Modern Asia: Between Survival and Economic Development	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
3.2	Another History of Japanese Prisoners of War under the Cold War	Seminar Room 507
3.3	Ideas of Rule in Wartime Japan and the Transformation of East and Southeast Asia in the Context of Ongoing Failure	Seminar Room 703
3.4	An Attempt to Establish East Asian Numismatic Archeology: Expansion and Acceptance of Chinese Coinage in East Asia as Seen in Archaeological Source	Seminar Room 301
3.5	Aiming for Unity, Overcoming Divisions: Entangled Transformations of East Asian and European Nations States in a Global History Perspective	Seminar Room 702
3.6	Early Modern Southeast Asian History	Seminar Room 304

The Panels AT A GLANCE

Sunday, 6 January

Panel Sessions 4 15:00 am – 17:30 pm

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
4.1	The Opium War and other Encounters with the West as the Roots of Asian Awakening	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
4.2	Economic Aid and the Development of Consortiums in Asia in the 1960s	Seminar Room 507
4.3	Chinese World Order and its Challengers in East Asia, 1300-1900	Seminar Room 406
4.4	Maritime History during the Late Early Modern Era	Seminar Room 301
4.5	Empire and Boundary: New Perspectives in East Eurasian History for the 10th to 13th Centuries	Seminar Room 702
4.6	Teaching the Exchange between Asian Regions and Japan in the Age of Imperialism: Practices in High Schools in Japan	Seminar Room 703

The Conference **KEYNOTE SPEECH****Plenary Keynote Speech I*****The End of the Silk Road? A CRITICAL Reaction to the Hot Discussion of the Concept throughout China*****LI Bozhong****Abstract**

In 1524, the imperial court of the Ming made a decision: to relocate seven frontier garrisons in the country's northwest border areas (Guanxi Seven Garrisons, 關西七衛) from their original stations outside Jiayu Pass (嘉峪關) at the western end of the Great Wall to their new stations within the pass. Though this decision with its implementation hasn't attracted much attention of historians, it is an event of far-reaching significance in world history: It marked the closing of the Silk Road which stretched across the Eurasia Continent and was seen a "great channel of international trade" regarded by many scholars.

This decision was not an indiscretion of Jiajing Emperor of the Ming dynasty on impulse without counting the cost, but the result of much thought of the top policymakers of the Ming state: Years earlier, memorials were submitted to the throne to suggest to "Close the door [to the barbarians in West China] and Suspend the tribute trade [with them], and never have dealings with them (閉關絕貢，永不與通)." The suggestion was supported by the Board of War. Though it was not indorsed by the crown then, it heralded the decision. Some deep-seated reasons stood behind the decision.

First, economic consideration

In terms of trade volume and size, the trade of the Silk Road was not important as thought. One of the main restrains of the expansion of the trade was the unendurably high costs of the trade, which were caused with not just the extremely poor transportation, but very high risks that the merchants suffered from the unsafety caused with political instability in this area. Second, the trade was highly unbalanced: China's export dwarfed its import greatly and made the trade a one-way trade in some sense. Third, the trade was mainly official for political purposes and in charge of the Chinese state. As a result, the size and frequency depended on policies of the Chinese state. Moreover, during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, two great changes happened: climate changes and the rise of the maritime trade. Both of them, in particular the later, had great effect on the trade of the Silk Road and accelerated the fall of it.

The Chinese maritime trade saw a great expansion during the sixteenth century, partly because of the rise of Japan, the tapping of rich resources of Southeast Asia and the arrival of the Portuguese

and Spanish through whom China was linked with a great business world that these Western powers created. Quite different from the trade along the Silk Road on land, the maritime trade was lucrative, though not in the official tribute trade. The prosperity of multinational private trade resulted in troubles for the Ming state. The state had to take precedence over the troubles in the trade along the Silk Road which was trivial in the size.

Second, security considerations.

The traditional threat to China came from the nomads in the steppes of Inner Asia, Central Asia and Manchuria. The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, saw the second great wave of expansion of Islam, which reached Central Asia and reshaped the political and cultural map of this region completely. Though the plan of conquest of China of Tamerlane (“Timur the Lame”, 1336-1405) did not succeed because of his sudden death en route in the march of his massive army to China before he ever reached the Chinese border, the rulers of different Muslim regimes in this region did not abandon their goals to convert China into Islamic, and some of them took actions and waged Jihads against the Ming. Because these nomads enjoyed the superiority in battle fields thanks to their excellent cavalries and took up the cause of Jihad with evangelical fervor, they became very aggressive to Ming China.

Facing the increasing threat from the nomads in the Northwest, the military power of the Ming declined after the disastrous defeat in the battle with Mongols at Tumubao in 1449. Through the Ming military force was recovered later, the threat from Mongols was still serious. Even worse, in sixteenth century, old threats from ‘Japanese Pirates’ (倭寇) intensified, while new threats from the Portuguese and Spaniards and from Luchuan (China’s another border area) and Vietnam in the south appeared in the east in the south. These threats, old and new, put enormous pressures on the Ming state whose financial resources were quite limited. For the Ming policymakers, the threats from the rivals and enemies in the east and south were more severe since they were much closer to China’s political center and most prosperous areas as well as the major sources of the revenue of the state.

Facing a stark choice, the Ming policymakers decided to take an ‘East and North First’ strategy which was most reasonable. As for the northwest, the best way for the Ming state was to take a strategy of ‘passive defense,’ that is, resist the offensives of the enemies from Central Asia with the help of the formidable Great Wall, as it did in the defense against the Mongols in the east. For this consideration, the Ming state decided to withdraw the Guanxi Seven Garrisons back into the Great Wall. The Jiayu Pass was the main entrance to China Proper from Central Asia along the Silk Road, and the Guanxi Seven Garrisons, established in the early Ming, were the major force to defend order and promote stability in the vast areas beyond the Jiayu Pass. It was also the major measure of the Ming state to keep safety of activities along the Silk Road. The removal of the garrisons into the pass means that the Ming state abandoned its role of the safeguard of the road. This action was “Close the door [to the barbarians in West China]” (閉關), and a necessary consequence of it was “Suspend the tribute trade [with them]” (絕貢). Since the tribute trade, no matter how small its size was, had been the majority of the trade along the Silk Road, the suspension of the tribute trade was the end of the trade along the road. Moreover, since the road had been the major channel to connect China Proper and Central Asia, no trade means the breaking off of the traditional link. In this sense, it is what the

Ming policymakers wanted in their proposal of “Never have dealings with them (永不與通).” The withdrawing of the Guanxi Seven Garrisons in 1524, therefore, marks the end of the Silk Road as a major trans-Eurasian international trade channel. After then, the trade between China Proper and Central Asia along the Silk Road became negligible.

This situation didn’t change a lot in the following centuries. The Qing dynasty, the successor of the Ming, was much more powerful in military force and proactive in dealing with the frontier affairs. Though the Qing established its effective rule over the vast region outside the Jiayu Pass after more than a century fighting, the trade along the previous Silk Road never prospered again. The road was gradually forgotten. It didn’t come into view of the people until Ferdinand von Richthofen a German traveler, geographer and scientist “re-discovered” it and coined the terms "Seidenstraße" and "Seidenstraßen," or "Silk Road(s)" and "Silk Route(s)" in English, in 1877. Today when we talk about the Silk Road, we should have better knowledge of its history. The road was never a “great channel of international trade.” The trade along the road was never very large in size, and the business along the road was going on just on and off. Compared with the maritime trade routes, the Silk Road was not as important in history as many people have imagined today. In a perspective of global history, the closing of the road in 1524 is an event of great significance because it reveals the fact: The rise of the maritime world and the fall of the inland world in the early modern times.

Plenary Keynote Speech II

The Transformation of the Indian Economy in the Contemporary Period: From the Colonial to the Post-Colonial

Aditya MUKHERJEE

Abstract

- ◆ I shall question two very divergent perspectives on the Transition from the colonial to the post-colonial situation in India.
- ◆ First, the neo-colonial position that colonialism led to economic development and prepared the ground for the rapid post colonial development seen in India in recent years and other post colonial countries of East and South-east Asia.
- ◆ Second, the orthodox Left view that correctly does not see colonialism playing any positive role in the development of the colony. However, it denies the possibility of any transition to independent development in the colony even after independence unless the colonial economy ‘shoots out’ of the capitalist world system into socialism. The Dependency School reiterates this view.
- ◆ I shall argue that both these positions are incorrect.
- ◆ I shall provide contrasting data between colonial and post-colonial development in India which suggest that it is the breaks rather than the continuity with colonialism that made it possible.

- ◆ The post-colonial developments in India also belie, in my opinion, the orthodox Left view that it was leading to further neo-colonial or dependent development rather than independent development, because India remained within the world capitalist system.
- ◆ While the post-colonial situation in the colony definitely marks significant breaks in the economic sphere the continuities with colonialism remain in the area of social divisions promoted during the colonial period and in the persistence of the colonial mindset, particularly in the intellectual domain.

Plenary Keynote Speech III

Japan's Meiji Revolution in Global History: Searching for some generalizations out of history

Hiroshi MITANI

It is my pleasure and honor to give one of the keynote speeches for the fourth congress of AAWH. In this lecture, I would like not only to introduce what the Meiji Revolution was (and coincidentally, just last year was the 150th anniversary of this event), but also to try to extract two useful types of generalizations from this historical event; one is hints for comparative studies of revolutions, and the other is ways to cope with long-term crisis. I hope my speech today will help provide some hints for historians to present their scholarly work in ways that will be more and more meaningful to the future of human beings in general.

Part 1 What was the Meiji Revolution?

The Meiji Revolution was one of the largest revolutions anywhere in the nineteenth century and occurred in the state with one of the largest populations in the world, possibly as high as sixth. At that time, below China and the Mughal Empire, there were five countries whose populations were all about the same size: Russia, the Ottoman Empire, France, Japan and the US. The Meiji Revolution dissolved the hereditary system of the early modern era and sparked incessant efforts for social reforms in this populous country.

Yet, the Meiji Revolution has been almost invisible in the historiography of modern revolutions. This is because the revolution was different from the model of revolution prevalent during the twentieth century. After the Russian Revolution, revolutions became strongly associated with the overthrow of the monarchy and were expected to feature the intentional use of violence and propaganda. In contrast, Japan's monarchy was actually strengthened by the Meiji Revolution. This is partly because early modern Japan was a double-headed federal state. The Meiji Revolution consolidated the double kingship under a single imperial throne, abolished about 260 daimyo states, and dissolved the hereditary status system of the samurai except for a tiny minority of about 500 houses which consisted of members of the imperial family, former daimyo and court nobility. In the name of the emperor, Japan carried out radical reforms of polity and society.

On the other hand, this revolution led to a smaller sacrifice compared to other revolutions, costing around 30,000 lives. The French Revolution saw a death toll of 1,550,000, about 400,000 in the civil war and another 1,150,000 in international wars. The Russian and Chinese Revolutions in the 20th century, meanwhile, each led to ten million deaths or more. So, the death toll in the Meiji Revolution was smaller, by a factor of 50 to more than 300, than most other major revolutions in modern history.

These differences make the Meiji Revolution useful in widening the concept of revolution. In order to correct social injustice, people are not necessarily obliged to overthrow a monarchy, nor must they resort to large-scale violence. On the other hand, an autocratic polity often emerges after a monarchy and in the wake of a revolution; it is relatively common to see a period of unceasing violence and civil wars. Thus, reframing the Meiji Revolution in a global context will give us an opportunity to search for and perhaps identify methods of achieving radical reforms without triggering widespread loss of life or causing deep-seated resentment.

I. Structural changes during the Meiji Revolution: Japan in 1858 and 1877

In order to understand the structural changes during the Meiji Revolution, it is useful to compare the state of Japan's polity and society in 1858 and 1877. The year 1858 was the starting point of the collapse of the early modern regime, while the year 1877 saw the beginning of a period of steady development following the end of violent rebellions against the new Meiji state.

1) Changes in polity: from a double-headed federal state with a hereditary status system to a unified nation state under a single emperor.

In 1858, Japan had a very unique polity that consisted of two ruling heads that governed around 260 daimyo states. The basic units of governance were local states headed by daimyo lords who controlled administration, taxation, and justice within their domains. The largest daimyo was the Tokugawa Shogunate, which directly governed one fourth of Japan. Other daimyo had feudal relationships with the Shogunate, which monopolized such supreme powers as command of the national military, diplomacy, the minting of coins and the authority to supervise the imperial court in Kyoto. Around 30 daimyo were large enough to finance their own armies. Yet, they were excluded from national decision-making, regardless of their kinship with the Tokugawa Shogunate.

Each top-level daimyo had about 1,000 to 2,000 registered samurai vassals. Among these vassals, two percent became top administrators and others assumed various offices according to their hereditary status. Their basic role was to go to war every time their master asked. Yet, they assumed the role of civil servants during the prolonged period of peace, over 200 years in a row. Commoners who lived in rural areas and towns had no obligation to go to war instead of paying taxes and providing corvée labor.

Early modern Japan had another political head in Kyoto: the Tennō ("emperor" in English, hereafter). From ancient times, the emperor retained the right to worship national deities and to confer official ranks to court noblemen, the Tokugawa, daimyo and other samurai. In this respect, the emperor's court held a higher status than the Shogunate. Yet, it had no right to make country-wide decisions

and was compelled to obey laws set forth by the Shogunate. While people did not question this double-headed monarchy during the first half of the early modern period, by the early nineteenth century intellectuals had begun to promote and disseminate the idea that the emperor in Kyoto was the true sovereign of Japan.

Now let's fast-forward to 1877. By this point, Japan had become a single polity organized under the authority of the Meiji Emperor. The emperor had begun to legitimize governmental policy and law after the imperial restoration coup in 1868. In 1871, the new government had abolished daimyo domains and changed them into prefectures ruled by governmental officials. Moreover, it then proceeded to abolish samurai's status. Based on these drastic polity reforms, the Meiji government began to create a 'nation' through various means: the invitation of men of ability, including commoners, to governmental offices, the abolishment of the hereditary status of the discriminated and the introduction of a compulsory educational system and a military conscription system. The Meiji Revolution led to a highly centralized political system and brought about a semi-classless government, at least in principle.

2) Changes in Society

One of the most remarkable changes during the Meiji Revolution was the abolition of the samurai aristocracy. The Meiji government began its efforts to ease status discrimination from the start. In 1868, The Meiji Emperor announced the integration of court nobility and samurai in his very first decree and then enacted the first constitution (Seitai) that prescribed to invite any person with ability, irrespective of their hereditary status, to contribute to the new government. As a result, non-samurai by birth already accounted for 20% of governmental positions before 1877. Next, the government dared to dissolve the traditional hereditary status system. The samurai class, which amounted to around 6% of the Japanese population, lost their income in exchange for small amounts of public bonds and were forced to eke out a living for themselves. At the same time, the Meiji government incorporated traditionally discriminated groups into the status of commoners. Yet, there was an exception to this official renunciation of status distinction. The government created a new Peerage class, consisting of about 400 families of former court nobility and daimyo lords in addition to the imperial family.

Reform of the taxation system not only improved public finance but also changed social ties among the people. The old system of rice-based agricultural taxes was transformed into a new cash-based land tax, which was collected according to a uniform nationwide standard. This change greatly eased the process of budget-making for the Meiji government. Yet, it is noteworthy that this reform also changed the fundamental nature of people's rights and duties. Before, taxes were imposed on communities, villages or towns, en masse. After the reform, individuals were compelled to pay taxes along with the government's recognition of their right to own property. The tax reform eased the transfer of land ownership, but in the long run it also loosened pre-existing social ties among various groups of people.

The Meiji government also relaxed various regulations that had been previously imposed on the people with regards to travel, habitation, occupation and marriage. Such measures were meant to increase social mobility in order to expand national power. Thus, Meiji leaders combined these

measures with plans for enlightenment and industrialization. They made great efforts to acquire Western knowledge, sending students abroad, creating a compulsory education system, and forming state schools and state factories. Such measures encouraged and supported peoples' ambitions for an improved standard of life. The Meiji state thus institutionalized its Westernization efforts.

In short, the Meiji Revolution introduced radical changes in polity and society and created a nation with equal rights, at least as far as males were concerned. These changes mirrored similar developments in the West during the same century.

3) Sequential pattern of the transformation

No major revolution is truly over in a day; in fact, they often take many, many years. For example, the French Revolution did not really end in 1792 when the French monarchy was overthrown. Instead, this event set in motion a series of governmental transformations. The new republic changed into Napoleon's imperial rule, Bourbon monarchy, the Second republic, Napoleon III's imperial rule and the Third republic. It took more than 90 years for France to establish a stable order that embodied the ideals of the revolution. As for the Chinese revolution, it also took many years to establish a new order, with about 40 years separating the Xinhai revolution in 1911 and the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. And if we add the years for China to achieve a stable society that steadily saw economic development, the duration of its revolution is closer to 70 years.

Compared to these other revolutions, the duration of the Meiji Revolution was somewhat shorter and triggered no reactionary years. It took about 20 years of political turmoil, civil wars and international incidents from 1858 to 1877. The duration extends to 40 years if we begin counting in 1853, with the visit of the US envoy, and keep counting until 1890, when Japan opened its National Diet and launched its full-fledged constitutional monarchy. Although Japan would experience a period of militarism and the suppression of liberty after 1931, the framework of that Meiji-era polity has persisted in many ways to the present day. The turmoil which occurred in Japan during the first half of the twentieth century was not a continuation of the Meiji Revolution.

As for the political turmoil during the Meiji Revolution, its time sequence was quite unique. Changes during the late Tokugawa period occurred very slowly. Tokugawa government managed to maintain their monopoly of supreme power for 10 years despite increasingly spirited political opposition, whose demands for political participation in national politics utilized slogans like 'politics based on public opinion' or 'Revere the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians.' In contrast, the pace of change in the early Meiji period was very fast. Once established, the new government began to appoint officials irrespective of hereditary status in the very first year; within three and a half years, they had abolished daimyo states and integrated discriminated people into commoner status; and in just nine years, they had started to abolish samurai's hereditary stipends in exchange for a small amount in public bonds. So, within a single decade, Japan had transformed into a society where all people, or at least all men, enjoyed egalitarian rights, except for the previously mentioned peerage group.

This acceleration in the speed of change between the late Tokugawa and the early Meiji periods was closely related to the scarcity of systematic political ideologies. In the late Tokugawa era, politicians began political movements simply to correct the mistakes that they thought Shogunate had made. At

the beginning, there was few plans for polity reform. Yet, during prolonged complicated political negotiations, they reached a national consensus to establish a central government under imperial rule that would seek the inclusion of any and all political parties, although some parties refused to accept this idea. At the same time, the top leaders of the new government had already found their next goal: to abolish both the daimyo domains and the samurai elite's hereditary status. In short, slow changes toward a certain direction during the late Tokugawa period made it possible for Japan to gain a mature consensus for radical reforms in the next period.

Part 2 Raising general questions from Meiji Revolution

The Meiji Revolution offers several interesting insights for comparative historical studies. Today I will identify two types. First, the Meiji Revolution illuminates several issues for comparative studies of revolutions, and second, if treated as a case study, the Meiji Revolution sheds light on how to cope with an anticipated long-term crisis.

1) Comparative Studies of Revolutions

How does the study of the Meiji Revolution contribute to our understanding of revolutions more generally? Here I will discuss three key issues.

The first is about the initial conditions of revolutions. That is, what kind of political structures tend to invite revolution.

The early modern Japanese regime was comparatively stronger in collecting taxes than China and Korea were at that time. The tax rate during the Qing dynasty was relatively low and taxes were collected only indirectly from rich or powerful members of the community (rather than from everyone directly) throughout its territory. The small states in Japan, by contrast, imposed a direct land tax that was relatively high compared to the rest of East Asia. Taxes amounted to no less than 15% of GDP despite a gradual decline during more than 200 years of continuous peace. And daimyo states did not lose their power even during the political turmoil during 1860s.

Yet, the Japanese regime was weak in its national framework. It was a double headed federation of more than 260 small states. This dispersed structure made it easier for the Japanese polity both to be dissolved and to be re-integrated. China and Korea, on the other hand, had highly centralized, consistent polities. The monarchs there recruited high officials by imperial examination, a process that was justified by Confucianism. The imperial examination system caused severe competition and many applicants never managed to pass at all. Yet it supplied strong legitimacy by promising a high 'equality of opportunity' among men and was designed to reward candidates who could demonstrate they had acquired Confucian virtue. The government carefully watched and excluded any kinds of ideology that might injure this regime. As a result of this system's meritocratic elements and governmental oversight, people never imagined the need for fundamental reforms.

In contrast, the Japanese double kingship became unstable in the 19th century. As nativist scholarship spread countrywide beginning in the latter half of the 18th century, many people began to believe that the emperor in Kyoto was the true king of Japan. Compounding this background, the Shogunate lost legitimacy when it gave in to armed pressure from the West. After the Kyoto emperor

criticized the Shogunate's concessions to the West, more and more daimyo and people transferred their faith and trust to the emperor to integrate Japanese sovereignty into the sole body of the emperor. After the imperial restoration, daimyo states also lost their legitimacy. The dissolution of daimyo states resulted in the mass unemployment of their samurai retainers, a blow to the elite samurai status group which in turn enabled the abolition of the hereditary status system.

In short, Japan's dispersed structure facilitated those who wished to dissolve the polity, while double kingship (in which one sovereign, if discredited, can be easily replaced by the other) made Japanese reintegration much easier, since it entailed addressing the discrepancy between the hereditary status system and the actual distribution of talents.

This experience suggests revolution tends to happen if the existing regime has any fundamental inconsistencies. Inconsistencies themselves do not cause revolution, as early modern Japan, despite the inconsistencies in its polity, enjoyed peaceful stability for over 200 years. Yet, if and when the regime faces strong and sudden pressure, those inconsistencies can and do turn into contradictions, which brings self-destruction.

The second issue concerns the death toll. About 30,000 people were killed during the Meiji Revolution. This number is very low compared to other major revolutions. As noted in the introduction, the death tolls in the French, Russian and Chinese Revolutions were larger by a factor of 50 to more than 300.

How can we explain this difference? One salient factor was whether foreign wars occurred or not. In Japan, both central governments, first the Shogunate and then the Meiji government, made a concerted effort to avoid war. Only two daimyos dared to engage in gun battles against Western ships but abandoned those efforts very quickly. In contrast, the wars which occurred in the aftermath of the French Revolution, for example, caused about 1,150,000 deaths.

Yet, the difference in the death toll is dramatic even when limited to during the civil war alone. In France, the death toll from the initial civil war was about 400,000. This means that despite having a population that was 20% smaller than Japan's, the civil war in late 18th century France killed thirteen times more people. What could have caused such a wide divergence? One factor was the existence and degree of popular involvement. When the populace begins to participate in the revolution, often they become concerned about blaming and excluding some figures they see as villains instead of creating some policy that might give concrete solutions. Those acting in the name of justice seldom hesitate to appeal to violence.

We can point out another factor: the presence or absence of a confrontation between ideologies. As the Wars of Religion in Europe showed, people tend to become extremely intolerant during religious or ideological confrontations. During the French Revolution, a severe struggle emerged between the secular government and the Catholic Church. In addition, French intellectuals presented a wide variety of competing blueprints for an ideal society. These conditions made it very difficult to reach any compromise or acceptable solution.

Similarly, in the Chinese case, the struggle between the Nationalists and the Communists escalated into a large-scale civil war. In contrast, Japan in the 19th century had little ideological conflict. Even

the Shogunate accepted the ultimate authority of the Kyoto emperor. Although there were a variety of religions and religious sects, the majority of them co-existed peacefully together, even when combined in a single person's belief system. These conditions prevented Japan in the 19th century from encountering strong ideological conflicts.

The third issue is how the public sphere feels about violence. The Pen and the Sword emerge simultaneously in revolutions. When political movements demand radical, large scale reforms, they tend to resort to any means. People involved in enthusiastic movements sometimes do not hesitate to resort to violence to punish what they see as injustice or in revenge against the people who are believed to have betrayed the public. This is why revolutions often draw much blood. Yet, if revolutions are to be successful, they must create a new order by refusing to endorse violence no matter how bloody they had been or not. So, we must track how the public sphere breaks with violence.

As for the Meiji Revolution, assassination and armed threat sometimes changed the political climate. Yet, the political actors who demanded 'politics based on public opinion' relied on persuasion and negotiation to form the main stream of political opposition. Just after the small-scale war in which Satsuma and Choshu defeated the army of the former Shogunate, daimyos in Western and Central Japan immediately began supporting the new imperial government. They embraced opportunism and authoritarianism in order to keep the right to rule their domains. Next, the former Shogun himself offered a complete surrender. It is difficult to understand this decision because at that point he retained enough ground and naval forces to resist the imperial government. One might suppose that his fear of possible Western intervention convinced him to avoid exacerbating the civil war. Thus, only the Northeastern daimyos rose to fight against the new government, a fact which kept the death toll and the length of hostilities to a minimum. Syntonic mentality and nationalism against the West combined to keep 19th century Japan from prolonging its civil war or expanding it in scale.

Yet, the civil war was not the final case of political violence. Japan saw little reaction from the losers of the civil war. Yet there came a series of threats from the winners. The military leaders and soldiers among Satsuma, Choshu and Tosa refused to break up after the war ended. Moreover, after failing to find respectable governmental positions, they became anxious to provoke a new civil war. The Tokyo government tried to appease them by appointing them as Imperial guards. Yet, this tactic failed due to the debate over another issue, namely whether to send a military expedition to Korea over a perceived diplomatic slight; the debate over this issue caused a major split in the highest levels of the government. After losing the debate and being thus unable to invade Korea, the troops of Satsuma and Tosa returned home and developed strong military oppositions. In the end, Satsuma actually rose in revolt and Tosa began to prepare to do so. Yet the Tokyo government managed, if only barely, to block Satsuma's advance. Even before the outcome of the Satsuma Rebellion was clear, Tosa stopped preparing to revolt and decided to switch tactics, opposing Tokyo not on the battlefield but in the public sphere, by speech only.

This experience testifies as to how difficult it can be to control the victorious army when it has contributed to the success of the revolution. And this point is also related to the final question below.

Revolutions fail if the country is unable to reach a cease-fire. In such cases, civil war only ends after completely destroying society. By contrast, revolutions are successful if they succeed in building a new regime. Yet this does not necessarily mean the new regime must embody the ideals that 19th century Europe presented. It is far from certain that the newly established order will become an egalitarian and liberal society. It may be the extent of violence mobilized during the revolution that determines the degree of freedom enjoyed by the resulting society. If armed forces play a greater role in the revolution, the new regime becomes more authoritative, tainted as it is by militaristic culture. Meiji Japan was fortunate to have escaped from this trap, although militarism would gradually infiltrate into Japanese society after the first Sino-Japanese war.

2. How shall we cope with an anticipated long-term crisis?

Japan's Meiji Revolution presents another important question for historical studies: how to cope with a long-term crisis? Some in late eighteenth-century Japan predicted a future crisis with Western countries and advocated changes in foreign policy and rearmament. Although their proposal was rejected by the contemporary government, this prescient groundwork contributed much in preparing the Tokugawa government to receive an American envoy sixty years later. The government changed its foreign policy from seclusion to opening its ports and succeed in adapting to the globalization led by the West. Japan avoided major wars, enacted the Meiji Revolution and started economic and cultural development.

The experience of Japan's neighbors was very different. Qing China, despite its sizable trade with the West since the eighteenth century, fought several wars with foreign countries without making fundamental changes in its polity. Joseon Korea also fought two wars and kept refusing Western civilization. This key difference between Japan and its neighbors, each country's willingness to fight wars with foreign countries, caused a major divergence in the modern history of these countries. One of its pre- condition was whether they had anticipated a future crisis with the West or not beforehand.

In this regard, the Japanese experience during the first half of the nineteenth century can shed valuable light on the question of how to cope with long-term crises.

Most people go through their daily lives without paying any attention to potential future crises. They do so even though crises can and sometimes do occur which can have devastating impact on society at large. For example, the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 was the most powerful earthquake to strike Japan in at least 1000, perhaps 2000 years. And some crises are global in scale: if a large asteroid were to hit the earth, almost all life would perish. On the other hand, there are also non-cyclic, anticipated future crises such as global warming, a decline of resources, dwindling space to dispose of waste, etc. We cannot predict exactly when these sorts of crisis will emerge as a fatal issue. Yet, both types provoke a similar reaction: people tend to avoid facing the problem, finding it extremely difficult to discover the solution and preferring to hope for the best and let things continue as they have been.

Japan in early nineteenth century faced a similar problem: fear of a future invasion from the West. Sadanobu Matsudaira, prime minister of the Tokugawa government in late eighteenth century, foresaw the possibility of future conflicts with the West. He studied world geography imported via

Nagasaki, the only port opened to the Dutch, and paid keen attention to trends in the long-term global expansion of the Western powers. His measures in response were to tighten Japan's seclusion policy and to strengthen coastal defenses.

In 1792, Russian envoy Adam Laxman visited a port in the island now called Hokkaido. Sadanobu at once informed Laxman that Japan was not interested in opening international relations with Russia. Yet, to stave off any immediate confrontation with Russia, he also gave Laxman an official permit to enter Nagasaki port.

After the Russian envoy went back, Sadanobu took action. He launched an effort to reinforce Japan's coastal defense; ordered daimyo to take stock of the state of their own coastal defenses; sounded out the Dutch representatives at Nagasaki about the possibility of arranging the importation of Western ships and crewmen; and personally launched a coastal survey expedition to explore the coasts near Edo, Japan's capital.

What did his foresighted efforts earn him? He was dismissed by the Shogun and his colleagues (other high-level ministers) right after he returned to Edo. And it is easy to understand their decision. Was it proper to prepare for imagined invasions from countries situated on the opposite side of the globe? How much money would it cost to re-arm Japan given its totally unprepared state? Such steps would mean tax increases, and wouldn't any such tax increase potentially provoke popular riots? For politicians with common sense, Sadanobu's ambitious defense plans looked like a dangerous and unnecessary disturbance of Japan's long (then already nearly 200 years) peacetime state.

The Tokugawa government after Sadanobu continued tightening the seclusion policy without strengthening coastal defenses. When the second envoy from Russia arrived at Nagasaki ten years later, the Japanese government refused his demand for trade and forced him to leave Japan without granting a re-entry permit. This rebuff caused Russians to invade some places in northern Japan. Yet, this conflict did not escalate into a war, partly because Russia faced Napoleon's invasion on the European front at that time. In 1821, both governments exchanged prisoners and settled the conflict. Russian ships seldom appeared along the Japanese coast after this point.

After the détente with Russia, the Japanese government concluded that no country on the other side of the globe had the resources to send large numbers of troops to Japan. Consequently, they relaxed coastal defenses while tightening Japan's seclusion policy, issuing a national decree in 1825 to drive off any Western style ships from the coast by any means necessary. The majority of Japanese politicians thought that Japan would be able to maintain its peaceful seclusion from the world indefinitely.

This shortsightedness was what Yukoku Aizawa, the founder of the 'Revere the emperor, Expel barbarians' ideology that would prevail in early 1860s, once described with the phrase 'Summer insects do not know ice.' Because insects are born in spring and die in fall, they cannot imagine the existence of frozen water. Aizawa lamented that ordinary people could not foresee the emergence of future crises and chose to mock him as a madman, obsessed with a groundless fear.

Yet, this did not mean the Japanese returned to an old policy. At this point, they had conceived of—and wrote down—a range of foreign policies: to keep the status quo, to allow partial trade with the West to avoid war, to send Japanese ships abroad for inspection, trade and re-armament, or even to provoke Western ships to attack Japan and use this as an opportunity to start fundamental domestic reforms. The Tokugawa government kept these policies in its library and some cabinet members stored these documents in their own houses as part of their family papers.

This was because in the end of 1830s, the Tokugawa government withdrew the decree to oust Western ships and began re-armament of coastal defense. This step was taken right after governmental leaders heard about the outbreak outcome of the first Opium War in China. This policy change was also rejected when tax increase for reforms aroused many popular uprisings. Yet, it became clear that thought experiments (simulations, so to speak) for about 60 years would prove effective. In the early 1850s, thanks to Dutch news via Nagasaki, the report of a Japanese castaway and also official notification by the Dutch government, the Tokugawa cabinet became aware of the likelihood that a US envoy would visit Japan in the near future. Thus, then-chief minister Masahiro Abe had enough information and a range of foreign policies already prepared when the US envoy visited Japan in 1853.

Abe, having learned that the number and military strength of American ships exceeded Japan's defense capabilities, decided to loosen Japan's seclusion policy. He did so as a temporary measure, opening two minor ports to American ships without beginning trade or diplomatic relations. Then, he began re-armament by introducing Western military technologies, including war ships, and establishing academies to train students in Western languages while mobilizing men of ability to enter them from all over Japan. Next, the Tokugawa government totally altered its foreign policy three years after the first treaty with the US. With gradual steps in mind, Tokugawa cabinet concluded the first treaty of trade with Dutch and Russia in 1857 and eventually concluded an even more open treaty with the US and other Western countries; these steps led to constant diplomatic links with the West.

Because these quick changes meant the total abolition of seclusion policy, which had been in place for over 200 years, a strong opposition movement rose from within Japan. Yet despite this internal pressure, the Tokugawa government steadfastly refused to violate its treaties with the West, right up until it was overthrown. Also, the daimyos who initially advocated a war to expel the foreigners also came to support opening Japan after each tried fighting a short foreign war, an act which motivated and sped up domestic reforms. It was thanks to these conditions that Japan in the mid-nineteenth century was able to avoid major wars with the West. In short, the thought experiments of foreign policy for over 60 years prior to the actual moment of crisis proved to be very useful.

It is difficult for any people to prepare for future crises. It is also difficult to predict exactly when the issue will become serious even if people do anticipate the coming of such a crisis. The Japanese experience in the first half of the nineteenth century seems to offer some lessons: 1) We should not neglect pessimistic predictions, however strange they seem to be; 2) When people face unexpected situations, the minority's opinions will sometimes help them; 3) It is useful to run simulations on how to respond to crises, as the alternatives such early efforts provide can then be

adapted according to the changing situation in the present; and 4) If we encounter some strange phenomenon, it is necessary to collect concrete data. Late Tokugawa Japan barely escaped from the threat of Western invasion, using their small store of information about the wider world, but more information would certainly have been better. It would surely have been easier for the Tokugawa government to change its foreign policy in response to the looming crisis if it had earlier taken the step of loosening the seclusion policy to allow governmental officials, at the very least, to go abroad, as this would have greatly increased their ability to gather concrete data. It is also likely that, if there had been more information about the world available throughout Japanese society at that time, public opinion to support the opening policy might have emerged before the arrival of the US envoy.

Conclusion

We historians seldom present generalizations from the particular aspects of history we are studying. Yet we should do so! Our narrow research projects, if seen from the right perspective, can lead to interesting generalization that enrich our understanding of history and human society. These generalizations can offer valuable comparative insights and inform responses to present-day problems as well as help prepare us to deal with future crises. I will be happy if this lecture has contributed something, however elementary, to historical studies on the subject of the comparative study of revolutions and on the handling of long-term crises.

AAWH 2019 Osaka

Saturday, 5 January

9:30 am – 12:00 pm Panel Sessions 1

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
1.1	International Trade in East Asia during the 16th-Century Korea War	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
1.2	The Influence of Chinese Seals, Signatures and Kaō-Signatures on Official Documents in Pre-Modern Japan, Korea and Vietnam: A New Methodological Approach to East Asian Comparative History	Seminar Room 301
1.3	The Role of Universities in the Reform of High School-Level History Education	Seminar Room 703
1.4	Maritime Asia in Modern and Contemporary Eras	Seminar Room 304
1.5	Reconsidering the Teaching of Japanese History: Based on Recent Studies of Global History	Seminar Room 507
1.6	Knowledge Transfer and Translation in Eurasia in Early Modern and Modern Era	Seminar Room 406

1.1

International Trade in East Asia during the 16th-century Korea War

Chair: Gakusho NAKAJIMA (Kyushu University)

Discussant: Takeshi YAMAZAKI (Nara University)

Panel Abstract:

Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea in the 1590's triggered the largest-scale war in the world in the 16th century, involving Japan, Korea and the Ming China, with Japanese and Ming soldiers using firearms and cannons of Western origin. Bitter hostility and colossal casualty notwithstanding, the war enhanced long-distance trade of munitions, provisions and human beings across the world. Cultural and economic exchanges were also realized through special agents, and in a less comforting way: the trade of prisoners of war. This panel studies the international trade in East Asia during the war, examining how the trade was transformed by the war, and conversely, how the war was affected by the trade.

Firstly, Puk Wing-kin discusses on the roles played by the Ming merchants who went to Korea together with the Ming force and investigates on their operation of trade during the Korean War. Secondly, Nakajima Gakusho analyzes on the development of munition trade in the maritime East Asia during the war, with focusing on trade of saltpeter and lead. Thirdly, Oka Mihoko researches on the trading activity of a merchant in Sakai, who was the merchant-quartermaster of the Shimazu force in Hideyoshi's army, reveals that he was an informant in Manila supplying intelligence of the Korean War. Lastly, Lucio de Sousa investigates the structure on Korean slave trade by Portuguese merchants, during the war, reconstructs their slave trade network in the Asian Seas by analysing Portuguese archival sources.

Papers:

Ming-Korean Trade during the 16th-Century Korea War**Wing-kin PUK (Chinese University of Hong Kong)**

Maritime and overland trade between Ming and Korea existed long before the outbreak of the 16th-century Korea War. The war certainly disrupted the trade. On the other hand, the logistics for the Ming expedition force would have created urgent and great demand for the trade. What were the roles played by the Ming merchants who went to Korea together with the Ming force? Can we find out more details about the operation of the trade? This paper attempts to explore these issues.

Munition Trade between Japan and Maritime Asia before and after the Invasion of Korea**Gakusho NAKAJIMA (Kyushu University)**

During the Korea War, Japanese troops continuously and urgently demanded large amount of lead, saltpeter and sulfur for making bullets and gunpowder. Since lead and saltpeter were not available within Japan, they had to be imported from overseas. Until the early-16th century, inability of producing or importing saltpeter had hindered the spread of Chinese style firearms, which were widespread in East and Southeast Asia. As early as mid-16th century, however, accompanied the introduction of Western style matchlock guns, Japanese daimyos endeavored to acquire them through Portuguese merchants and Chinese smugglers. During the war, Japanese daimyos continued to rely on overseas trade for the supply of munition materials, enlisting the service of Portuguese and Chinese merchants from Macao, Siam and Fujian. On the other hand, while Japan continued to import natural saltpeter from Siam, the war boosted Japan's domestic production of industrial saltpeter, so much so that after the war, Japan became an exporter rather than importer of industrial saltpeter.

Sakai Merchants in the East Asian Maritime Trade in the 1590s

Mihoko OKA (University of Tokyo)

In this paper, I study the roles of Sakai merchant during the Korea War and their diversified strategies of survival. I focus on the trading activity of the Itamiyas, a mercantile family in Sakai in the 1590s. Itamiya Sukeshiro was the merchantquartermaster of the Satsuma (of the Shimazu family) force in Hideyoshi's army, and continued to serve the Satsuma family after the war. Meanwhile, Spanish archives reveal that an Itami Somi was an informant in Manila supplying intelligence of the Korea War and Hideyoshi's armies. With careful cross-examination, I conclude that Itamiya Sukeshiro and Itami Somi might be from the same Itamiya family, and their commercial networks were closely connected.

Korean Slave Trade in the Portuguese Maritime Networks

Lucio DE SOUSA (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

In 1590's, the arrival of thousands of Korean captives to Japan began to be noticeable throughout the region of Kyūshū and particularly in Nagasaki. From 1592 to 1598, the city had an incalculable number of displaced Koreans, and many thousands of them were sold to the Portuguese. The aim of this presentation is to shed light on the purchase and sale of Korean slaves and with all possible accuracy, to reconstruct the economic reality experienced by Europeans in the seas of China, as well as their networks of slaves from 1592 to 1598. I will focus this presentation in four main topics: the structure of Korean slave trade, the perpetual ballots system, the limited time ballots system and the Korean diaspora.

1.2

The Influence of Chinese Seals, Signatures and Kaō-Signatures on Official Documents in Pre-Modern Japan, Korea and Vietnam: A New Methodological Approach to East Asian Comparative History

Chair: Takashi HASUDA (Niigata University)

Discussant: Kazuma ITO (Osaka University)

Panel Abstract:

The purpose of this panel is to compare how East Asian countries surrounding China, namely Korea, Vietnam, Japan localized Chinese administrative models, focusing on the cultures of signatures and seals derived from China. Three historians specializing in the history of each country will clarify what kind of cultural transformation of Chinese document culture had been achieved in each country. Then the differences in cultural change in the three countries are to be clarified, while focusing on the impact of China, especially the Tang Dynasty and the Ming Dynasty, which had a great influence on neighboring countries.

Why are these countries to be compared from the perspective of diplomatics or paleography?

Because the situation of transmission of documents depend on that of each country, the study of them lead us to face to various aspects the sources give us. However, by setting historical science as the basis of comparison, it will become possible to make a new comparative history beyond the bias of the situation of transmission of historical materials.

In Japan, since many original documents before the 16th century remain, the modern historical study of Japan, established as a model of European historical studies, developed the diplomatics or paleography which studies the original documents. The historical studies in Japan emphasized the comparison with Europe, so there was little attitude in thinking about Japan oneself in the document culture of East Asia.

However, the development of Korean diplomatics or paleography urges Japanese scholar to reexamine Japanese old documents from an East Asia perspective. In Korea, original documents are fewer than in Japan, but in the last 30 years, systematic studies are developing.

In Vietnam, there are no historical documents before the 16th century, so the diplomatics or paleography have not developed. However, as a country adjoining the China, Vietnam has a commonality with Korea, and with Japan, in that it has established a small empire order independent from China. In considering the characteristics of Japan and Korea, Vietnam's data seems to play a major role. By focusing on a specific theme of document theory focusing on signatures and seals, comparative historical discussions with Japan and Korea will encourage the development of diplomatics or paleography in Vietnam. As a result, as a neighboring state of China, it will be possible to try new comparative history beyond the restriction of the remaining historical materials.

Through these attempts, the historical images of the new East Asia / Southeast Asia, which is neither a European model nor a regional image of the Chinese centers, is constructed from the concrete material level such as of the old documents, signatures, and seals.

Papers:

Seals and Kaō-Signatures in Medieval and Early Modern Japan

Yuki SATO (Rikkyo University)

This paper aims to introduce seals and kaō-signatures on official documents in medieval and early modern Japan: especially from the 11th century to the 17th century. In Japan, a lot of original documents before the 16th century remain, so that diplomatics or paleography developed, revealing many points of the shape and function of the seals and kaō-signatures on old documents. The ancient nation of Japan, modeled after Tang system, introduced a seal in the official document. An official document is basically issued by the government office: the red seal of that office was pressed on it. Ancient seals were square marks engraved with the names of the government office, linked to the centralized bureaucratic administration based on the documents. The seal was also the symbol of state rule.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, it was expanded to write kaō-signatures representing the name of the issuing authority or his chancellery officers, while seals were gradually disappeared. Kaō was a kind of stylized signature and was originally composed of some letters of the writer's name written in cursive. As a result of the bureaucracy being altered, the kaō-signatures of the heads of the government offices raised importance. Kaō-signatures guaranteed the reliability of that documents, along with the identity of the men who wrote them. In the end of the 12th century, the Kamakura shogunate (the warrior government) was established, but it did not make its own seal.

However, through pre-modern times, ancient seals remained. Even in the civil government under the Emperor, the use of kaō-signatures was generalized, but the seals were used in scenes related to national authority and state rite since ancient times. For example, the royal seal (nai-in) was stamped on the documents giving the rank (iki). In the old temple or shrine, the seal of the temple of shrine remained as ritual.

While such old seals remained, new types of seals were born and spread in the medieval age and early modern age. Unlike the ancient seals, the seals that the Sengoku Daimyo used in the 16th century were individual. Such individual seals were used as an alternative to kaō-signatures and eventually began to replace them. There were two kinds, red and black. The red sealed letters were issued by the unified government of Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and the Tokugawa shogunate. The overlord (shogun) of Tokugawa used his real name as the name of his seal. It wonders if the individual seals were used on official documents in other East Asian countries. If not, how was it born? It wonders if Japanese seals were not affected by Ming Dynasty like Korea and Vietnam. This paper aims to discuss such problems, focusing on some changes of kaō-signatures and new seals in the late of the middle ages.

Seals, Signatures and Kaō-Signatures in Premodern Korea

Yuya KAWANISHI (Niigata University)

This paper aims to consider the seals, signatures and kaō-signatures in the official documents of the Joseon Dynasty (14th-19th centuries).

In the Silla era (1st century BC-the 10th century AD), it seems that document administration was already widely done at that time, judging from that the advanced bureaucracy system seemed to be developed. In recent years, the discovery of a large number of document wooden letters also supports the speculation. However, details are unknown due to lack of historical materials.

In the Goryeo era (10th-14th centuries), the document system of Tang dynasty and Song dynasty were introduced, independently added arrangements to it, as the tool of the administrative control based on the documents. However, it is difficult to clarify the system and style of public documents in detail, because there are very few original documents.

In the Joseon Dynasty, various state systems gradually developed after the foundation of 1392. In the latter half of the 15th century, when the "Gyeongguk-Daejeon", the fundamental code of law, was completed, the state system and the document system of the Joseon dynasty was also consolidated.

The official document of the Joseon Dynasty can be divided into two types: the king's documents that the king issues entity and the official documents that the official issues entity.

A king's seal was printed on the king document. In the early days of founding, the Joseon used "Joseon-Gugwang-Ji-In" which was given as a testimonial from the Ming dynasty as a proof of the tributary(冊封), but later created the unique king seals.

The king seals were used properly according to the type of king documents. For example, "Simyeong-Ji-Bo" was used for documents on appointment of official, "Gwageo-Ji-Bo" for evidential documents of passing the civil service examination, and "Yuseo-Ji-Bo" for notification documents.

It was very rare for the king himself to write a signature or sign kaō-signatures in the king document. The signature was written in diplomatic documents against China and Japan. On the other hand, the kaō-signatures was written in Buddhist documents and letters. Park Junho, a leading researcher of signatures and kaō-signatures in South Korea, presumed that kaō-signatures of the king was written only in his personal documents.

The government official seals were printed on the official documents, which were also noted by kaō-signatures of the officials. In recent years, Park Junho clarified the use of signature and kaō-signatures. According to his study, there was clear distinction between use of signature and kaō-signatures. The official's signature (or signature + kaō-signatures) was written on the upward document and the official's kaō-signatures was written on the descending document. Such use of the signature and the kaō-signatures is said to have been influenced by Song Dynasty.

This paper will point out some topics of seal, signature and kaō-signatures of the Joseon Dynasty. in order to advance document comparison research in East Asia.

Seal and Signature in Official Document during Early Modern Vietnam: Its Format, Usage, and Characteristics.

Takashi HASUDA (Niigata University)

This paper aims to introduce usage and format of seals and signatures on official documents in Vietnam, then indicates some features for further comparative studies among East Asian countries. The diplomatics or the palaeography in the Vietnamese studies is still underdevelopment. For lack of original documents we can pursue analyses based on original documents only after the seventeenth century. On the contrary we can use a diversity of official documents after the seventeenth centuries such as the documents on diplomacy, appointment of official, village ritual, and military affair. Almost documents contain seal and signature.

Seals are divided into two: a) the seal of post / office (官印) and b) the seal of document type (lệnh chỉ, thị, phái etc.). The former contains red seal and black seal. On the latter, there are both seal and hand writing. Signatures are divided into three types: 1) signature, 2) the symbolized signature like the Kaō in Japan, and 3) the seal of the symbolized signature. The third type is found in Ming China. There is no signature in the imperial letter, the royal letter of the Trịnh kings, and letter of Nguyễn lords.

The type b) seal and the third type signature indicate that the development of the bureaucratic administration based on the documents generate the “seal-nization”. It is expected that the great impact of Ming style administration through twenty years domination of Ming China in the early fifteenth century, though there are few original documents in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is one of the further subjects.

1.3

The Role of Universities in the Reform of High School-Level History Education

Chair: Shiro MOMOKI (Osaka University)

Discussant: Lisa RIGGIN (California State University, Fullerton),

PHAM Quang Minh (VNU University of Social Sciences and Humanities)

Panel Abstract:

This panel will deal with recent situation of history teaching in East Asian countries, focusing on university entrance examination and teacher training programs, for both of which universities are responsible. The panel organizer has organized collaborations among East Asian and world scholars

regarding various issues related to the reform of history education of both high school and university levels, including panels in previous congresses of AAWH (“How to Design World History Learning/Teaching in the Era of Globalization, ICT, and Post Modernism” at Seoul in 2012; “Teaching Asian History to Students and Teachers within New Frameworks of Subjects and Curriculums” at Singapore in 2015). This time he would like to directly tackle the key issue of educational reform in East Asian countries that is university entrance examination, which have often determined the entire effect of high school education (and often university education as well). For instance, if the entrance examination of universities is still conservative, many teachers in Japan are afraid, the overall reform of Japanese teaching system (from primary to high schools) that was announced in 2016/7 by the government will be emasculated. However, the university side often blames conventional high school teachers who tend to block innovative forms and questions of entrance examination, without reflection to the fact that such teachers are also products of university education. It is apparent that this mutual shifting of responsibility can be solved only with an overall reform of teacher training enforced by universities, and it in turn requires a reform of the training of professional scholars who may teach at the university. For this reason, this panel will also discuss about teacher training as an indispensable condition of the reform of entrance examination. The chairperson (an authority of history education in Europe) and the commentator (a specialist in California, from where pioneering achievements often appear) will stimulate a wider comparison and discussion of the issues.

Papers:

College Entrance Examination Reform and History Teaching in China

YANG Biao (East China Normal University)

China has carried out the comprehensive reform of the examination and enrollment system in Universities since 2017. The pilot areas are Shanghai and Zhejiang province. After the general entrance examination, universities and colleges have given more power to recruit students, but they also cause a series of problems. For example, some colleges and universities may require candidates to choose specific compulsory subjects and may cause congestion of some subject examinations. In the daily teaching arrangement, the combination of students who choose elective subjects are different, that will cause problems of class scale. For the History itself, since its knowledge structure is complicated, so the discipline of history is difficult to attract good students to choose learning. On the other hand, a higher qualified student may have a better chance to get higher grades if the history subject is chosen to exam. The college entrance examination reform has also brought about reform in history teaching itself.

What are history teachers expected to do in the implementation of the top down curricular reforms and standardized tests in Korea?

YANG Hohwan (Seoul National University)

In Republic of Korea, political changes have often brought about curricular reforms, which included redefining educational aims, establishing and rearranging required or elective subjects, modifying credit units of subjects and reframing the organization and contents of textbooks. In almost all

curricular reforms, the subject of history, especially Korean history, finds itself at the center of public debate on the definition and articulation of national legitimacy and identity. Once the history curriculum was established, the Ministry of Education provided a guideline for textbook writing, which authors and publishers had to comply with for textbook authorization. History textbooks are a recognized and respectful source of knowledge and should adhere to a standard interpretation. Its actual contents serve as the reference and criteria to various test materials including the College Scholastic Ability Test, the Achievement Test, and the regular school exams. The importance of these tests further strengthens the dominant role and function of history textbooks in classroom teaching. In this whole process, teachers seem to be expected only to transmit authoritative textbook accounts to students. In my presentation, I will review the effects of past curricular reforms on classroom teaching practices. In doing so, I will explore some measures to be taken for promoting teachers' initiative of choosing and reconstructing teaching materials and contents.

Teaching History in Vietnam: Realities and Prospects

Pham Quang Minh (VNU University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hanoi, Vietnam)

This paper discusses the pedagogical landscape of History as a class subject in Vietnam's education system. It begins with an overview of how History is taught to Vietnamese students, including in school system, followed by a suggestion on how to improve the History learning and teaching experience of Vietnamese, as well as implications of such a new approach. The paper argues that, rather than teaching History as simply a chronicle of events in the past, a theme-based method that seeks to explore key aspects of world and Vietnamese History should be preferred and proposes such a method called the 3Cs Approach.

The Reform of Entrance Examinations and Teacher Trainings in Contemporary Japan

Shiro MOMOKI (Osaka University)

This paper introduces recent situation of educational reform in Japan including that of history, focusing on the discussions and trials regarding entrance examinations and teacher training programs. In 2016 the Ministry of Education announced an overall reform of the education of every level, emphasizing "active learning" by students instead of traditional didactic teaching by teachers. The majority of history teachers (and question makers of entrance exams) are required to improve their methods which stressed too much on memorizing historic events and names. At the same time, a reform of university entrance examination and a reorganization of teacher training programs were also proposed. In the case of high school education, a series of reorganization of subjects was also announced (which will be enforced from 2022). Regarding the subject area "Geography and History", for instance, new compulsory courses of "General Geography" and "General History" will start. In "General History", the history of modern and contemporary periods of the world including Japan will be taught. Because Japanese History and World History have been treated as separate subjects since the Meiji Period, "General History" will likely cause many difficulties in high school teaching, and in making questions of entrance examinations (their results in turn, may influence upon the entire effect of university teaching). Though discussion and trials have been made in positive direction in many places, the burden as a whole of current history education is no less light than that of English education, the latter being forced to follow global practical standards.

The Role and Function of Historiography in East Asian Civilization: Comparative Perspective**Masayuki SATO (University of Yamanashi)**

This panel is designed to question the role and function of historiography in various world settings in comparative perspective. The questions debated will initially be asked chiefly from the point of view of East Asian historiography.

The art of recalling the past has developed very differently in Europe and East Asia. Since the time of Herodotus and Thucydides, Western historiography has centered around history written by individuals for individuals, whereas East Asian historiography has pivoted on public, state-sponsored historiography since ancient times. The project of historiography in East Asia has traditionally been run by the state. “Official histories,” resulting in the effort to compile relevant documents and historical materials, constitute the core of East Asian historiography. Such a project represented an important, even the primary, cultural undertaking of East Asian states. This stands in stark contrast to the cultures of Europe, India, the Islamic World, Africa and the Americas, where states rarely sponsored histories, nor sought to fix their own authority and cultural power through the medium of history.

Historical writing in East Asia--comprising China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam--was usually based on the Confucian philosophical premise that historical facts constituted the only certain and immutable reality, because people could not alter that which had already occurred. Thanks to this tenet, history became the axis of East Asian civilizations. History set itself apart from political affairs, stood above administrative matters, and deemed itself the basis for all human judgment. Therefore, East Asian traditions required historiographical objectivity, which was already fostered in China before the Christian era.

With the introduction of Western culture and historiography to East Asia after the mid-nineteenth century, history was re-institutionalized. It first became the concern of modern governmental bureaus and was then transferred to the newly established universities. Thereafter East Asian historiography evolved largely along the lines of “modern” historiography and pursued the same basic methodological and theoretical goals as the rest of the world. As historiography underwent evermore professionalization and specialization, East Asia was also drawn into the same whirlpool.

Today individual historians, working outside the framework of the state, are the main producers of “history,” which they publish in their research papers and books.

Whereas in the West the “professionalization” of historical research as an independent academic field has represented a great achievement for what had until then been an institutionally neglected discipline, in East Asia the introduction of modern Western historical research has heralded the end of the prestigious traditional East Asian historiography that aimed at a comprehensive description of the entire world. Nevertheless, many historians are also involved in publicly sponsored historiographical projects. Countless university-based Japanese historians, for example, serve on the editorial boards of local and prefectural historical undertakings. We can thus observe the continuing coexistence of the two differing traditions of historical study. To put it differently, East Asian historians simultaneously inhabit two worlds of historiography: one a world of Rankean (or

traditional East Asian) factual objectivity; and another of post-Rankean interpretations of varied and opposing voices.

The convener of this conference panel, who bases himself in the historiographical experience of East Asia, and who will present the keynote paper, plans to invite those historians who are interested in the role and function of historiography in various world settings in comparative perspective.

1.4 Maritime Asia in Modern and Contemporary Eras

Chair: Yasuko-Hassall KOBAYASHI (Osaka University)

Panel Abstract:

As a result of external pressures presented by the inroads of Western colonialism / imperialism and internal dynamics from within the region, Maritime Asia, both as the “geo-bodies” of the different Asian political and cultural entities and the thalassic and oceanic spaces and networks created through the movement of people, commodities, and ideas, underwent significant transformations in the 19th and 20th centuries. How were these forces intertwined in the reshaping of Maritime Asia? What were the main mechanisms and who were the key players in the process of this transformation? What was the role of national, regional, and transnational networks in connecting and sustaining Maritime Asia? The papers in this section will critically and comparatively address these questions from both temporal and spatial perspectives.

Papers:

The Origin and Evolution of Maritime Asia’s Institutions: ASEAN and ASPAC during 1960s/70s

Kei KOGA (Nanyang Technological University)

Multilateral regional institutions led by regional states in the Maritime Asia—covering from the Western Pacific to the Eastern Indian Ocean—were scarce in the post-war era. However, there was an exception, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Since its inception in 1967, ASEAN has been the dominant multilateral institution in the region. In the post-Cold War period, ASEAN expanded its membership, comprising 10 Southeast Asian states while proliferating its own regional institutions, including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN+3, East Asia Summit (EAS), ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting (ADMM), and ADMM-Plus. Many scholars therefore

consider ASEAN the most important multilateral institutions in the Maritime Asia, designing and promoting regional rules and norms. A certain question arises: why has ASEAN been able to lay a solid institutional foundation in Maritime Asia and become the main multilateral framework?

In fact, there was an alternative institution to ASEAN—the Asia Pacific Council (ASPAC). ASPAC, the less known regional institution led by regional states, including Australia, Japan,

Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Vietnam, Thailand, the Republic of Korea (ROK), and the Republic of China (ROC). Although the institution was considered an anti-communist institution, those members including Australia and Japan avoided being stigmatized as such, and promoted political dialogues as well as functional cooperation. However, the conventional wisdom says that when Asia's strategic environment changed due to the People's Republic of China's accession to the United Nations in 1971 and the 1972 Sino-US rapprochement, it became difficult for the ASPAC member states to sustain the institution because the members included ROC, which was replaced with PRC in the United Nations. ASPAC eventually lost momentum due to Malaysia's decision to withdraw its membership in 1973 and collapsed in 1975.

This paper analyses the reasons of ASEAN's survival and ASPAC's collapse by comparing the origin and evolution of ASEAN and ASPAC during the 1960s and 1970s. Its central argument is that a structural factor—a change in regional distribution of power caused by US and UK withdrawals and the intensification of Sino-Soviet rivalry—created a condition under which both ASEAN and ASPAC required institutional changes for their survival. But, it is ultimately an agent factor, namely Malaysia, that played a decisive role in ASEAN's institutional survival and ASPAC's collapse by promoting the idea of “regional neutrality” in ASEAN and withdrawing from ASPAC. This illustrates the importance of ideas to sustain regional institutions.

China Engages Maritime Asia: The Belt and Road Initiative in an Historical and Institutional Perspective

LIU Hong (Nanyang Technological University)

Since it was first proposed by Xi Jinping in the late 2013, the Belt and Road Initiative has constituted China's defining strategy in engaging with the outside world, especially in the 70-plus countries alongside the two routes connecting China with Europe and Africa. As the main pathway for the Maritime Silk Road and China's major economic partner, Southeast Asia--where the great majority of the Chinese diaspora reside--occupies a significant place in the new initiative. In view of China's growing clouts and the fact that economic relations are inevitably intertwined with the nations' social transformations, there are important ramifications with the implementation of the BRI for the region and its Chinese diaspora. There are a number of new institutions such as AIIB have been established to support the BRI. How should one interpret the BRI in an historical and institutional perspective? As one of the most economically influential groups in the region, how do the Chinese communities react to the opportunities and challenges associated with the BRI? What are the roles of ethnic capital, nationalism and transnationalism in the unfolding of the BRI? How do Chinese diaspora confront with the seemingly conflicting logics between transnational mobility and national identifications? What are the theoretical implications, if any, of the Southeast Asian experiences for deciphering new patterns of Chinese transnationalism and diaspora engagement? This paper attempts to provide some preliminary answers to these questions.

Maritime port cities as an arena of transnational revolutionary underground in Asia: comparative study of Yokohama/Tokyo, Shanghai, and Canton in early 20th century

Takeshi ONIMURA (Kyushu University)

From mid-19th century onwards, the world was increasingly connected by modern modes of transportation and technologies of communication, such as railways, steamships, modern banking systems, the telegraph, and so on. In East and Southeast Asia, the highest degrees of connectivity were found in and between the capitals or maritime port cities, including Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, Shanghai, Canton, Hong Kong, Manila, Saigon, Bangkok, Singapore, Batavia, and Rangoon. These cities were linked by regular steamship, rail, and telegraph services, and covered with networks extending the flows of people, commodities, money, and information. That era of deepening regional connectivity and flows in East and Southeast Asia corresponded with the peak of political revolutionary movements grounded in nationalism, communism, religion, or anti-colonialism. Colonial and national governments regarded these movements as threats, and closely monitored and severely suppressed political activists. Under such circumstances, many revolutionaries were forced into exile by arrest and deportation or in order to escape detention. Exiled activists regularly moved between different cities connected by modern transportation and communication technologies. This paper offers a comparative study of three particular cities, Yokohama/Tokyo, Shanghai, and Canton, in which these exiled revolutionaries based or pursued their political movements, and explains why these cities were chosen for their arenas of revolutionary activity. These three were the major maritime cities of Asia, serving as national or colonial state capitals or the leading trading centers in the region. Besides the advantage of having regular services of steamships and communication technologies at hand, the revolutionaries had differing reasons for selecting cities for their revolutionary headquarters. For example, Sun Yat-sen frequently visited and stayed in Yokohama/Tokyo because of his links with Japanese politicians, entrepreneurs, and supporters. On the other hand, Shanghai was the preferred city of underground revolutionaries, such as Tan Malaka, because Shanghai was divided into three municipalities. In short, a close understanding of the relations between cities and revolutionary movements requires a careful analysis of the political, economic, social, and historical background and character of the cities themselves.

War and knowledge mobilities: The demand for Japanese Language in Australia during the Pacific War

Yasuko Hassall KOBAYASHI (Osaka University)

Wars often destroy our lives physically and psychologically. But at the same time, wars also create different flows (mobilities) of knowledge, people and capital. Through these mobilities, different social spaces are created which would not have happened otherwise. This presentation pays attention to how the value of Japanese language shifted in Australia during WWII.

The primary aim of the Pacific War for the Allied forces was to conquer the Empire of Japan. This required the gathering of information regarding the Japanese Imperial Army, a difficult task taken on by the Allied military intelligence. It is well known that the US military force created an intelligence sector, Allied Translation and Interpretation Service (ATIS), to gather information about Japan and also to better understand the incomprehensible psychology of Japanese soldiers.

Though it is not much mentioned, this important military intelligence agency, ATIS, was in fact set up in Australia, in Melbourne (and later on it moved to Brisbane), when General Douglas

MacArthur moved to Australia from the Philippines. It began with a handful of Australian ‘linguists’. How did they obtain Japanese personnel who had a command of Japanese, so they could read the language and obtain key information? Australia did provide a few Japanese language courses for Australian students at University level before WWII, but such courses were not sufficient to provide enough human capital. Consequently, Australian military intelligence was forced to scavenge for personnel with a sufficient command of the Japanese language. Ironically, the value of the enemy’s language saw its height during WWII, and Australia also obtained much information about the enemy country Japan, through their interrogations of Japanese Prisoners of War.

Although Australia is often left out of the narrative of WWII in Japan, the two nations were in fact connected through flows of knowledge and people beyond Asia. This presentation will focus on this overlooked history to reconsider the space of Asia and the Pacific during WWII. And by doing so, it will also show that mobilities/flows of knowledge create different spaces from those of state relations.

1.5

Reconsidering the Teaching of Japanese History: Based on Recent Studies of Global History

Chair: KIM Minkyu (Northeast Asia Foundation)

Panel Abstract:

This panel aims to reconsider the teaching of Japanese history from the perspective of teaching content. This will be achieved based on studies of global history centered on Asia, which focus on the movement and exchange of people and objects. These studies have developed remarkably in recent years. In addition, this panel focuses the pre-modern era.

Regarding the modern era (from around the mid-19th century in Japan, Matthew Perry’s visit to Japan, to the present), the joining of global and Japanese history has been discussed both in historical research and high school education, because of the close relationship between Japan and foreign countries. However, Japan before modernization is not currently that popular as a theme, especially in high school education, for many reasons.

The main reason is that research on pre-modern Japanese history emphasizes internal development. Consequently, few researchers focus on pre-modern Japan’s relations with foreign countries, and these highlight a direct relationship such as for war and trade. Furthermore, many researchers interested in “domestic” affairs have been too busy to pay attention to foreign history and Japan’s foreign relationships, because there are many “raw” historical materials such as old documents, records, and annals.

In addition, it seems that the tendency of such research is reflected in Japanese history textbooks and actual history classes.

If so, now that studies of global history centered on Asia have accumulated for early modern history, the content of Japanese history education will need to be reconsidered based on these.

In this panel, three high school teachers, who majored in Japanese history at undergraduate and graduate school, present their findings.

Nobuyuki Onishi, a teacher at Chuo University Suginami High School, where students are guaranteed to enter the affiliated university without an entrance examination, discusses the textbooks on Japanese history and world history, which is known as foreign history. For a long time, he has taught history through an experimental method, without necessarily getting caught up in the university entrance examination. His presentation takes advantage of this experience.

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan sets “the Course of Study” as the basis of the school curriculum. Textbooks on Japanese history are produced in accordance with these guidelines, while world history textbooks are relatively freely created without being held to the periodization of “the Course of Study.” As a result, inconsistencies remain in terms of periodization and historical images.

In the next revision of the “Course of Study,” Japanese and world history, which are currently separated, will be united under a new subject, “Comprehensive history.” This is regarded as a fundamental subject of history learning in high school, and will be treated as a prerequisite. Therefore, it is necessary to unite the image provided by these subjects to students.

Next, **Shigeyuki Yokoi**, a teacher at Kaijo Junior and Senior High School, will focus on early modern Japan and Islamic regions in his presentation.

Kaijo Junior and Senior High School is located in Tokyo, and many students who graduate from here advance to renowned universities including the University of Tokyo.

His presentation focuses on the ebb and flow of the “Moor interpreters” in Nagasaki. It reveals the linkage between Japanese society in the early modern age and Islamic communities in the Kingdom of Siam, the Mughal Empire and Safavid Persia.

Furthermore, he emphasizes that the VOC (De Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, Dutch East India Company) ships and “Tosen”, Chinese junk ships bound for Nagasaki from across Southeast Asia introduced calico (“sarasa” in Japanese) and carpets to Japanese society.

These textiles were welcomed by the common people in Japan, and are still showcased in the “Gion Festival” in present-day Kyoto.

Certainly, these facts can be good teaching material through which to reconsider the position of Japanese culture, which is often considered as unique and isolated from other cultures of the world.

The presentation also shows that this subject matter is suitable for teaching in both Japanese and world history subjects.

Finally, **Shinzo Kobayashi**, a teacher at Rokko Junior and Senior High School in the Kansai region, will discuss early modern Japanese history and “traditional” nationalism such as “Koukoku Shikan”, emperor-centered historiography in the Meiji period.

Research on Japanese history has made great progress after World War II, most of which is reflected in the textbooks for high school students. Regrettably, we still find the vestiges of prewar times in the historical views included in many sections of these textbooks. Descriptions based on Kokoku Shikan have not been excluded, and theories rejected years ago still appear both in the textbooks and university entrance examinations. The situation is serious to the extent that many teachers teach these incorrect historical views as facts. Furthermore, the students taught these views unconsciously consider Japanese history as special, unlike that of other countries, which hinders a global understanding of history.

The purpose of this report is to share the status of Japanese history education, and search for a way to resolve these issues.

These three presentations provide us with an opportunity to deepen the discussion on the Japanese history education, our national history suitable for the era of globalization.

1.6

Knowledge Transfer and Translation in Eurasia in Early Modern and Modern Era

Chair: SUN Laichen (California State University, Fullerton)

Papers:

Flow of Languages: Early Modern Translation in Eastern Eurasia from a Global Perspective (c. 1400-1800)

SUN Laichen (California State University, Fullerton)

In this research I combine three things: translation history, early modern era, and global history. I examine translation of the early modern (circa 1400-1800) Eastern Eurasia (East and Southeast Asia) from a global perspective. Different from the research on translation history by Translation Studies scholars and nation-based historians, I emphasize a broader approach and a global perspective. The former treats the eastern part of the Eurasian continent as a whole, while the latter not only compares Eastern Eurasia to other parts of Eurasia, but also study translation as an important force in civilizational or cultural exchanges. More than just asking questions like “what were and who translated?” I concern with the impact of translation on state formation (specifically social and economic development). Inspired by Joseph Fletcher’s “quickening tempo” of the early modern era, my another goal is try to discern and define an “early modern translation” by demonstrating the volume, speed, and content of translation of the early modern era in Eastern Eurasia (and in the whole world) increased or expanded dramatically comparing to the past eras. Knowledge transfer

across the world accelerated. Last but not least, regarding the driving forces behind the expanded early modern translation, in addition to emphasizing the European drive in Asia, I equally stress Asian dynamism which was independent of European expansionism but has received little attention: the vernacularization (inventing new scripts such the kana in Japan, nom in Vietnam, hangul in Korea, etc.) and/or multilingualism across Eastern Eurasia (which urges us to think about a “linguistic early modernity”). In other words, besides the familiar translations between Western-Asian languages, there were also the understudied translations among Asian languages (inter- and intra-language translations). All in all, I argue that early modern translation is indispensable for understanding early modern Eastern Eurasian history.

Making the Image of Beijing in the Nineteenth Century: Bichurin's Plan of Peking and its Derivatives

ZHENG Cheng (Chinese Academy of Sciences)

N. Y. Bichurin, the founding father of Russian sinology, spent fourteen years in Beijing from 1808 to 1821 as a member of the Russian ecclesiastical mission. Besides many important works, in 1829 Bichurin published a Russian pamphlet *Description of Peking*, attached with a plan of the capital surveyed in 1817. The text is mainly a selected translation from a 1788 Chinese work, while the plan is a new one prepared by Bichurin himself. This plan is large and colorful, with bilingual notes in Russian and French, providing an unprecedented detailed printed map of Beijing for Europe. Soon after, it replaced the old plans of Peking by French Jesuits published in the mid-eighteenth century. In England and France, Bichurin's plan was reprinted as military map in the war against China, and also became quite popular in books and atlases. Only until early twentieth century, it was replaced by new ones drawn by surveying bureaus of Foreign army and Chinese government. This paper explores the making and influence of Bichurin's plan. The map is heavily based on Chinese text, not a result of serious surveying, even misrepresenting part of the outline of the city wall. Although there are better Chinese maps in the same period, they are not available, or very rare in market. A series of colored plan of Peking, drawn by Beijing's painting shop after 1861, always known as Chinese manuscript ones, are actually derived from Bichurin's plan. One of the earliest Chinese lithography map of Beijing, "Detailed plan of the capital", which was reprinted five times from 1905-1911, is in fact a revised edition of Bichurin's. The transfer and transformation of the image of Beijing happened between Western and Chinese materials time and again.

The Formation of Modern “Nation-State” and “Identity”: The Translation and Application of the Overseas Frontier and Boundary Terms by the Modern China’s Intellectual Circles.

YUAN Jian (Minzu University of China)

In contemporary time, the issue of “nation-state” and “identity” had been one of the key questions not only in China but also in other countries. In the modern time, the discourse of “nation-state” and “identity” had experienced a process of the conflict, adjustment and compromise between the indigenous knowledge and the overseas knowledge. It is a long process which combined acted by the specific events and the translation of the overseas discourse. In the framework of China’s traditional “Tianxia” (land under heaven) narrative, the inner space and outer boundary had the self-consistent in this kind of “old world or China”, China’s traditional discourse of the frontier and boundary was

formed on this basis. With the changing of the modern world situation, the overseas frontier and boundary terms were translated into China by the intellectual circles gradually, and used in the related narrative of China's inner space and identity. This paper will trace some cases of the

translation to analysis the influence of the translation which took in the formation of the modern "nation-state" and "identity".

A Study of the Books Translated from Chinese Character to Romanized Vietnamese (Chu Quoc Ngu) in the 20th Century

Ye Shaofei (Associate Professor, Honghe College, Yunnan)

In the last of 19th century Vietnam became colony of French, and the colony government's officers promoted the Romanized Vietnamese and the language of French in Vietnam, and attempted to replace the Chinese characters and Nom characters with the new writing system. At the beginning of 20th century, the Vietnamese intellectuals accepted the Romanized Vietnamese and spread it to all people at Vietnam. Therefore, the intellectuals began to translate the classic books of Vietnam to the Romanized Vietnamese. Because the most intellectuals had received the traditional education and could read the ancient historical books in Chinese Characters and Nom Characters, they didn't translate the ancient historical books to Latin Vietnamese at the beginning. After tens of years, the young generation educated in Romanized Vietnamese and couldn't read the Chinese Characters and Nom anymore. Since to the middle of 20th century the translator named Mac Bao Than was the first to translate The Great history books of Vietnam(Dai Viet su ky toan thu) to the Romanized Character. In 1954, Vietnam was separated into North and South and set out to organize the translation of the ancient historical books to Romanized Vietnamese. The project included many famous and important historic books of Vietnam and lay down the foundation of Vietnamese civilization for people.

However, the translated historical books of Latin Vietnamese were the understanding of the translators, and the different translators understand the words and sentences differently too. It's easy for the common readers to understand the idea, but the researchers couldn't rely on the translations and should read the traditional character books. The researchers must study the books by Chinese character and Nom and give opinions to the translation project by Romanized Vietnamese.

Saturday, 5 January

13:30 am – 15:30 pm Panel Sessions 2

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
2.1	India and Modern World	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
2.2	Inter-regional Connections	Seminar Room 507
2.3	Through Japan to the World	Seminar Room 406
2.4	East Asian Historiography	Seminar Room 301
2.5	Different Perspectives to World History	Seminar Room 201

AAWH 2019 Osaka

2.1 India and Modern World

Chair: Shigeru AKITA (Osaka University)

Papers:

The Industrializing Process of Cotton and Chemical Industries in East Asia in the Inter-war Period

Shin TAMAMURA (Osaka University)

When we pay attention to the rise of native enterprises, or industrialization, in the cotton and chemical industries of Japan, India and China during the inter-war period, even at the time of protectionism, the trade between Britain and Asia was still so dynamic not as Cain & Hopkins insisted. It was led by commercial merit rather than an intolerant nationalism. On the other hand, at the same time, both empires, Britain and Japan, had experienced the shift or transferring from old industry to new one but there laid the problem of 'double structure' in their society. As a result of this problem and the British policy of 'empire development', multi-nationalized Japanese cotton firms (zaika-bo) and British chemical firm (ICI) sought East Asian market as 'the last resort'. In the aftermath of the Great depression, free trade among four countries bent to bilateral trade, or 'managed economy'. Government intervention to cotton and chemical industry based on the aim of financial or political issue by each country killed the self-dynamism of the two industries in 1937. Finally, they were trapped into war-economy.

The Global History of Nationalism

Mridula MUKHERJEE (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

In this paper, I contrast nationalism as it emerged in Europe with the anti-imperialist nationalism that emerges in the colonies, particularly India.

In Europe the political process of the emergence of nations and nationalism started, in an embryonic way in the middle of the seventeenth century with the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 which recognized national sovereignty. Nations emerged as a new political state formation to take the place of the earlier empires. This process took about two centuries.

A particular feature in Europe was that almost right from the beginning, nationalism gets tied up with colonial agendas. Oliver Cromwell, having defeated Charles I, conquered Ireland in the name of the British Parliament, almost immediately after the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, and let loose unspeakable atrocities on the Irish. This speeds up in the eighteenth century. India, for example, is conquered from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. So the nationalism that emerges in Europe has from the very beginning also an aggressive and aggrandising aspect to it. From mid and

late nineteenth century onwards, it becomes more and more reactionary, and in the twentieth century we get it in its worst form of Fascism and Nazism.

The Bombs in Beijing and Delhi: The Global Spread of Bomb-Making Technology and the Revolutionary Terrorism in Modern China and India

CAO Yin (Tsinghua University)

In early 1910, Chinese revolutionaries attempted to assassinate the regent of the Qing Empire by planting a bomb near his residence in Beijing. Two years later, an explosive of a similar type was used by Indian revolutionaries in their attempted assassination of the viceroy of the British Raj in Delhi. Through investigating these two seemingly irrelevant events, this article demonstrates that radical political activists in both China and India acquired their explosive-making skills from diasporic Russian revolutionaries in Japan and France respectively after the failure of the 1905 Russian Revolution. Although both assassination attempts failed and have largely been marginalized in the national narratives in both countries, the transnational connections between Chinese and Indian revolutionaries in their pursuit of learning the portable dynamite technology overseas sheds light on how modern Chinese and Indian history can be analyzed in a single framework. By staging Chinese and Indian revolutionary terrorism in the context of the cross-boundary circulation of dissident ideologies and technologies in the early twentieth century, this article not only reexamines the marginalized aspects of China's 1911 Revolution and the Indian Nationalist Revolution, but also tries to uncover the correlation between them. In other words, this research aims to launch an experiment in writing a shared history of modern China and India from marginalized perspectives.

2.2 Inter-regional Connections

Chair: Shingo MINAMIZUKA (Hosei University)

Papers:

The Interregional Trade between Latin America and the Caribbean and Asia-Pacific: The East Asian Perspectives

CHAOWARIT Chaowsangrat (Thammasat University)

The economic success of the East Asian region in the past decades shows that regional cooperation and integration, supported by both open trade and regional cooperation, is a key factor for sustained growth and development. East Asia's phenomenal rise makes it a model for economic success in developing economies. It also showed that closed cooperation with neighbours could be beneficial to member economies as regional integration facilitates specialization and economies of scale. Regional cooperation is also a critical force in addressing common issues such as energy security, food

security, environmental degradation, and human security issues, among others.

At the national level, regional cooperation helped lock-in reforms within domestic economies that led to the creation of a coherent and efficient environment for doing business within that economy. At the global level, regional cooperation helped Asia, especially its developing economy members, secure a role in decision making for various issues relating to the region's economy and politics. In a lot of ways, Asia's outstanding economic performance can be attributed to its pursuit of open and flexible regionalism.

While regional cooperation had been explored as early as the 1960s and regional economic integration initiatives had been initiated by ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), which led to the signing of the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) in 1992, East Asia-wide cooperation was not seriously pursued in the region until after the Asian financial crisis in 1997. The Asian financial crisis prompted negotiations for bilateral and plurilateral agreements in the East Asian region and led to the creation of institutions for regional cooperation, particularly the ASEAN+1, ASEAN+3 (APT), and the East Asian Summit (EAS). These regional cooperation initiatives helped spur trade, investment, and financial reforms that deepened Asia's growing and wide-ranging regional links. Most recently, the scope and depth of cooperation had deepened to include cooperation to manage regional risks and addressing common issues. Area-wise, the scope had also expanded to include economies outside of East Asia, as shown by the negotiations for the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), an RTA that involves countries in East Asia and India, with potential for further expansion in South Asia.

Latin American and the Caribbean, on the other hand, did not display the same success as the Asia and the Pacific Region in integrating their economies and securing a stronger role in the global economy. Unlike the Asia and Pacific region, and in particular East Asia, the Latin America and Caribbean region had not shown the same level of enthusiasm for open regionalism and had not been aggressive enough in looking for third markets. Latin American markets had been fragmented and the business environment needs to be improved to make it more attractive for foreign investment (FDI).

The idea of linking the dynamic Asia and Pacific region with Latin America and the Caribbean had been explored in various fora. The main challenge for establishing this connection is how to strengthen trade and investment links between the two regions. Lack of coherent and sustained policies, poor infrastructure support, and high transportation costs have also dampened previous attempts to integrate the two regions.

There are many opportunities for growth and development between the two regions once appropriate policies and support systems are in place. Efforts to expand trans-regional cooperation would not only be valuable for improving the regional value chain, but could also help enhance innovation and competitiveness, especially for Latin America and the Caribbean. Interregional cooperation between the two regions would be very challenging since they are divided by substantial geographic distance and are characterized by profound disparities in economics, politics, culture, and

history. Nonetheless, it is certainly worth considering, given the mutual benefits that can be derived from this cooperation.

This article explores the potential for regional cooperation between the Asia and Pacific region and Latin America and the Caribbean from the perspective of East Asia. The first section provides a brief background on changing patterns of regionalism. The second section gives a background on Asian regionalism and the factors for its success. The third section provides the conclusion and some recommendations to strengthen partnership and cooperation between the two regions.

Asia and Euro-American and Russian Civilisations

María Alicia LACAL MOLINA (University Complutense of Madrid)

On June 18 1908, the Kasato Maru, a cargo/passenger ship arrived to the Port of Santos. It brought the first official group of Japanese immigrants to Brazil who arrived covered under the Tratado de Amizade, Comércio e Navegação (Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation).

It was not the first time that the Kasato Maru (笠戸丸) was carrying immigrants, previously it had been used to transport Japanese immigrants to Hawaii in 1906 and to Peru and Mexico in 1907, but this trip was the most important. The arrival of Kasato Maru meant a new period between two emerging powers of the time (Imperialist Japan and emergent Brazil).

Thus, from 1908 Japanese immigrants began to arrive to Brazilian territory, forming a migratory movement that would lead Brazilian society to consider important changes in the search for its identity as a young nation (the Independence of Brazil was declared on September 7th 1822).

These changes were due to the fact that, from the beginning, the introduction of the Japanese element in the Brazilian society drew its attention. So far, Asian immigration was an immigration generating a whole series of arguments against and in favor but whose presence did not cease up to be more than a simple minority. However, the Kasato Maru was the beginning of an immigration that at present, together with its descendants reaches 1.9 million individuals throughout the Brazilian territory (of a population of 211,561,166).

As well as the immigrant community started to grow, also grew the controversy over the need for the Brazilian government, in mutual agreement with the Japanese one, to sponsor this immigration. On the one hand, for some prominent citizens this immigration was necessary since it came to replace the labor that the European immigration had not been able to completely replace: the black slaves. In this way, the shortcomings of the Brazilian economy based on the export of rubber were met.

However, for others, this immigration was detrimental for the creation of a Brazilian society based on eugenic principles and whose structure had already been strongly altered by the existence of a large group of liberated black slaves. That is that the presence of the Asian element made difficult the attainment of what was so called branqueamento social (social whitening).

In fact, at the same time that the number of Japanese immigrants in Brazilian territory was bigger, this controversy grew up to become a relevant state issue once the United States entered World War II in 1941. In 1941 Brazil, as an ally of the United States, declared war on Japan, Germany and Italy (when it allowed US forces to use bases to patrol the South Atlantic). As a result, the Brazilian government had to take a series of measures against every Japanese subject in Brazilian territory, among them:

- displacement of coastal populations inland
- closing of Japanese media in Brazilian territory
- closure of Japanese schools
- prohibition of meetings or any other manifestation within the Japanese community

In 1941, fate seemed to be right for those who had campaigned against Japanese immigration for years, despite the fact that Japanese subjects had been exemplary immigrants all along (they founded colonies, founded cooperatives, set up a system of aid to the immigration, they fomented the Brazil-Japan commercial relations, they strengthened the relations nipo-brazilians,...).

Nevertheless, and after the end of the war, with the resumption of diplomatic relations, the picture varied greatly. It began a new wave of Japanese immigrants more prepared than the previous one which came fleeing from a country devastated politically and economically. And despite the differences between them, the Japanese community ended up integrating into Brazilian society.

This document aims to analyze the whole process and especially how an immigrant community, at first as insignificant as the Japanese, ended up being a participant in the destruction of an ideal, the eugenics, that had become rooted in Brazilian society and politics.

In the same way, this document goes into Asia-America relations when analyzing one of the most significant Japanese communities. In fact and despite the fact that Japanese immigration to Brazil is later than other areas of the continent, it is currently one of the most numerous in America (despite the earliest immigration to Peru or Hawaii) and it is characterized by its durability.

It is important to mention that this immigration, in addition to contributing to the destruction of anachronistic ideals contributed to something that transcends itself, the creation of a Brazilian identity based on the multiculturalism with which today's Brazilians feel strongly identified.

Another aspect that will highlight this document will be the various contributions that the Nikkei community has contributed during more than one hundred years of presence in Brazil. These contributions are characterized by transcending the political sphere and reaching other areas, especially the primary sector. In fact it should be noted that the Nikkei community introduced various agricultural crops in addition to perfecting agricultural and fishing techniques. Also due to this community is the initial installation of urban green belts in charge of supplying the big cities, being Sao Paulo the most important of them.

On the other hand, over time, the Nikkei community became integrated and their contributions have become evident in other economic sectors apart from the primary. But in addition, the Nikkei community is now present in all areas and is a bridge between Brazilian culture and Japanese culture. That is to say, they are a living example of that Asia has influenced and influences positively in the evolution of the American continent.

White Plague and American Society in the Early 20th Century

Seohyung KIM (Inha University)

It was Black Death that has had fatal effect to European in 1340s. The first Black Death broke out in China in 1330s and it spread so rapidly within the Mongol empire. Generally, plague means black plague or Black Death, people called tuberculosis as White plague, because most of the patients appeared pale. Tuberculosis is a disease, which happened tuberculosis germs have passed through the lung and become inflamed. The tuberculosis bacillus was founded by German bacteriologist, Robert Koch in 1882, but there were few effective medicines, as a result, it was the most frequent infectious disease in the United States during the early 20th century.

Many tuberculosis patients were isolated in sanatorium, but the mortality was so high, it was called as “waiting rooms for death” at that time. More than 110,000 people died from tuberculosis per year in the early 20th century. The outbreak and high mortality of tuberculosis was industrialization, because poor workers had mal-nutritious meals and lived unsanitary houses. As the mortality of tuberculosis increased in the United States, Virginia formed Anti-Tuberculosis League in 1908 and established the first state-supported sanatorium, Catawba Sanatorium in 1909. With this experience, Virginia played an important role to control the one of the fatal infectious diseases, tuberculosis and the role of the Federal government also expanded.

In this article, I will try to examine the cause and fatal effect of tuberculosis in the early 20th century in the United States and search various measures and policies of state government and the Federal government by seeking their interconnections. This analysis can provide important foundation to look at the conflicts and cooperation between state and the federal government of bio-power and interactions between human beings and the environments.

Contesting Memories of the Marco-Polo Bridge Incident in China and Japan: Mass Mobilization, Propaganda and the Perception of the War

ZOU Can (Osaka University)

On July 7, 1937, a local skirmish between the Japanese and the Chinese troops had soon escalated into a total war in East Asia. During their uneasy confrontation with their enemies, China and Japan had respectively developed their own rhetoric of war propaganda to mobilize the folk to embrace the war. For crucial dates that signify significant turning points of the war are usually bestowed special values in wartime propaganda, the Memorial Day activities on 7 July was naturally made the most representative case to understand how people's various kinds of perception of the war have been shaped by ultra-nationalist propaganda. By shedding light on the respective memorial activities of the July 7 in different places, including Mainland Japan, Japanese occupied areas in China, areas under the Nationalists government, and the Communist areas, this paper analyzes the different ruling parties' standpoints and their purposes of propaganda. In Japan, the Memorial Day activities on 7 July served to legitimate the country's "Holy War", in Japanese occupied areas the enhancement of security and counter-propaganda against the two local Chinese administrations. On the other hand, the Nationalist Party sought to dominate the memorial activities in order to demonstrate its authority as the central government and to ask for aid from the international community. The CCP saw this special Memorial Day as an opportunity to demonstrate its legitimacy as an anti-Japanese force and instigate the folk's chauvinistic emotion. By analyzing how the aforementioned different memorial activities on July 7 had differently shaped the Chinese' and Japanese' perception of the Second Sino-Japanese War, the present paper seeks to answer the question how China and Japan's perception of the war had gradually taken shape in the light of the two countries' recent conflict over the "History Problem".

2.3

Through Japan to the World

Chair: Yasuko-Hassall KOBAYASHI (Osaka University)

Papers:

From Central-Local Relations to Government-Envoy Relations: Reconsidering China and Japan's Transformation of Foreign Relations 1868-73

Isami SAWAI (London School of Economics and Political Science)

It has long been said that China and Japan are two contrary cases of the 'Western Impact' in the 19th century. Japan learned and adapted to Western international order, which led to the revision of unequal treaties. On the other hand, China stuck to the traditional China-centric international order, which prevented them from fully negotiating with imperialism. This understanding has been severely criticized, yet no one could provide a full alternative picture. Their criticisms, mainly based on the new historical approaches such as frontier history, transnational history, and others, resulted not in the critical investigation of the 'diplomatic' matters but in the simple ignorance of them. This paradoxically kept the traditional and Western-centric comprehension of the East Asian foreign relations still alive. To overcome these problems, this paper will revisit the 'diplomatic' matters.

However, it should be done not in the way of traditional diplomatic history but from fresh and global perspectives influenced by the new historical approaches. This paper will introduce the following three analytical viewpoints. Firstly, the central-local/government-envoy relations and its impact on the transformation of foreign relations. While traditional diplomatic history assumed the unity of state and did not pay much attention to the difference and miscommunication between the center and the distant places in handling foreign affairs, this aspect was the key element that characterized the East Asian foreign relations at that time. Secondly, the detailed investigation of East Asian historical documents. Newly published and discovered historical materials have not been fully included especially in Western academia. The update of the historical documents is required. Thirdly, the comparison between China and Japan. East Asian historians tend to focus on the details of the one country's historical facts, which quite often prevent them from submitting a big picture of the period. Through the revision of classical cases, China and Japan, this paper will also make an impact especially on East Asian academia. The outline of the paper is as follows: The first 'foreign office' in China and Japan, Zongli Yamen and Gaikoku-gata, had similar decision-making processes. They adopted a council system in their institutions. They did not have a direct authority to control ports/frontiers, but as several leaders of these institutions concurrently being the member of the Ground council and Bakkaku, the Zongli Yamen and Gaikoku-gata could substantially control local governments. On the other hand, the opinions of local leaders are sometimes collected and discussed by the central governments. However, this structure, because of its decentralized nature, gradually lost authority to control foreign affairs, which led to the dramatical transformation of China and Japan's foreign relations in the Meiji restoration (1868) and Tianjin Massacre (1870). In Japan, through the transfer of political center (Kyoto-Osaka to Tokyo) and the struggles between Meiji leaders and Western ministers, the systematization of Tokyo-treaty ports relations had been conducted mainly by Gaimusho. In China, through the negotiations with Western ministers, Li Hongzhang in Tianjin substantially established his leadership in foreign relations, which reduced the presence of the Zongli Yamen in Beijing. In the next stage, Giamusho in Tokyo faced the difficulty to control their envoys (the Sino-Japanese Friendship and Trade Treaty negotiaions and Iwakura Mission), which caused serious problems. Compared to Japan, Li's leadership was rather reasonable in the situation in China, but it paradoxically allowed the passive attitude towards the development of the networks between the central government and foreign envoys.

Not So Gentlemanly Capitalism: Foreign Trade at Treaty Port Hakodate 1854-1884

Steven Edward IVINGS (Kyoto University)

Trade Sitting in calm and deep waters, neatly tucked away from the sometimes perilous streams of the North Pacific and Japan Sea, Hakodate was in some ways an obvious choice as a port to be opened. It offered a suitable location for American whalers to call for supplies and repairs as they ventured on voyages of plunder in the nearby seas, and a safe anchorage for the naval ships of treaty powers. Despite the blessings of its physical geography, however, Hakodate sat on the southern tip of Ezo (now Hokkaido), the thinly populated Northern fringe of the Japanese realm, and thus offered only the prospect of a modest trade. Yet in the decades that followed the port's trade and population expanded rapidly, transforming what was previously described by the British minister to Japan as "a long fishing village" into a bustling port of over 50,000 by the mid-1880s. Nonetheless, this paper

will argue that this expansion was not primarily a result of the opening of Hakodate to international trade; rather, it was the opening of Hakodate's hinterland which allowed Hakodate to prosper, enhancing its existing role as a hub for the marketing and distribution of Northern marine products throughout Japan. Furthermore, it will closely examine the struggles of foreign traders to make

inroads into Hakodate's principal trades, giving a face to foreign enterprise in nineteenth century East Asia.

Japan's Last Colonial Frontier: Settler Migration, Development and Expansionism in the Brazilian Amazon

Facundo GARASINO (Osaka University)

Recent scholarship on the History of Japanese Migration has been exploring the entanglements between Japan's overseas migrations and imperial colonialism. In doing so, these studies arguing that the experiences of migrants in Hawaii, the West Coast of the US and Brazil were fundamental in shaping narratives and schemes for national mobilization for expanding Japan's colonial empire in Northeast Asia since the late 1930s. Engaging in the above discussions, this paper attempts, however, a further critical exploration, by analyzing how endeavors for Japanese settler migration and agricultural development in the Brazilian Amazon during the 1930s attempted to create an alternative colonial space in the "empty lands" of South America.

This paper will focus on the Amazonia Industrial Institute, a private institution with partial public funding, which planned and managed projects of settler migration and agricultural development in the Brazilian Amazon during the 1930s. By analyzing the Institute's efforts on jute production, and the cooperative relationships between the migrants and the host society, it will argue that the Amazonia Industrial Institute embodied a distinctive colonial project that diverged from Japan's colonial expansion in Asia. The Institute sought to secure the global economic hegemony of the Japanese empire by developing the Amazon's vast resources using Japanese migrants' workforce, while performing as agents of Brazil's policies for nation-building and development of its "empty lands" through foreign settler migration. By paying attention to the intersection between Japan's expansionism and Brazil's migratory and economic policies, this paper will allow to decenter current understandings of Japan's colonial imperialism as a continuous, borderless, and self-consistent project culminating in Asia, revealing its broader articulations and mutations in diverse local contexts.

'To the Shores of Japan': Russian-Led Travels to the Northern Japanese Territories'

Scott C. M. BAILEY (Kansai Gaidai University)

Scientific and geographic exploration looms large in our understanding of world history. When explorers, expeditionary leaders, and travelers from nations worldwide traveled over long distances, world historians have found that sources on such travels reveal cultural and economic differences, while also providing a rich store of information on the intentions and observations of global travelers. As Jerry Bentley argued in *Old World Encounters: Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times*, cross-cultural encounters which resulted from initial contacts, as a result of long-

distance travels, followed broadly one of three patterns: conversion, syncretism, or resistance. In conversion, locals readily adapted the cultural beliefs and practices of the visiting traveler(s). A most common result was cultural syncretism, in which the infusion of outside cultural practices into an area led to a blending of cultural traditions over time. A third pattern was outright resistance to the traveler's beliefs and practices and a rejection of that person and their society. World historians who have focused their research attention on long-distance travel and ethnographic/scientific expeditions, have found Bentley's theoretical model a useful one for interpreting the short and long-term effects of cross-cultural travel.

Drawing upon research being conducted through a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS- Kakenhi) Type C Scientific Grant, this paper will look at examples of early Russian expeditions to the Northern Japanese territories, in order to analyze them using Bentley's model of global cross-cultural analysis. Some of the research from this study will draw upon the extensive research of George Lensen on this topic, whose study *The Russian Push Toward Japan* provides great detail on these studies. Focus will be on the intentions, observations, and outcomes of early Russian travels to the Northern Japanese territories. This paper will also utilize primary Russian-language resources collected through his ongoing research on this topic, including the use of the Russian Northeast Asia Collection at the University of Hawaii at Manoa's Hamilton Library.

2.4 East Asia Historiography

Chair: SUN Laichen (California State University, Fullerton)

Qi Sihe's Dissertation in Chinese History and American Academic Tradition at Harvard University

YANG Zhao (Beijing Foreign Languages University)

Qi Sihe, famous historian in the Republican China period, was the first Chinese student who studied American history and got Ph.D degree at Harvard University in modern China. The researches on Qi Sihe of domestic scholars mainly relied on the Chinese primary documents and secondary books, concentrating on the academic achievements and activities after he came back to China. They used neither his doctoral dissertation nor original documents at Harvard University in English and ignored his four years' study at Harvard University relatively. Qi Sihe's doctoral dissertation, submitted to the department of history of Harvard University in 1935, was *Chinese Feudalism during Ch'un-Ch'iu Period*. It chose feudalism as its research subject, which was very hot for historians of Republican China period, with great academic value. Qi Sihe's academic training of American history at Harvard University broadened his academic horizon and inspired him on the historical research approach, benefiting his doctoral dissertation a lot.

To Reevaluate Shen Weijing's Role in the Imjin War

SUN Weiguo (Nankai University)

Shen Weijing was an important and special figure in the early period of the Imjin War. He was not a formal official of the Ming, but he was the most important representative for communicating with the Japanese for peaceful negotiations. Shi Xing as the Ming Military Minister entitled Shen Weijing to serve as a medium for the Ming and Japan's communication. Shen Weijing was quite special, what is his identity? What is his main activity? How to evaluate him by the Ming, Chosen Korea and Japan historians? In fact, many problems are plausible, but lack of in-depth research. Although he rushed between the three countries, after the failure of negotiation, he and Shi Xing became the victims of this defeat. As a small person, it seems that it is unfair for Shen Weijing to bear the nickname of the ages.

Japanese East-Asia History Study and Its Inspiration for Our Discipline Construction

Chen Fenglin (The History College of Beijing Normal University)

Abstract : With its distinct research object, methods and specific system, the Eastern-Asia history composes an important part of the whole human history. It takes a long historical period to form a connected East-Asia regional history from those dispersed national histories; and probing into the regional overall history rather than mere national history is more meaningful and aligned with the fundamental law of human society development. A complete and continuous of such study, surely a progress of conception of history, paved the oriental nations' emergence with cultural construction and and theoretical preparation. Though it is a must cause, the East-Asian study has drawn attention far from enough over the long time. As the history, culture and reality is extremely connected in East Asia, and there are a lot lessons we should learn from, it should be a top priority for social scientists to conduct East Asian history study.

2.5 Different Perspectives to World History

Chair: Shiro MOMOKI (Osaka University)

Papers:

The Construction of Historical GDP Estimates of Singapore, 1870-1900 at Current and Constant Prices: Progress and Perspective

Ichiro SUGIMOTO (Soka University)

The construction of historical national accounting has been regarded as one of the most dynamic branches of economic history. The quantification of past economic activities using the SNA approach is crucial in the attempts to seek general characteristics relating to structural transformation, technological change, income distribution and population growth. In the case of former British Colonies, individual scholars have recently succeeded in constructing retrospective national accounts for several former British Colonies. I constructed first cut estimates of GDP in the colony of

Singapore for the period 1900-39 and 1950-60 (Sugimoto 2011). Based on derived time-series data, two empirical studies have been conducted (Sugimoto and Tan 2011 and Choy and Sugimoto 2013).

This paper provides the new estimates of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Singapore for the periods 1870-1900 based on the expenditure approach in current and constant (1914) prices. Various creative methodologies were applied but consciously conforming to the definitions as outlined in “The System of National Accounts (SNA) 1968”. The following the estimating procedures were applied for each component of GDP, namely, Private Final Consumption Expenditure by Resident Household, Government Final Consumption Expenditure, Gross Capital Formation, Exports and Imports of Goods and Services.

Fighting Side by Side: Cross-border Military Cooperation between the Chinese Communist Party and the Việt Minh (1945-1949)

GAO Jiayi (Huadong Normal University)

After the Second World War, the Chinese People's Liberation War and the Indochina War broke out one after another. The Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Vietnam Independent Alliance (Việt Minh) launched cross-border military cooperation, challenging the legitimacy of the Kuomintang (KMT) and the French colonialists' regimes, and bringing together the socialist revolutionary cause of China and the anti-colonial movement of the people of Southeast Asia. At that time, the cooperation was mainly divided into three categories: Firstly, when the guerrillas of the CPC in the southern border of China were forced to transfer to the Vietnamese territory for concealment and training, the Việt Minh helped to provide accommodation as well as financial and material support. Secondly, while in Vietnam, the CPC members assisted the Việt Minh in carrying out daily organization, intelligence and publicity work to help the Vietnamese army in training and in organizing the overseas Chinese's self-defence forces. Thirdly, starting from 1948, the CPC and the Việt Minh army carried out joint military operations at their border. On the whole, China-Vietnam exchanges and cooperation between 1945 and 1947 were spontaneous, small-scale, scattered, and secretive. However, with the transformation of the civil war situation in China in 1948, the exchanges and cooperation between the two sides took a strategic and long-term perspective. The Vietnamese side first sent troops to help the Chinese side liberate the border areas, and then waited for the Chinese People's Liberation Army to move to the south to help Vietnamese' resistance, laying the foundation for anti-France campaign after the founding of new China. At this time, the two parties of China and Vietnam were equal and mutually supportive, and the CPC's leadership over the Việt Minh after the socialist revolution division was not formed yet. In short, the mutual assistance during the revolution between China and Vietnam advanced the process of the revolutionary war in the two countries, reconstructed the relations between the two parties and two

countries, and had a far-reaching impact on the revolutionary situation in Southeast Asia and the development of the Asian socialist camp.

The Globalization of the Addictive Commodities in the Early Modern World

MA Wanli (Dalian University of Technology)

Ever since Christopher Columbus' exploration of the new route to America, the exchange between the two worlds, which is called "Columbian Exchange", has taken place in various areas: biology, population, culture, etc. Europeans brought various virus to America, resulting in a sharp decline in the number of native people, "Indians". Crops and livestock have been spread from America to Eurasia, where the food types and dietary patterns have been altered. In addition to the exchange of these common species, addictive foods have also begun to be produced and consumed worldwide.

With the exchange of animals and plants, the variety of human consumption goods has greatly increased. To obtain these goods, much higher intensity of labor was required in Europe, Asia, and America. Certain addictive foods were welcomed because of their efficacy in relieving fatigue. In Asia and America, Europeans were much interested in producing and selling tobacco, tea, opium, wine, coffee, as well as hemp, cocoa, cocaine and other addictive foods in large quantities, and played a leading role in promoting the globalization of the addictive foods in early modern times.

The History of Yunnan's Horse and the Institutional Transformation of Southern East Asia

WEN Ting (Pu'er University)

The legend of "Golden Horse and Jade Rooster" has been existed for a long time in the south of East Asia and the mountainous area adjacent to Indo-China Peninsula that equivalent to Yunnan province, China. Due to the restriction of natural and social conditions, the "Golden Horse" in Yunnan is quite different in physiological feature when compared with the horse on the prairie in the north of East Asia, which reveals the difference between battle steed and the horse for business. In the dynasty period of China, Yunnan's horses broke through the space limitation and were active in nomadic civilization, agricultural civilization and mountainous civilization through "Tea-Horse Trade", thus, these horses and the people harness them became the bond of different economic systems, and the usage of horse reflected diverse production pattern and economic characteristics. Organization and institution of the usage of horse has been built with improvement of domestic level and expansion of economic and political communication, the horse caravans therefore has been grown up in mountainous area and midlevel of Yunnan province, and the complete system that consist of stage, post road and horse stage turn into the prototype of modern logistics industry. Yunnan has become the center place of various institution and culture depending on the horse caravans' organization. Since modern times, Yunnan has transformed into forward position of contacting with foreign culture and institution from the edge of ancient Chinese civilization. In addition, the horse caravans and the gangs of businessmen depend on and interrelate with each other, and both of them participate in the main political and economic activities of China's modernization and throughout the process of China's institutional transformation from dynasty period to modern country.

Sunday, 6 January

9:30 am – 12:00 pm Panel Sessions 3

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
3.1	‘Energy Diverse Societies’ in Modern Asia: Between Survival and Economic Development	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
3.2	Another History of Japanese Prisoners of War under the Cold War	Seminar Room 507
3.3	Ideas of Rule in Wartime Japan and the Transformation of East and Southeast Asia in the Context of Ongoing Failure	Seminar Room 703
3.4	An Attempt to Establish East Asian Numismatic Archeology: Expansion and Acceptance of Chinese Coinage in East Asia as Seen in Archaeological Source	Seminar Room 301
3.5	Aiming for Unity, Overcoming Divisions: Entangled Transformations of East Asian and European Nations States in a Global History Perspective	Seminar Room 702
3.6	Early Modern Southeast Asian History	Seminar Room 304

3.1

‘Energy Diverse Societies’ in Modern Asia: Between Survival and Economic Development

Chair: Sayako KANDA (Keio University)

Discussant: Chaisung LIM (Rikkyo University)

Panel Abstract:

Monsoon Asia is characterised by the diversity of its flora and fauna, and an ideal environment for the survival of plants and animals in general. Therefore, Asian people have been able to use various resources as energy. Even after the ‘fossil-fuelbased world economy’ prospered from the late 19th century (Sugihara 2012), Asia has employed diverse energy sources while promoting industrialization and supporting a growing population. Even today, many regions continue to use locally available various types of non-fossil fuel. This cannot be necessarily discussed solely from the perspective of a ‘lower equilibrium’ due to delays and inequalities in the supply of fossil fuel. Instead of a teleological and linear understanding of energy conversion from non-fossil to fossil energy sources, which also views that the emergence of industrialized societies as the result of such energy conversion, the panel explores the historical significance of energy diversity in Asia, especially East Asia. Historically, decisions have been made about which energy resources to use according to ecological, technological, commercial, social and cultural circumstances of each region. These decisions are not made simply to increase productivity, but also to provide the necessary heat sources for survival, and to maintain and reproduce the individual. Based on the example of India’s energy use in the 19th and 20th centuries (Kanda 2015), the organizer has defined an ‘energy diverse society’ as a society that uses diverse energy sources, which has emerged in connection with the rise of the fossil-fuel-based world economy. This is not merely a society that uses different resources for its energy. Such a society plays a role not only in economic development by mitigating energy constraints, but also in maintaining the basis of livelihood for its people in the long run. Does this argument only apply to countries like India that still use diverse energy resources today? Certainly, the fossil-fuel-based world economy has prospered, but forms of fossil energy use were different from one region/country to another until the 1960s, and energy use has seen diversification as well as intensification (Sugihara 2012). That is to say, until the 1960s, diverse paths were taken even in advanced industrial countries, and they got to where they are today through trial and error and setbacks. As in the case of Japan, a country/region would try to solve energy constraints by importing energy resources from foreign countries or colonies and/or by developing energy-saving technologies. The panel proposes that the emergence of an energy diverse society can be seen as an alternative or additional way of easing energy constraints, and a reaction of a society as a whole in the face of the growing fossil-fuel-based world economy. In this series of four papers, we analyze the issues above.

Papers:

Sayako KANDA, ‘The birth of “energy diverse society” in 19th-century India’ is an introductory paper, showing how and why an energy diverse society was formed in 19th-century India. It is followed by the examples of energy diverse societies which existed in Taiwan and Japan in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

Kensuke HIRAI, ‘*Energy use in the sugar industry in colonial Taiwan*’ deals with the energy use in Taiwan’s sugar industry, which was one of the largest industries in Japan’s colonies. It shows that firewood and coal were used as energy to supplement the bagasse, the main energy source, but new technologies began to reduce the amount of supplementary energy (firewood, coal, and electric power) used in the industry, and in the 1930s fossil fuels were mostly eliminated. It is apparent that locally-available diverse energy resources were used even in Taiwan’s most modernized industrial sector, which led her industrialization.

Asuka YAMAGUCHI, ‘*Energy use in Japan’s copper industry from the Meiji period to WWI*’, clarifies that: 1. While (heat) energy for smelting converted from wood and charcoal to coal and coke in large-scale mines, mines with less financial muscle chose oil, coal tar, and charcoal. 2. While energy (sources of power) for mining purposes tended toward hydroelectric power in large-scale mines, the use of traditional water wheels and oil engines grew in small-scale mines. 3. All the mines were limited in mechanization, while labour grew due to the conditions of mineral deposits. As a result, the demand for wood and charcoal declined for smelting but increased for the labourers. In this way, the mines changed into a space that is based on a diverse combination of energy depending on differences in location, natural conditions, financial muscle, and technologies.

Tomoki SHIMANISHI, ‘*Changes in domestic energy use in 20th century Japan*’, examines the popularization process of rentan and mametan (anthracite briquette) in Japanese households. It points out that a scarcity of wood and charcoal and the supply of anthracite and molasses (used as an adhesive) from Asian countries encouraged to invent and implement such new types of fuels. They were widely accepted because they did not change conventional energy use habits. It also shows that until the diffusion of imported oil and gas in the 1960s, rentan and mametan had been supporting the energy consumption of family units as transitional energy. One may claim that the foundation for an energy diverse society is the robustness of customs and culture of energy use, and the diverse paths for turning resources into energy.

Chaisung Lim, from the standpoint of the comparative economic history of East Asia, serves as a discussant.

3.2 Another History of Japanese Prisoners of War under the Cold War

Chair: Shingo MINAMIZUKA (Hosei University)

Panel Abstract:

It has passed sixty-two years since the last group of Japanese prisoners of war repatriated from the USSR. The research on the Japanese former servicemen and civilians interned in Soviet labour camps in the aftermath of World War II is approaching a new stage nowadays. First, in 1980-90s, many Japanese former servicemen who were interned in the Siberia started to record their unforgettable hard history. It is said that more than two thousand books of their memories were published in Japan. After 1990s, another important path has been emerging within the topic in addition to the study of testimonies or recollections of the POWs and investigations of the real state of affairs in the Soviet prisoner-of-war (POW) camps based on Russian archival sources. These new avenues of research concern the ways in which the Japanese returnees from the Soviet camps were thrust into the US-Soviet ideological confrontation and often became its victims, the participation of these returnees in interest groups and movements in post war Japanese society, and the impact their presence had on the new, 'peaceful and democratic' and anti-communist Japan.

This panel aims to present a comprehensive look at the Japanese captives' experiences in both the Soviet camps and, upon return, in the post war Japanese society. It is, in this respect, a collaboration of scholars who aim to reconsider the history of the immediate post war by looking at movements of people, and the impact these migrations had on the societies involved. The panel, consisting of four presentations, can be divided, chronologically, into three parts: the first presentation is on the Internment, the second focus on the captives' reaction from their oral histories, the third is on the captives' lives after repatriation. We start with a look at the Soviet camp system, as well as how the Soviet authority strengthened the treatments of and attitudes towards the Japanese POWs during the high tension between the US and the USSR. The panel then explains and analyses their experience of this interment that originated in the camps, based on some records of their interview. The last paper provides the case study of cultural activities among the repatriates.

Papers:

Japanese servicemen in Soviet captivity: surrender, labor and repatriation

Sergey KIM (Russian Academy of Sciences)

On the 14th of August 1945 Japan, personalized by the Emperor Hirohito, declared its surrender to the Allied forces. Later, on the 2nd of September, 1945 it was officially confirmed by signature of the Japanese Instrument of Surrender on board American USS Missouri battleship. With a withdrawal of Japanese influence from Manchukuo, Korea and China, allied powers were to establish completely new political balance in the North-East Asia and Far East, as well as to decide a fate of Japan. Nearly 6,6 million Japanese citizens remained outside Japan, overwhelming majority of whom were settlers and military personnel. The number of Japanese servicemen, awaiting its repatriation to the metropolis, estimated nearly 3 million men in 1945-1946. Their fate was predetermined in the Potsdam Declaration, in which USA, United Kingdom and China proclaimed terms of "unconditional surrender" of all Japanese forces. According to it, all surrendered Japanese troops were to be "permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives." The Soviet Union joined Potsdam Declaration on the 8th of August, starting a war with Japan, and assaulted Japanese Kwantung Army, which was disclosed on Sakhalin and Kuril

Islands, Manchukuo (Northern China) and Northern Korea. But on the 23rd of August while disarmament of the Japanese forces was still going on, the Soviet authorities issued an order, according to which all 640 thousand Japanese servicemen were to be interned to the labour camps in Siberia, Soviet Far East and other regions of the USSR. In perception of Japanese captives the defeat in the World War 2, surrender of their own country, and almost 5-years custody in labor camps were “pressed” in one period of their life which later was named “The Siberian Internment”. For majority of the interned Japanese soldiers and officers the “Siberian internment” was and, for some of them, still is a quite traumatic experience. Their repatriation took nearly 10 years, from 1946 to 1956. Collective and individual captive experience of former Japanese soldiers and officers has already been researched by Japanese and Russian scholars. Therefore, the principal aim of the report is not only to recreate harsh labor camp reality from the perspective of Japanese captives, but to reveal Soviet policy towards surrender, labor and repatriation of the Japanese servicemen after the World War 2. Although displacement of Japanese former military personnel deep to the Soviet territory was caused by political, rather than economic reasons, Japanese servicemen contributed to Soviet economic development, as their forced labor was used by some Soviet enterprises.

The analysis from the oral history of the Japanese captives’ in the Soviet camps

Akina KOBAYASHI (Hosei University)

This study shows some interesting cases and the reactions of the repatriates who were under orders from the Soviet propaganda. Nowadays Russian archives indicate that about 600,000 Japanese POWs were transported to the USSR and Mongolia in compliance to Stalin’s order No.9898 on 23 August 1945 and the Soviet indoctrination started on September 4th. The indoctrination, similar to that of German POWs (about 2,500,000 people), was characterized by a variety of ideologies such as Marxism-Leninism, anti-Japanese militarism and anti American feelings. Many repatriates wrote their experience down as the history of the internee in the USSR. It is said that Japan has more than two thousand books were published by these repatriates.

The aim of the Soviet indoctrination of Japanese POWs was to train them as communists or pro-Soviet sympathizers before repatriation. The Soviet policy of indoctrination strengthened due to the high tension between the United States and the USSR. Then, to create “a new democratic nation”, they would be sent back to Japan, which was occupied by GHQ. Almost all the POWs except for war criminals had been repatriated by 1949. In 1956, the last surviving Japanese war criminals repatriated from the USSR. This study analyzes through the use of the Russian archives and Japanese testimonies and will consider the propaganda and cultural activities under the Cold War.

Post-repatriation activities of the returnees: from a musical standpoint

Risa MORIYA (Moscow P. I. Tchaikovsky Conservatory)

What was “Siberian internment”? – this thesis has been argued through historical, political, statistical way and the way of International relationship study before. However, when we pay attention to the background that the Soviet Union has attached importance to the power of art and attempted to use it for the realization of its policy, it is obvious that treating this problem in a cultural way from the aspect of art is as important as the points mentioned above.

In the history of music, as another sphere of art and culture, it is well known that creative activity and compositions of artists, D. Shostakovich, for instance, has been at the mercy of the time during the Soviet Union, had a great deal of influence on the intentions of Lenin and Stalin.

That policy also had affected in the Soviet internment camps of Japanese POWs. In the Soviet internment camps musical- theatrical ensembles with professional and amateur musicians were organized from all across Siberia. Some of them, after repatriation, became specialists of Russian music and contributed to spreading Russian songs and music in the post-war period of Japan.

Apart from that, at the micro level, in many camps of Japanese POW cultural circle of hobbies including music and individual cultural activities occurred spontaneously. They were their own initiatives to make the life in the camps more smooth and healing. That saved them mentally to survive on the boundary between life and death. In addition, despite the tragic situation, from the aspect of cultural contact, there were different opportunities for Japanese people to meet with Russian musical culture- especially with songs sung by Russian people. The impact of encountering Western – Russian songs was so strong that Japanese people gradually began singing and making songs in Western music style. We can prove the process of changing their songs from Japanese military song style to Russian and Western style in scores and tapes they left through musical analyze. There also is reflected their mental transition from wartime to the post-war period.

Soldiers of the Fallen Empire: Returnees from the Soviet Camps as Remnants of Militarism and Agents of Communism in US-Occupied Japan, 1945-1952

Sherzod MUMINOV (University of Cambridge)

The Siberian Internment of Japanese former servicemen and civilians in the Soviet camps (1945-56) was one of the great tragedies of the past century. One of the largest forced migrations in recent history, it influenced the lives of several million people in Japan – the captives, members of their families, and even their children. And while it was a transnational event that barely fits inside traditional boundaries and frameworks, the internment is also a useful mirror into the making of postwar Japan. The experiences of the Japanese returnees from the Soviet Union, written in hundreds of memoirs or gleaned from a large number of archival sources now available to historians, are crucial to understanding the tectonic transformations of the Occupation period Japan.

In this essay, I will briefly analyse the return of the Japanese soldiers and civilians from captivity in the Soviet Union, and their attempts to reintegrate into the postwar Japanese society. I am primarily interested in the reception of the Japanese returnees from the USSR by the domestic society as the remnants of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), and as possible communist converts. These two identities influenced how the domestic Japanese society received and perceived the returnees. I demonstrate how under the influence of international and domestic circumstances, the Japanese domestic discourses about the captives in Siberia evolved critically; if in the initial years of the Siberian Internment and well until the late 1940s many of the Japanese media, politicians and ordinary citizens viewed the Siberian internees primarily as “brethren” unlawfully captured by the ideological enemy, starting from 1949 the perceptions became more negative. In this essay I shall briefly analyze some of the reasons why.

3.3

Ideas of Rule in Wartime Japan and the Transformation of East and Southeast Asia in the Context of Ongoing Failure

Chair: Christopher Robin Jamie CRAIG (Tohoku University)

Panel Abstract:

It is undeniable that Japan transformed East and Southeast Asia during the wartime period and scholars have analyzed these changes in detail. It is not the case, however, that these changes matched the intentions of Japanese leaders. Had Japan realized its aims, the war would have gone differently. Scholarship from economic or social perspectives is able to point how East and Southeast Asia changed, but is unable to clarify the reasons for these transformations. In order to create a clear picture of the causes behind the transformations in East and Southeast Asia during the war and its aftermath, it is necessary to analyze the conceptions of the imperial order in wartime Japan and why Japan was unable to achieve its goals. Even when plans fall into disorder, Officers deal with administration on the ground. The systems and situations produced in that confusion changed East and Southeast Asia on a large scale.

In this panel, standing on the above common foundation, each panelist will present a setback in the planned order to rule East and Southeast Asia in wartime Japan. Analyzing planning processes of economic and political officials, scientific researchers, and military administrators shows us different images of transformation of East and Southeast Asia in the wartime and postwar periods. The transformation of Asia and the world is reconsidered in this new context.

Papers:

The Greater East Asia Land Development Program and the Conception of East and Southeast Asian Economic Zones in Wartime Japan

Hiroaki ADACHI (Tohoku University)

Hiroaki Adachi points out the limitations in the ideas of creating East and Southeast Asian economic zones in wartime Japan. The Planning Board had played a pivotal role in forming a land development program covering Japan, Manchuria, and China since 1940. After the outbreak of the Pacific War, that program grew to include Southeast Asia and became the ‘Greater East Asia Land Development Program’ and was ranked as a tentative plan of the Development of Greater East Asia Council. The plans of the council were mere frameworks because serious conflicts had broken out among government officers over their sectional interests. Consequently, the Planning Board continued drafting programs directed at industry and populations in Asia. These plans, however, were flawed. Adachi demonstrates that the ambiguity of the long-term plans for creating East and Southeast Asian economic zones led to makeshift economic management by central government officials resulting in confusion in various places and transforming East and Southeast Asia.

The Failure of the Idea of a Japanese Sphere of Influence: The Second European War and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

Kosuke KAWANISHI (Tohoku Gakuin University)

Kosuke Kawanishi doesn't take even the understanding that the plans for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere were a major influence on the transformation of East and Southeast Asia. Some scholars consider the concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as nothing more than rhetoric in the war with the United States. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the second Konoe Fumimaro Cabinet, Matsuoka Yosuke, first announced the concept in 1940; however, he originally predicted that the Second European War would finish without the participation of both Japan and the United States. Therefore, Matsuoka didn't present his plans for the purposes of war with the United States and it is necessary to reconsider the conception of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Kawanishi clarifies the nature of the original concept of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and why the idea was unable to achieve its goals, creating a new context for understanding the transformations of each region in East and Southeast Asia.

Planning the Research Systems of Imperial Universities in Wartime Japan

Satoshi KATO (Tohoku University)

Satoshi Kato investigates the ideas of the world of science in wartime Japan. The structure of scientific research in postwar Japan affected transformations in East and Southeast Asia indirectly, but dramatically, owing to high economic growth in Japan. In the wartime period, the establishment of large numbers of attached research institutes in Imperial Universities was an effective means of expanding productivity and mobilizing the scientific world. This drastic expansion of the research opportunities, however, often produced results that differed from the original goals of the Imperial Universities, as an analysis of a budgetary request recently disclosed by archives of Kyoto University and Tohoku University demonstrates. The Imperial Universities followed national policy, so they requested funding for research in areas like resource development and the study of East Asia culture. Budgets submitted by different Imperial Universities were often similar, causing confusion and conflicts in the course of the assessment of budget requests, the establishment of institutes, and scientific research in general. This confusion and conflict led to a lack of consistency in the scientific research of Imperial Universities.

Disdain and Discord: The Navy Research Division and the Citizens' Brain Trust

Yasunobu TESHIMA (National Institute of Technology, Fukui College)

Yasunobu Teshima clarifies a factor behind the failure of an early concept of the Southern Political Department in his investigation of the Navy Research Division and the brain trust of citizens organized by the division. The Japanese military administration over Southeast Asia transformed East and Southeast Asia on a large scale. That transformation was a result of the lack of leadership over military governments spread over a wide area. The Southern Political Affairs Department in Tokyo was unable not only to display its leadership over local military governments, but also to establish a policy for Southeast Asia. The Southern Political Affairs Department was formed with the

Navy Research Division at its center, so the reasons why it was unable to exert a strong political influence is made clear through an analysis of the prestige and capabilities of the Navy Research Division. The Navy Research Division had no strong political influence and no leadership over the policymaking process of the administration of Southeast Asia in spite of its possession of a brain trust. This was because the Navy Research Division was unable to make the best use of the brain trust and the opinions of the brain trust were not always acceptable for the Navy. The Navy commissioned the brain trust to investigate South East Asia as a strategy in its ongoing rivalry against the Army, and so the survey lacked the vision to produce effective results.

3.4 An Attempt to Establish East Asian Numismatic Archeology: Expansion and Acceptance of Chinese Coinage in East Asia as Seen in Archaeological Sources

Chair: Kazuyuki NAKAMURA (National Institute of Technology, Hakodate College)

Panel Abstract:

In China during the Song Dynasty a large amount of round copper coins with square holes were minted, and these coins supported the foundation of the cash economy. These Chinese copper coins began circulating into East Asia from the end of the Song Dynasty in the latter part of the 12th century, and began to be used as currency in Japan, Vietnam and other areas. While these regions had formed unique economic zones, they utilized the same Chinese coinage. For this reason, they were in a situation that made them feel the impact of economic trends in other regions. This situation continued into the 17th and 18th centuries, from which time Japan and Vietnam began to mint their own currencies.

The purpose of this panel is to elucidate the circulation conditions of Chinese coinage during that period through archaeological sources. It is also an attempt to share the investigative and research methods of a new research field known as numismatic archaeology, which has not yet been established in East Asia, with researchers from a variety of countries.

Round copper coins with square holes have not only been excavated inside China itself but also from ruins located across East Asia in large numbers. The majority of these have been Chinese coins minted in China. These include both large-volume hoards and single-finds discovered within ruins. By codifying and sampling the characteristics of Chinese coins found in various regions of East Asia, it is possible to know what varieties of Chinese coins were being accepted in regions outside of China, and whether each region had any particular characteristics.

We believe that in establishing these investigative and research methods as numismatic archaeology and then sharing them with researchers in China and other regions of East Asia it will become possible to compare research being conducted from the unique viewpoints of each region. Furthermore, it is our belief that it will be possible to elucidate the circulation of Chinese coinage in East Asia.

At this panel, the theses of five researchers will be presented. These presentations are based on the results of investigations and research advanced in various regions of East Asia. They analyze excavated Chinese coinage from the viewpoint of numismatic archaeology, as well as elucidate the spread of Chinese coinage throughout East Asia and the conditions for its acceptance in each region.

First, East Asia Numismatic Archaeology proponent **Shin'ichi SAKURAKI** will explain the importance and methodologies of numismatic archaeology in East Asia. Upon doing this Mr. SAKURAKI will clarify the characteristics of currency circulation within Japan and its acceptance of Chinese coinage based on information gained from coin hoards as the archaeological source.

Next panel organizer **Toshihiko MIYAKE** will elucidate the characteristics of Chinese currency circulation based on coin hoards excavated inside China. Using this data as a standard Mr. MIYAKE will then make comparisons with Mongolia and other regions of North Asia, as well as with Indonesia and other regions of Southeast Asia. In doing this the characteristics of Chinese coinage circulation in China proper and surrounding East Asian regions will be grasped, and the major currents of Chinese money circulation within East Asian Numismatic Archaeology will be understood.

Following this, **Polina ARTEMIEVA** will make a presentation on regional conditions in Russia's Primorskaya Oblast, where she has been involved in investigations and research on coins excavated from ruins dating from the Jin to the Dong Xia. Primorskaya Oblast lies on the periphery of the circulation area of Chinese coinage. Here many mountain castles from the Jin to Dong Xia periods are being investigated, and a considerable number of Chinese coins have been found within the excavated remains. Characteristic of this region is that one cash coins are not the only type discovered. Large coins are also found in high proportions.

In addition, **Kazuyuki NAKAMURA** shall make a presentation on coin hoards excavated in Hokkaido and Sakhalin Island to elucidate regional conditions. Chinese coinage is hypothesized to have entered Sakhalin Island primarily by the Amur River basin route. However, in the case of Hokkaido the influx of Chinese coinage can be considered to have occurred from two directions. From large coins extant and other reasons, it can be hypothesized that Chinese coinage came not only from Honshu Island but also through a Sakhalin Island route.

Last, Ms. **Yuriko KIKUCHI** will give a presentation on the acceptance and circulation of Chinese coinage in Vietnam, where she has investigated a great number of excavated coin hoards. Fundamentally speaking the only Chinese coinage accepted in Vietnam was the one cash coin, a condition also shared in Japan and Indonesia. This similarity is notable as a commonality between regions that introduced Chinese coinage as the currency for their own domestic economies unrelated to the Chinese monetary economic sphere.

Through this series of presentations, we hope to stress the importance of establishing numismatic archaeology in East Asia as well as clarify the spread of Chinese coinage in the said regions. If we are able to share the methodologies of numismatic archaeology, we will likely be able to compare Chinese coinage discovered across an extensive range, which in turn will greatly develop this area of research.

A major prerequisite of the circulation conditions of Chinese coinage is the existence of a monetary economic sphere centered on China proper that imparted an effect on North Asia, Northeast Asia and other bordering regions. Within this sphere the one cash and large coins both circulated. In neighboring countries such as Japan, Vietnam and Indonesia Chinese coinage was accepted but it is implied that these regions formed an economic sphere unrelated to the Chinese monetary economic sphere in which only the one cash coin was circulated and accepted. We hope that with further developments in terms of investigation and research even more detailed debates on this subject will become possible.

3.5 Aiming for Unity, Overcoming Divisions: Entangled Transformations of East Asian and European Nations States in a Global History Perspective

Chair: LIU Hong (Nanyang Technological University)

Panel Abstract:

This international panel brings together early career, mid-career, and established scholars working in different parts of East Asia to analyze transformations of nation states in the 20th century from a global history perspective. In particular, it focuses on links between countries and societies in East Asia (China, Japan, Korea) and their connections to Euro-American civilizations. This panel thereby seeks to contribute to the subtheme 4 of the conference in order to explore how and why ideas and realities of the formations and transformations of nation states in East Asia were influenced directly and indirectly, positively and negatively by Western models.

The first paper will focus on the Cold War era and studies how the views of a divided Europe held by a Japanese entrepreneur and politician with a family history in Japan's imperial policy in Korea influenced his ideas of Japan's position in regional and global affairs. In particular, it seeks to explain blueprints for Japan's Cold War relations with the People's Republic of China as well as North and South Korea.

The second paper will shift its focus to China in the early Republican period. It analyzes how in the post-World War One context of the fall of empires the Polish Independence Associations based in Tianjin and other Chinese cities embraced the new ideal of national self-determination to help create an independent nation state of Poland. From a social history perspective, it argues that the activities of the Polish communities in China were no isolated acts of Polish nationalists but are linked to the mood of the times which simultaneously facilitated nationalist and internationalist activities in Europe as well as in China, Korea, and other parts of Asia.

The last paper will discuss how supra-national ideas of pan-nationalism combined the two dominant streams of political thought emerging at the end of the First World War, that is nationalism and internationalism. It focuses on the intellectual interactions of a young Japanese diplomat in

Europe with the pan-European movement of the 1920s which resulted in his proposal of an East Asian Common Body. This paper also discusses the impact such proposals had on Japan's empire-building in East Asia and its legacies for regionalist projects in today's East Asia.

Finally, Jie-Hyun Lim as the discussant will draw on his expertise in global history and nationalism studies to offer his insights into the specific character of the interrelated and entangled character of transformations of nation states focusing on social, intellectual, and political interactions between East Asian and Western civilizations in a *longue durée* perspective.

Papers:

Europe as perceived by Utsunomiya Tokuma (1906-2000): Implications for East Asia in times of the Cold War

Juljan BIONTINO (Chiba University)

Utsunomiya Tokuma (1906-2000) was a pharmaceutical entrepreneur and Liberal Democratic Party politician who vigorously fought for disarmament throughout the world and good relations to its Asian neighbors. Close to Ishibashi Tanzan (1884-1973, 55th prime minister) and Miki Takeo (1907-1988, 41st prime minister), Utsunomiya belonged to a minority group inside his party. Few remember Utsunomiya for his contribution to the establishment of peaceful relations with the People's Republic of China, and also his efforts for improving ties to North Korea. Initially opposing Japanese involvement in the Korean War, Utsunomiya was a stout proponent of a "small Japan" and thought of Japanese-South Korean normalization as hasty and irreconcilable. He lost his remaining confidence in South Korea after the abduction scandal of Kim Daejung. From then on, he worked on closer ties with North Korea, which led to a visit to Kim Il-sŏng in 1974, who called him "a true friend of the nation". As son of a Japanese Army General, Utsunomiya's own career took a very different path. He studied law at the University of Kyōto, where he became a Marxist. After the war, he showed interest in the processes of European rapprochement and often mentioned Europe's leading countries as examples for Japan. This paper will outline Utsunomiya Tokuma's view on Europe during his political career and his judgment of the European role in world politics during the Cold War. This perception will be scrutinized further by a comparison of his views on Germany and Korea. Both were divided countries, whilst Japan was spared of such an experience. It is to be seen whether Utsunomiya reflected upon this, and how his view on Cold War politics in the Western Hemisphere shaped his ideas for an open and reconciliatory policy in East Asia.

Transient Nationalities: Registering for Polish Citizenship in Tianjin, 1918-1920

Klaus DITTRICH (Education University of Hong Kong)

Ever since the partitions of the late eighteenth century Poland had ceased to exist as an independent state, Polish territories and populations becoming part of the Russian, Austrian and German empires. Although Western Europe and the Americas were the foremost destinations of Polish migrations, a Polish community of up to ten thousand individuals formed in Manchuria and smaller groups of Poles lived in various Chinese treaty ports. The end of the First World War saw the fall of empires, the reshuffling of European borders and the creation of the Polish Second Republic. As in all centres

with sizeable Polish diasporic communities, nationalist activists formed Polish independence committees in Harbin, Shanghai, Tianjin and other Chinese cities in 1918. Among others, these committees dealt with applications for Polish citizenship that individuals with a Polish background were supposed to acquire in exchange for Russian, Austrian or German citizenship. Based on a microhistorical analysis of biographical notes, letters and other artefacts preserved in the Central Archives of Modern Records (Archiwum Akt Nowych) in Warsaw, this paper discusses applications for Polish citizenship submitted to the Polish Independence Association (Związek Polski Niepodległościowy) in Tianjin in the immediate aftermath of the First World War. Decisions to apply for Polish citizenship were often made out of immediate practical considerations and were sometimes later revoked. Rather than a matter of fact that only needed formal approval, the change of citizenship was subject to negotiation. This paper considers how the change or non-change of nationality added a further border-crossing dimension to the lives of Poles in East Asia who without doubt – in terms of a social history of globalization – were “transnational actors” with “global lives” and “imperial biographies”.

3.6

Early Modern Southeast Asia History

Chair: YANG Bin (University of Macau)

Papers:

Double-route and double-track: a comparative analysis of Sino-Burmese and Sino-Siamese trade in the early Qing Dynasty

WANG Juxin (Shandong provincial party school of CPC)

Although the Sino-Burmese trade and the Sino-Siamese trade were both important parts of the trade network between East and Southeast Asia before the middle of the 19th century, there were great differences between them. To analyse the differences between Sino-Burmese trade and Sino-Siamese trade during the early Qing Dynasty, is of great significance to understand the historical development of Sino-Burmese and Sino-Siamese relations and to develop today's China-ASEAN relations in seeking common ground while reserving differences.

I . Single track and double tracks: comparison of trading methods

China's foreign trade in the early Qing Dynasty, as far as trading methods was concerned, included tributary trade and commercial trade. There existed "single track" of commercial trade between the Qing Dynasty and Burma, but there existed "double tracks" of tributary trade and commercial trade between the Qing Dynasty and Siam.

II. Single route and double routes: comparison of trading routes

In terms of trading routes, there had always been "double routes" of land and maritime routes between the Qing Dynasty and Burma. In contrast, the trade between the Qing Dynasty and Siam, whether it was the tributary trade or the commercial trade, was carried out through "single route" of maritime route. Although there was also indirect land trade between the two countries through third countries, its scale was basically negligible.

III. Three nationalities and two nationalities: comparison of trading subjects

In the early Qing Dynasty, both the Sino-Burmese trade and the Sino-Siamese trade had extensive participation by overseas Chinese. However, the main subjects of Sino-Burmese land trade were the Chinese from Yunnan, and the main subjects of Sino-Burmese maritime trade were the Chinese from Fukien and Kwangtung. The overseas Chinese in Sino-Burmese trade formed the pattern of "three nationalities" of Yunnan, Fukien, and Kwangtung. In contrast, the main subjects of Sino-Siamese trade were mainly Chinese from Fukien and Kwangtung, which formed the pattern of "two nationalities". Moreover, the overseas Chinese actually controlled Siam's trade with China.

IV: Cotton and jade, rice and Sapan-wood: comparison of main commodities

In terms of trade commodities, there were many types of goods imported into Burma and Siam from the Qing Dynasty, among which the main commodities were raw silk, silk fabrics and other daily necessities. However, the main commodities imported into the Qing Dynasty from Burma and Siam were different: Burma's main commodities were cotton and jade, while Siam's main commodities were rice and Sapan-wood.

V. Analysis of reasons for trade differences

As mentioned above, Burma and Siam were both tributary countries in Southeast Asia during the Qing Dynasty. However, there were large differences in trade patterns, trade routes, trade subjects, and major commodities between the Sino-Burmese trade and Sino-Siamese trade. Why were there so many differences? From the economic point of view, there are four main factors that affect bilateral trade: (1) geographical transportation and native products; (2) domestic foreign policy,

especially foreign trade policy; (3) foreign policy, especially foreign trade policy, of the other side country; (4) the development and evolution of bilateral relations. The development and differences of the Sino-Burmese trade and Sino-Siamese trade can also be analyzed from these four aspects. The differences between the Sino-Burmese trade and Sino-Siamese trade are not only related to the geographical transportation and native products of the three countries, but also inseparable from their foreign trade policies and bilateral relations. The development of Sino-Burmese and Sino-Siamese trade during the early Qing Dynasty was deeply influenced by the countries' foreign policy and the extensive participation of Chinese people.

A Chinese Tai Nuea Polity in the Upper Mekong River: The Chronicle of Jinggu

ZHOU Hanli (University of Hamburg)

Jinggu is the name of a small district in the southwestern part of Yunnan province, the population of which belongs predominantly to an ethno-linguistic group classified as “Dai” by the Chinese authorities and “Tai” by Western linguists and anthropologists. Situated between the autonomous Dai prefectures of Dehong (“Tai Noe”) and Xishuang Banna (“Tai Lue”), Jinggu has only the less privileged status of an “autonomous Tai county”, and in contrast to the other two regions which possess the status of “autonomous Tai prefectures” Jinggu has received much less scholarly and public attention, both inside and outside of China. In this article, the author will analyze first the current research status of Jinggu and try to demonstrate that this neglect is completely unjustified and that Jinggu in fact played an important role among the Tai vassal states of Imperial China, the so-called “Pacification Commission” (tusi) in Chinese terminology.¹ Subsequently, the author will give an overview of the research which has so far been done on the history of Jinggu. Thereafter, the author will explain the significance of Jinggu as a case study of state-building processes in the southern borderlands between China and Southeast Asia. Finally, a conclusion will be given.

An Analysis of The Construction of Post Station and Centralization in Nguyễn Vietnam, 1802–1820

Liye YANG, PG (Sun Yat-sen University)

After Gia Long (Nguyễn Phúc Ánh) unified the entire territory of Vietnam in 1802, how to consolidate Nguyễn's reign became the top priority of decision-making. To manage the "S"-shaped kingdom with different terrains and cultural diversity, it is necessary to change Ruling Ideology from local Regime Quảng Nam into a vast geographic expanse kingdom. To this end, Gia Long carried out a series of political, economic, military and cultural reforms, including obtaining the recognition of the Qing Dynasty, promulgating *Luật Gia Long*, restoring the Confucian court examination system, the reform of administrative system, the reform of administrative structure and the establishment of military forts, etc. To rule such a long and narrow land, how can Gia Long achieve control over the country at the traffic level, timely conveying laws and regulations from the central government to localities, acquainting local political and social economic conditions, and responding

on the national level? All of these need a set of effective and transportation communication system. The post station in Gia Long's period played such a role. The post station on this period was recorded in the book *Hoàng Việt nhất thống Dư địa chí*. This paper will base on this book, combining with other historical materials, to explore the problem of post station in Gia Long's period. From the perspective of post station, this paper will probe into how the political and economic policies were transmitted on the vastest territory of the Vietnamese history in Gia Long's period, how the process of transmission connect the various regions of this kingdom, and how the country's "tentacles" penetrate into localities and strengthen central power.

The Cowrie Money World: Reflections

YANG Bin (University of Macau)

This talk first summarizes my studies of cowrie shells and cowrie money, and confirms that cowrie money was not small money, no traditional money, let alone primitive money, but the first global money in human history. Indeed, cowrie money is neither traditional nor modern. Second, the chapter discusses the cowrie trade and cowrie money, thus engaging the hot topic of the rise of Europe in world history, particularly Asia and the emergence and dominance of the modern world system. Furthermore, the chapter outlines the wax and wane of the cowrie money in Afro-Eurasia, and this raise the term "the Cowrie Money World". The conceptualization of "the Cowrie Money World" may shed some new light on the following issues such as Asian interactions, and historical analytical frame, namely, world regions such as Southeast Asia and China, and new paradigm such as zomia. I argues that the term of the Cowrie Money World serves not only as a historical space and thus a research subject, but also a research paradigm and method that provides a chance of reflections on historical methodology.

Sunday, 6 January

15:00 am – 17:30 pm Panel Sessions 4

Panel No.	Panel Title	Venue
4.1	The Opium War and other Encounters with the West as the Roots of Asian Awakening	Keizo Saji Memorial Hall, 10F
4.2	Economic Aid and the Development of Consortiums in Asia in the 1960s	Seminar Room 507
4.3	Chinese World order and its Challengers in East Asia, 1300-1900	Seminar Room 406
4.4	Maritime History during the Late Early Modern Era	Seminar Room 301
4.5	Empire and Boundary: New Perspectives in East Eurasian History for the 10th to 13th Centuries	Seminar Room 702
4.6	Teaching the Exchange between Asian Regions and Japan in the Age of Imperialism: Practices in High Schools in Japan	Seminar Room 703

4.1

The Opium War and other Encounters with the West as the Roots of Asian Awakening

Chair: Shingo MINAMIZUKA (Hosei University)

Discussant: YANG Biao (East China Normal University)

Panel Abstract:

The Opium War was of course a great turning point of Chinese history. But it was symbolic of the beginning of the Asian awakening around the middle of the 19th century. We will follow the implication of the Opium War over Asian countries, taking into consideration of the other encounters of Asian countries with the West.

Papers:

Introduction: Comparing the Descriptions of the Opium War in the History Textbooks of Asian Countries

Shingo MINAMIZUKA (Hosei University)

The Japanese Response to the Opium War and the Opening of Japan

Shigeki YOSHIMINE (Hokkaido Yuho High School) with Shingo MINAMIZUKA

Beginning of Indonesian Awakening: Java War and its aftermath 1825-1840s

Agus SUWIGNYO (Universitas Gadjah Mada Yogyakarta)

The Opening of Spanish Colonial Philippines and the Rise of Filipino Awakening, 1840s-1890s

Francis Alvarez GEALOGO (Ateneo de Manila University)

Comment: The Opium War as the Beginning of the Modern World

YANG Biao (East China Normal University)

4.2

Economic Aid and the Development of Consortiums in Asia in the 1960s

Chair: Shigeru AKITA (Osaka University)

Commentator: LIU Hong (Nanyang Technological University)

Panel Abstract:

This panel aims to explore historical significance of economic aid to the developing countries in Asia for the formation of new international order of Asia in the 1950s-early 1970s, before the oil crisis of 1973-74.

We use a comparative-study approach, by making comparisons of three case studies: India (South Asia), Indonesia (Southeast Asia) and Taiwan (East Asia). Taiwan was the first developing country in East Asia to achieve industrialization of consumer-goods, especially cotton-goods from the early 1960s, by utilizing US economic aid, including PL480 (mainly surplus agricultural food aid). After the regime change in 1965, Indonesia tried to get more aid from Western countries, Australia and Japan. On the other hand, India suffered from the stagnation of industrial development (capital goods industrialization) and the ‘Food crisis’ in the mid-1960s.

India had received a huge economic aid from the early 1960s, through the Aid-India Consortium, a multiple aid-giving framework led by the World Bank. Indonesia successfully negotiated with donor-countries and formed the Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia (IGGI) to get economic aid, especially food aid. It means, from the middle of the 1960s, the consortium-style of a multi-lateral framework of economic aid tended to play increasing roles for economic development of Asian countries. We try to analyse the mutual interactions between donor countries and institutions (US, Japan, Australia, UK and the World Bank) and recipient countries (India, Indonesia and Taiwan) for development aid, and to emphasize the initiatives of recipient countries.

Papers:

The Aid-India Consortium and the ‘Green Revolution’ in India in the late 1960-1970s

Shigeru AKITA (Osaka University)

A multiple-aid framework of the Aid-India Consortium started in 1958 under the foreign exchange crisis in India, and it helped to accelerate the (capital goods-centered) heavy chemicals industrialization by the middle of the 1960s. However, in the mid-1960s, India faced with a ‘food crisis’ due to two successive draughts, which disclosed shortcomings of planned economy---the relative neglect of agriculture. To overcome ‘food crisis’, the World Bank, the initiator of the Aid-India Consortium, played an important role to assist the growth of Indian food production (the Green Revolution) through economic aid (project aid and technical assistance), under the new President of Robert McNamara.

This paper tries to analyze the mutual interactions between the World Bank (donor) and the Indian government (aid-recipient), and to reveal Indian initiatives in agricultural development on the one hand, and the changing nature of the World Bank’s policies from industrialization to social-welfare of local communities on the other.

From the Aid to a “Thoroughly Unpleasant Neighbour” to the Creation of the Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia: Australia’s Aid Policy towards Indonesia

Yoichi KIBATA (The University of Tokyo and Seijo University)

During the first half of the 1960s Australia experienced difficulties in the relations with its northern neighbour, Indonesia, because of the West Irian problem and then "Konfrontasi" (the Malaysian dispute). During "Konfrontasi" despite Britain's repeated requests for military forces to assist its combat activities against Indonesia, Australia delayed the decision to send them, and even after the United States decided to stop giving aid to Indonesia Australia continued its economic aid to Indonesia, though the amount of aid was limited.

This paper first tries to search for Australia's motive to deviate from the lines taken by two big and important allies, Britain and the United States. Then this paper traces Australia's attitude towards Indonesia during the period from the September 30 Incident in 1965, which drastically changed the political climate in Indonesia, to the creation of the Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia (IGGI) in 1967, and examines Australia's position in the making of this international aid regime for Indonesia.

A Study on US Aid and Taiwan: Development of Textile Industry

Wei-chen LEE (National Chengchi University)

After the outbreak of the Korean War on June 25, 1950, the US included the Republic of China on Taiwan (Taiwan hereafter) in its Asia-Pacific containment line, and restored the military and economic aid to Taiwan for the sake of regional security. The US aid to the countries along the Asia-Pacific defense line was not only in the form of supplying munitions, but also linked these countries together in an economic dimension. Taiwan is one of the 120 countries which had accepted US aid and also successfully moved from "dependence" to "independently sustained growth."

From the industry developing point of view, the textiles industry in the early 1950s was still an infant industry. But the government subtly used US aid goods and materials to support the textile industry. The textile products have been able to self-sufficiency in the middle 1950s and begun to export from the end of 1950s. From 1960s, the textile industry had become an export-oriented industry and contributed earning foreign exchange very much until 1990s. To mention about the reasons of Taiwan textile industry development, there are for examples the Japanese colonial heritage (Japanese enterprises), textile capital from Mainland China before 1949, US aid raw materials, domestic market, import-controlled policies, protecting and regulating policies for promoting the development of textile industry, technocrats, etc.

This article will firstly review the influence of US aid to Taiwan economic development, and then discuss the issue of US aid and Taiwan's industrialization and economic autonomy in a case study on textile industry.

ECAFE and Asian Industrial Development Problems in the late 1960s and early 70s

Ikuto YAMAGUCHI

From the mid-1960s facing the growing gap with developed world and the difficulties of ISI (Import substituting industrialization), Asian countries in ECAFE (The United Nations Economic

Commission for Asia and the Far East) started an active discussion on the problems of industrialization. Through the discussion two strategies for industrialization emerged: one was promoting EOI (Export oriented industrialisation) as well as strengthening trade and investment relations with developed markets (especially with the United States and Japan). The other was seeking regional harmonisation of industry based on coordination of investment, specialisation of production and stimulating intra-regional trades. While the former strategy was supported by Singapore, Taiwan, Korea and several Southeast Asian countries gradually, India and the ECAFE Secretariat under the Executive Secretary, Burmese U Nyun advocated regional cooperative measures towards the end of the 1960s. However, with the rise of sub-regional system (for example, ASEAN), the transformation of regional diplomatic relations as well as the changing economic situation in the region (economic rise of Japan), around the early 1970s, the former strategy began to get momentum in East/Southeast Asian economies.

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Asian countries experienced the transformation of economic development and aid structure that led to the emergence of East Asian NIEs. This paper explores this transformation through seeing ECAFE of this period.

4.3

Chinese World Order and its Challengers in East Asia, 1300-1900

Chair: Se-hyun CHO (Pukyong National University)

Discussant: Hyangsook PANG (Sogang University)

Panel Abstract:

The panel explores various forms of anti-Sinocentrism and post-Sinocentrism in East Asia, and their contribution to the formation of East Asian world from the 13th to the 19th century. As the late imperial China expanded its political, cultural, and economic influence in Asia during this period, various elements in East Asia including state, non-state, and transnational actors responded in different ways. While some, like Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Japan challenged the Chinese authorities directly, others decided to cope with the reality of expanding Chinese influence, trying to gain benefit from the expansion. Still others decided to exit from the order altogether. It is important to study these various forms of responses in order to form a more dynamic and complete understanding of the reality of East Asian world order in the early modern period. However, previous scholarship on East Asian world order, which have primarily focused on the examination of the state-to-state diplomatic relationship including the tributary system, have yet to examine them systematically.

This panel explores three different local and regional initiatives to challenge and respond to the expanding Chinese political hegemony in East Asia under the late imperial Chinese authorities (Yuan, Ming, and Qing). On the basis of detailed empirical research, the papers in this panel show

how a state actor (Choson Korea), a non-state actor (conquered native elites of Yunnan) and a transnational actor (Korean migrants in Manchuria) in East Asia challenged and coped with the expansion of the Chinese imperial authorities; how their responses shaped the structure of the East Asian world order, while their native, religious, and national identities were transformed in the process of responding to the expanding Chinese hegemony.

Jeong MYEON examines the identity formation of the native local elites of Yunnan from the 13th to the 19th century, in response to the colonial expansion of three Chinese empires (Yuan, Ming, and Qing). In particular, the paper analyzes the narrative of the “Yunnan history” appearing in the various local gazetteers during this period. In so doing, it explores how the local historical narrative, constructed by the non-Han native elites, originated, and how it was distinctive from the Chinese historical narrative of Yunnan history appearing in the Chinese historical texts. Locating their histories not only within Chinese world but also within Southeast Asian world, the emergence of the native history of Yunnan shows how the native elites creatively responded to the Chinese imperial expansion.

Kwangmin KIM offers Korean migrants and their agrarian development in Manchuria or China’s Northeast in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In particular, this paper focuses on the pivotal role that the millenarian religions (or “popular religions”) played in the organization of their migration and the development enterprises. It shows how the Korean adherents of the millenarian religion ironically contributed to the demographic expansion of the “Chinese” world, while being in constant political struggles with the Chinese imperial authorities. The paper also shows that the millenarian religion provided to the multicultural and multiethnic pioneer community in the Sino-Korean borderlands a new identity which straddled the Han and non-Han divide.

Jieun HU offers an examination of the production and circulation of the Records on Various Countries of Eastern Sea (or East of the Sea)” (海東諸國記), a 15th century Korean book on the history and geography of Ryukyu, Japan, and others and the diplomatic relations between the East Asian countries. In particular, this paper focuses on how Choson Korea maintained independent foreign relations with Japan under the tacit approval of Ming Chinese court; it also explores how the Japan government participated in the Korean initiated regional order in order to overcome their diplomatic isolation in which they were put after the Hideyoshi Invasion of Korea (or Imjin war) (1592-1598).

4.4

Maritime History during the Late Early Modern Era

Chair: Shiro MOMOKI (Osaka University)

Panel Abstract:

Young scholars trained in Osaka will deal with long-distance trade and diplomatic relations during the late early modern era and its transition to the modern era. Topics beyond maritime Asia in the

narrow sense, such as trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific relationship, and the link between maritime region and mountainous region, will shed new light on the recent scholarship that have been more and more interested in this period.

Papers:

The Rise of Silver dollar in 19th century Vietnam and other Asian countries

Yoshihiro TAGA (Keio University)

As well known, silver assumed quite important economic role in pre-modern Asia. At first, monetary use of silver expanded simultaneously in different regions of Eurasia under the rule of Mongol empire in the end of 13th century. Subsequently, second surge of silver flow ensued from late 16th to mid-17th century with prolific silver production in Spanish America and Japan.

Unlike Europe where silver was circulated as a form of coin, Asian countries traditionally used silver as a form of ingot whose value was determined by their weight and fineness. However, as European merchants took part in Asian markets with Western style silver coins, silver use of Asia became all the more complicated. Among the various types of silver coins brought to Asian market, most important one was the “Spanish dollar (peso)” minted in Spanish America. From the end of 16th century, Spanish silver dollar became prevalent in Chinese coastal area and Southeast Asia.

In Vietnam, although some amount of silver dollar had been imported by Western merchants since second half of 17th century, this coin did not become prevalent before end of 18th century. From the end of 18th century, silver dollar began to be used as a mean of tax payment or reward for military service under the initiative of Nguyễn Phúc Anh, who eventually unified Vietnam and established Nguyễn dynasty 1802.

After the establishment of Nguyễn dynasty, use of silver dollar became more prevalent both in fiscal administration and market exchange. In coastal area such as Quảng Yên region, silver dollar accounted for over 80% of circulating silver money. Among the various types of silver dollar circulating Vietnam, Spanish Carlos dollars were most commonly used.

Influenced by the Spanish silver dollar, Nguyễn dynasty minted its own silver coins in addition to silver ingot. In 1832, Emperor Minh Menh ordered to mint 20,000 pieces of “Flying silver coins (Phi long ngân tiền 飛龍銀錢). Once put in circulation, however, silver coin of Nguyễn dynasty wasn’t welcomed by market because of their lower silver content. In spite of limited circulation, minting of Flying silver coins had significant meaning for Asian monetary history, for that is earliest attempt in Asia to mint silver coin modeled after silver dollar.

Local Strategy, State Policy and Global Market Change: the Case of Vietnamese Cinnamon during from 18th to early 20th Centuries

Masashi OKADA (Kyoto University)

Cinnamon use has run in parallel with that of the herbal medicine as well as spice history. According to notices repeated in herbal medical texts since ancient times, cinnamon is one of the most

efficacious herbs for inducing perspiration. In the East Asian traditional medicine field, Vietnamese cinnamon, especially que Thanh (Thanh Hoa cinnamon), had been esteemed as being of the highest grade. It was also treasured in Japan. Historical records show that the Tokugawa Japan under the “closed-door (sakoku)” policy continuously imported Vietnamese cinnamon in great quantities for satisfying demands of the domestic herbal market. Because of the high prices cinnamon commanded among East Asian consumers, the Vietnamese government began to manage production and distribution of cinnamon. And later Vietnamese cinnamon came to find a new market in the Western world and to have a global scale circulation.

In this presentation, I will examine how the global commodity connected the local communities with the global markets, considering a variety of agents like local producer, leaders, state governments and trans-bordering merchants. Although it is known that the Northern Indochina mountainshaving supplied variety of forest products including cinnamon which the natural environment produces historically to global market, their role during the period after French colonial rule at the end of the 19th century has not been fully examined. This study will elucidate linkage between transformation of the communities in the mountains during the period and their involvements in forest products production and trade through analysis of historical documents and field data. Such linkage between local resource and global market production and trade management of forest products even will lead to review transformation in modernization of the Southeast Asian mountain world. The case of Vietnamese cinnamon also reveals valuable implications for conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.

Sergei Witte and the Shipping Associations: Rethinking the Russian Empire from a Maritime Viewpoint

Yukimura SAKON (Niigata University)

In his book, *The Origins of the Modern World* (Third Edition, Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), Robert B. Marks compares the industrialization of each country in the nineteenth century and, when discussing Russia, describes the era of Sergei Witte, the Russian Minister of Finance from 1892, as follows: the Russian government “launched a massive railroad-building program by heavy industry (coal, iron and steel, and oil)” and then played a major role in the first stage of the industrialization, “creating banks, hiring foreign engineers, and erecting high tariff barriers to protect its new industries from foreign competition.” Witte considered that “the economic relations of Russia with western Europe were fully comparable to the relations of colonial countries with their metropolises”.

This is a common view on Witte, whom different historians have discussed. One most distinguished book about him is *Sergei Witte and the Industrialization of Russia* (Atheneum, 1969) written by Theodore H. von Laue, which describes Witte’s attempts to industrialize Russia and identifies lessons for developing undeveloped countries.

Although Laue concentrated on domestic affairs, Japanese historians have emphasized his active role in Russia’s advance into East Asia, particularly Manchuria. In either case, it is clear that construction of the Trans-Siberian railway was a vital point for Witte’s economic policy.

This study discusses the economic policy of Witte and its ramifications, particularly with regard to how he used Russian commercial fleets effectively to find markets for Russian goods in Asia. As Teruyuki Hara, an eminent Japanese specialist in Russian history, pointed out, Russia was half-hearted about participating in developing intra-Asian trade in the second half of the nineteenth century. I suppose that studies examining the relation between Russian shipping trade and Witte revealed his attempts to change Russia's attitude toward the Asian market.

As is commonly known, he adopted protectionism for Russia based on the theory of Friedrich Liszt, a German economist in the first half of the nineteenth century, who identified five stages of the economic history: barbarian life; pastoral life; agriculture; agriculture united with manufacturing; and agriculture, manufacturing, and commerce combined. At the same time, in his book *About Nationalism – National Economy* and Friedrich Liszt published in 1912, Witte stated that it was necessary to develop a national fleet to boost the country to the highest economic stage, as shown in the following, and he dealt with shipping associations in the last four years of his tenure as Minister of Finance. That is, he did not have enough time to develop the shipping trade as a Minister, and the results were not rich enough to attract historians' attention, especially as Russia has been universally acknowledged as "a Land Empire."

This study discusses his plan to reform the organization as well as the role of the Russian Volunteer Fleet, which made round trips between Odessa and Vladivostok from 1879. The Volunteer Fleet was one of the two biggest shipping associations in imperial Russia, equal to the Russian Steam Navigation and Trading Company established in 1856; however, there have been few studies on either of them. Although we can find a few good studies on the Volunteer Fleet, they deal with only part of the history, for example, *Russian shipping trade in the Far East (1860-1925)* (Vladivostok, 1979) written by V.P. Biankin. Examining the history of the Volunteer Fleet, especially concerning tea trade, along with Witte's plan will give us a chance to review the Russian Empire from a maritime viewpoint.

Cultivation System in Java and Intra-Asian Trade — Focusing on the year 1833 —

Atsuko OHASHI (Nagoya University)

This paper argues Asian trade of Dutch Colonial Java in 1830s, presenting the statistics in the year 1833.

Few studies have discussed Asian trade of Dutch Colonial Java during "Cultivation System" (1830-1870). However, the statistics of international trade of Java reveal that Java was incorporated into the intra-Asian trade networks in 1830s. Java exported huge amount of rice. The total volume of exported rice was three times more than that of coffee to Europe. The main destination for rice export was China and the second destination was Riau. Java imported various kinds of daily necessities within Asian region. Among others, *gambir* from Riau is noteworthy. Java's major trade counterparts in Asia were China, Singapore, and Riau. The statistics show that these trades were

done by ships with European frags. However, it can be said that European ships depended on Chinese trade networks. In addition, Java's balance of trade with various Asian countries and ports in 1830s seems to be maintained on multi-lateral trade and international settlement system.

The Dynamics of Plural Economies in Southeast Asia: Asian Traders in Indonesia and Vietnam in the Late Colonial Period, 1900s-1930s

PHAM Van Thuy

(University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, Vietnam)

This paper seeks to compare the economic structure of Vietnam and Indonesia under the European colonial rules in the early twentieth century. Attention is given to the dynamic roles of Asian sectors in the colonial economies of Indonesia and Vietnam, particularly the economic activities of the Chinese, Indian and Arabian traders. Although the Europeans, namely the Dutch in Indonesia and French in Vietnam, had the top position in the economic hierarchy and controlled the most modern sectors, the Chinese, Indians and other Asian migrants also engaged in highly profitable businesses, such as trade, transportation, agricultural product processing industries, contracting works, and money lending. The indigenous people, i.e. ethnic Indonesians and Vietnamese were the main labour forces, engaging in agriculture, or working as labourers in the Western-owned factories, mines, and plantations.

The differentiate economic positions and yet income of different ethnic groups in colonial Indonesia and colonial Vietnam are discussed on the basis of Furnival's theory of plural economy. However, instead of looking at the Asian traders as intermediates between the European colonial rules and indigenous labourers, this papers highlights their independent and dynamic roles. The Chinese and Indian traders built their own economic institutions which protected and linked up the businesses of their own people operating in different parts within the colonies and between the colonies and their home countries, as well as in oversea. In several cases, Chinese and Indian traders became competing forces against European businesses.

4.5

Empire and Boundary: New Perspectives in East Eurasian History for the 10th to 13th Centuries

Chair: Masaki MUKAI (Doshisha University)

Commentator: Yuko NISHIDA (Osaka University)

Panel Abstract:

The purpose of this panel is to express historical images of Eastern Eurasia from the 10th to the 13th centuries from the perspective of "boundaries". Eastern Eurasia is essentially a new regional framework that regards Eurasia from east of the Pamir up to and including Japan and Southeast Asia as a whole. In this framework, against the background of the relative weakness of the Chinese

dynasties from the An Lushan Rebellion (mid-8th century) onwards and the rise of Central Asian powers such as the Liao (遼), Jin (金), and XiXia (西夏), the traditional Chinese-centered view of

history in the region is contextualized, and in order to express a new regional world history, histories of Japan and of Central Asia from Japan have been raised.

Since the 1980s, in academia in Europe, America, and Taiwan, the Sinocentric international order as represented by Fairbank's "Chinese World Order" (The Chinese World Order, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968) has been challenged. Furthermore, centering on the theme of international relations dominated by Central Asia (China among Equals, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), in Japan, attempts have been made to rethink the history of this new region as represented in "Eastern Eurasia theory" (cf. Furumatsu Takashi. "International Relations in Eastern Eurasia during the Multistate Era of the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries." Studies in Chinese History 21, 2011, pp.113-130). However, new regional histories such as the "Eastern Eurasia theory" basically rethink history from the viewpoint of Central Asian history, and it is not necessarily true that these can serve as a regional world history on the Eastern Eurasian scale that would include Southeast Asia and Southwest China. Moreover, they rely on "international relations" based on the premise of relations between "states" as their main themes. Therefore, various level syntheses and the groups that Shosuke Murai describes as "marginal" (Chusei Wajin Den, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993), which exist mainly on the periphery of "empires" and cannot be necessarily dealt with by frameworks of "states", have not been adequately recognized.

While paying attention to the regional world history of Eastern Eurasia, including Southeast Asia and Southwest China, this panel intentionally focuses on "boundary" spaces of empires. Through doing so, we will deconstruct the traditional Eastern Eurasia theory, which assumed the existence of "states", from viewpoints including those of exchanges of people, goods, information, and so forth, and discuss the new image of a wide order of Eastern Eurasia that includes various forms of integration, including of the "marginal".

Papers:

Tribute, Trade and Influence: Champa in East Asian World Order (9th-13th centuries)

ĐỖ Trường Giang (Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences)

ĐỖ Trường Giang explores the position and role of Champa in the context of East Asia during the period from the ninth to thirteenth centuries. Basing on historical records and new archaeological findings, he will examine Champa's responses to the expanding influences of world civilization centers such as Chinese civilization and Islamic civilization. The challenges from the neighboring regional powers of Đại Việt and Angkor and Champa's reaction will also be discussed.

The Song Dynasty's "International" Order and Boundary World

Satoshi ENDO (Osaka University)

ENDO Satoshi focuses on "the Chinese World Order" established by the Song Dynasty and reconsiders the historical meaning of the various elements, such as the tributary (chaogong 朝貢) and

vassalage (cefeng 冊封) systems that embodied it. Previously, based on the general “either or” argument, of either “belonging” or “independence,” the tributary and vassalage systems were nervously evaluated as “a superficial form” of relations with China within the China-centric international order. However, he points to the aspect that various groups in Southeast Asia and Southwest China independently “used” the tributary and vassalage systems while attracting the political order established by the Song Dynasty to their respective political and economic contexts, and he argues that they functioned as one kind of “public goods” in the Eastern Eurasia.

Tax and Corvée Duties Imposed on Dual-Governed (Double Vassal) People by the Song and the Liao

HONG Sungmin (Waseda University)

HONG Sungmin studies the taxes and corvée duties imposed on the borderland between the Song and Liao Dynasties. The border area was governed by both the Song and the Liao and its residents were supposed to pay taxes to both administrations. Thus, the region and the people are said to be dual-governed. Dual governance began when the Song finally gave up its plan to conquer its north and when Kitan started to attack the Song and collect taxes in the borderlands. The Song exempted the people in the borderlands from most tax duties, but continued to impose miscellaneous taxes in order to remain as official ruler of the region. Before and after signing Chanyuan Treaty in 1004, residents of the dual-governed regions paid miscellaneous taxes and served corvée duties for the Song, and, at the same time, paid taxes and served corvée labor for Kitan as well. Each country needed to impose tax and labor burden lighter than the other and deliver relief more than the other. The Song and the Liao took different approaches in ruling the borderlands. From Kitan’s position, it was satisfactory enough to have control and be able to exploit labor from the region. The Song, on the other hand, took the issue as a matter of territorial integrity.

Boundaries and Tea of Southwest China during the 12th and 13th: A Consideration of the “Tea and Horse Agency System” in Southern Song China

Hajime MORIMOTO (Meiji University)

MORIMOTO Hajime discusses a new image of a wide order in Eastern Eurasia from the perspective of Southwest China. Traditionally, the boundary zones of Southwest China have been understood in terms of tributary relationships with the Song Dynasty. More recently, however, a view has been suggested that regards the basis of the tributary relationship with the Southern Song as having shifted from ceremonial acts to trade. He argues that the tea and horse trade in Southern Song represented tributary trade in Southwest China, referring to the system as the “Tea and Horse Agency System.” At the same time, he points out that tribes network existed with Tibet and India beyond the framework of this regime, and presents the complex relationships of the boundary zones.

Arab and Persian’s Network behind the Tributary System during the Song Period

Masaki MUKAI (Doshisha University)

The issues of tributary system in the Eastern Eurasian history were mainly argued from the viewpoint of “international” relation. On the contrary, MUKAI Masaki pays more attention to the roles of “transnational” network and aim to clarify the fact that the activities of Arab and Persian shippers were leading force to establish and extend tributary relation between China and foreign state. Wang Gunwu once pointed out that the Nanhai trade was divided into official trade and private trade and the latter became more overwhelming during the Southern Sung period. However, this difference is only superficial and both types of trade were only the reflection of strategic shift of Arab and Persian shippers’ activities.

4.6

Teaching the Exchange between Asian Regions and Japan in the Age of Imperialism: Practices in High Schools in Japan

Chair: KIM Minkyu (Northeast Asia Foundation)

Discussant: Lisa RIGGIN (California State University, Fullerton)

Panel Abstract:

This panel aims at looking for possibility of overcoming a divide between “World History” and “Japanese (National) History” in Japanese high school’s curriculum, with teaching reports in Japanese high schools undertaken in cooperation with university scholars.

History education in Japanese high school is composed of two subjects, named “World History” and “Japanese History”. “World History” is one of the first subjects for students enrolled in high school. They learn comprehensively the history of the world each region. In “Japanese History”, they learn what was deepening the learning history in elementary and junior high school. In many cases, those subjects are taught by different teachers, and in different school year. The problem is that, the contents of the history before the high school level hardly includes foreign history. Therefore, many high school students tend to regard “World History” as a subject to learn the foreign history other than Japan. And, they also regard “Japanese History” as the subject to learn only Japanese history regardless of the world. Such recognitions are often seen also on the teacher side, in spite of the fact that the government curriculum guidelines determined to teach Japanese and World Histories in an integrated way.

The problem of that divide was also represented by HANEDA Masashi, professor of Tokyo University, in the keynote address of the third AAWH Congress at Singapore.

The government curriculum guidelines will be revised in 2022. And a new subject, named “Integrated History”, will be constituted as a compulsory subject. It integrates the contents of the Japanese History and the World History, and is the first subject in the history of the Japanese high school’s education. In addition, the new subject needs for paying more attention to active learning methods than didactic teaching and memorizing by role.

Currently, at the field of Japanese high school, studies of a new approach to educational methods are improving steadily, while studies to integrate contents of two subjects, “World History” and “Japanese History”, effectually. One of the causes of this situation, currently, there is a tendency of high school teachers generally do not like having access the new research trends, such as maritime history, global history, etc., that are originating from research institutes and universities. Because, many teachers, from the elementary school up to the high school, think that it is important to introduce a new approach to educational methods in educational content, rather than to introduce a new research trend.

As an attempt to introduce this new perspective of historical research into high school classes, The History Sub-Committee comprised of history teachers from Kanagawa Prefecture (next to Tokyo) has held high school/university collaborative lectures in the summer holidays since 2007. In these lectures, high school teaching staff and university researchers give lectures to high school students on a single topic, and the high school teaching staff and university researchers that have seen these lectures evaluate them from a common position. This practice is also a challenge that lies in the issue of how to reconcile world history for university entrance examinations and the latest research results from universities. Many participating students reported that even if the content was not directly relevant to their university entrance examinations, coming into contact with the latest research results raised both their interest in history and their desire to learn about it. The most significant outcome of this project was that it allowed high school teaching staff to actually see how university teaching staff incorporates the latest historical research results into regular world history classes. Our achievements of the past are presented in the first AAWH Congress (Osaka, 2009, titled “Teaching the Meiji Restoration in the context of World History: Practices in High Schools”), the second AAWH Congress (Seoul, 2012, titled Teaching Asian History in the 19th Century: Practices in High Schools in Japan), and the third AAWH Congress (Singapore, 2015, titled Teaching Migration History to High School Students: Problems and Practices in Japan).

The book “How to Teach World History”, published in 2008 by The History Sub-Committee was written with an awareness of the same issue. The book, which attempts to grasp the differences between the world history textbooks the teachers themselves learned from and current textbooks to examine how world history should be taught in the future, has gained a readership beyond teachers of world history to a wide range of people interested in history, including undergraduate and postgraduate university students. The main reason for its wide acceptance is the fact that many phenomena in world history that were considered common knowledge have actually ceased to be so, and the book offers explanations about them in simple terms.

In our activities, such as presentations, publication, etc., we noted the following two respects. The first, we interpret the exchange between Japan and other Asian regions building on contemporary world’s historical facts, as possible. It may overcome the extreme speech, such as anti-Chinese or anti-Korean, that is expressed emotionally by some Japanese people. And, it may contribute to the solidarity and the growth of Asian countries and areas, in future. The second, we adopt some up-to-date study which is taken in cooperation with university scholars, such as Osaka University and others. And, we teach students that as understandable for them.

In this congress, on the basis of these situations, we would like to discuss about our attempts on the integration of foreign and domestic history in high school teaching materials, by presenting

three typical topics about the exchange between Japan and other Asian regions, after the end of nineteenth century, named the age of imperialism.

The first panelist, **NAKAYAMA** presents about the situation, action, and subjectivity of Korean people who lived mainly in Japanese inland under the colonial rule of Empire of Japan with teaching practice in his school.

The second panelist **KANDA** presents about the change of Taiwanese society under the colonial rule of Empire of Japan. This is an attempt to position a strong Taiwanese in the 20th century who is trying to make the utmost maximum choice in the circumstances that was swaying in racial self-determination and autonomy acquisition, in history education in Japan.

The third panelist **CHINO** presents early exchange between Ottoman Empire and Japan with mentioning the incident of the Ertuğrul, an Ottoman naval training ship, in 1890.

Koreans in Japanese Inland under the Colonial Rule of Empire of Japan - Centered on the 1930s and 40s

Takunori NAKAYAMA (Kanagawa Prefectural Maioka High School)

Teaching Minorities in Empires: Taking the Case of Taiwanese under colonial rule of Empire of Japan

Motoshige KANDA (Kamakura Gakuen High School)

The Ottoman Empire and Japan seen from the Incident of the Ertuğrul

Toyohiko CHINO (Yokohama Civic Yokohama Commercial High School)

Access to the center

Please use the following public transportation facilities

BY TRAIN :

- JR loop line "Fukushima Station" (About 12 min on foot)
- JR Tozai Line "Shin Fukushima Station" (About 9 min on foot)
- Hanshin train "Fukushima Station" (About 9 min on foot)
- Keihan Nakanoshima Line "Nakanoshima Station" (About 5 min on foot)
- Osaka subway Yotsubashi line "Higobashi Station" (About 10 min on foot)
- Osaka subway Midosuji line "Yodoyabashi Station" (About 16 min on foot)

BY BUS :

Please use the following line from Osaka Station Bus Terminal

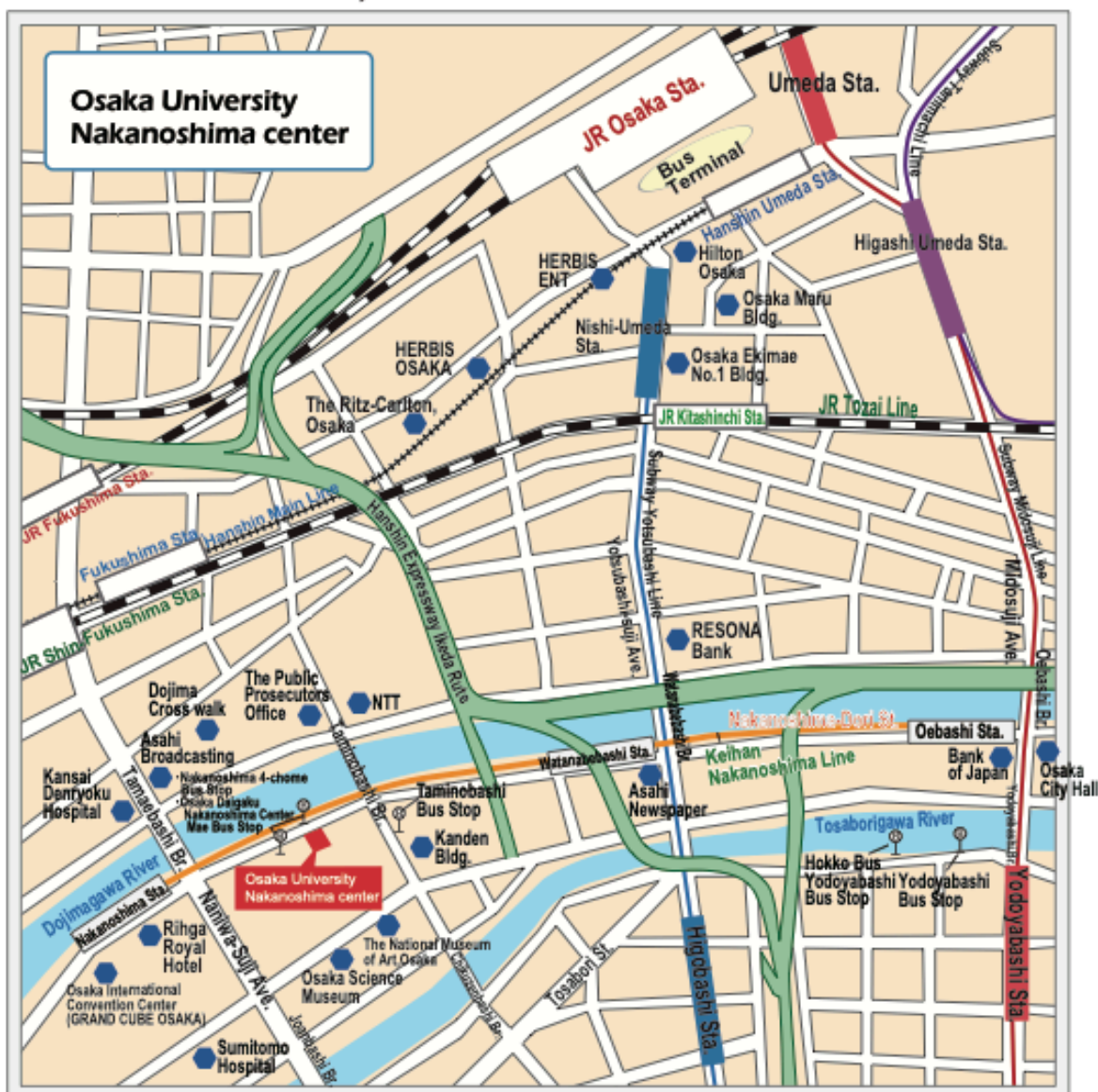
- Line 53 (for FUNATSUBASHI) drop off at "NAKANOSHIMA 4-CHOME"
- Line 75 (for TSURUMACHI 4-CHOME) drop off at "TAMINOBASHI"

It takes about 15 min from Osaka Station, but delays due to traffic congestion are common

From Yodoyabashi Station Hokko Bus stop

Nakanoshima Loop-bus "turara"drop off at "OSAKA DAIGAKU NAKANOSHIMA CENTER MAE"

It takes about 5min from Yodoyabashi Station



Address : Osaka University Nakanoshima center

4-3-53 Nakanoshima Kita-ku Osaka-city Osaka Japan 530-0005 〒 TEL:06-6444-2100, FAX:06-6444-2338

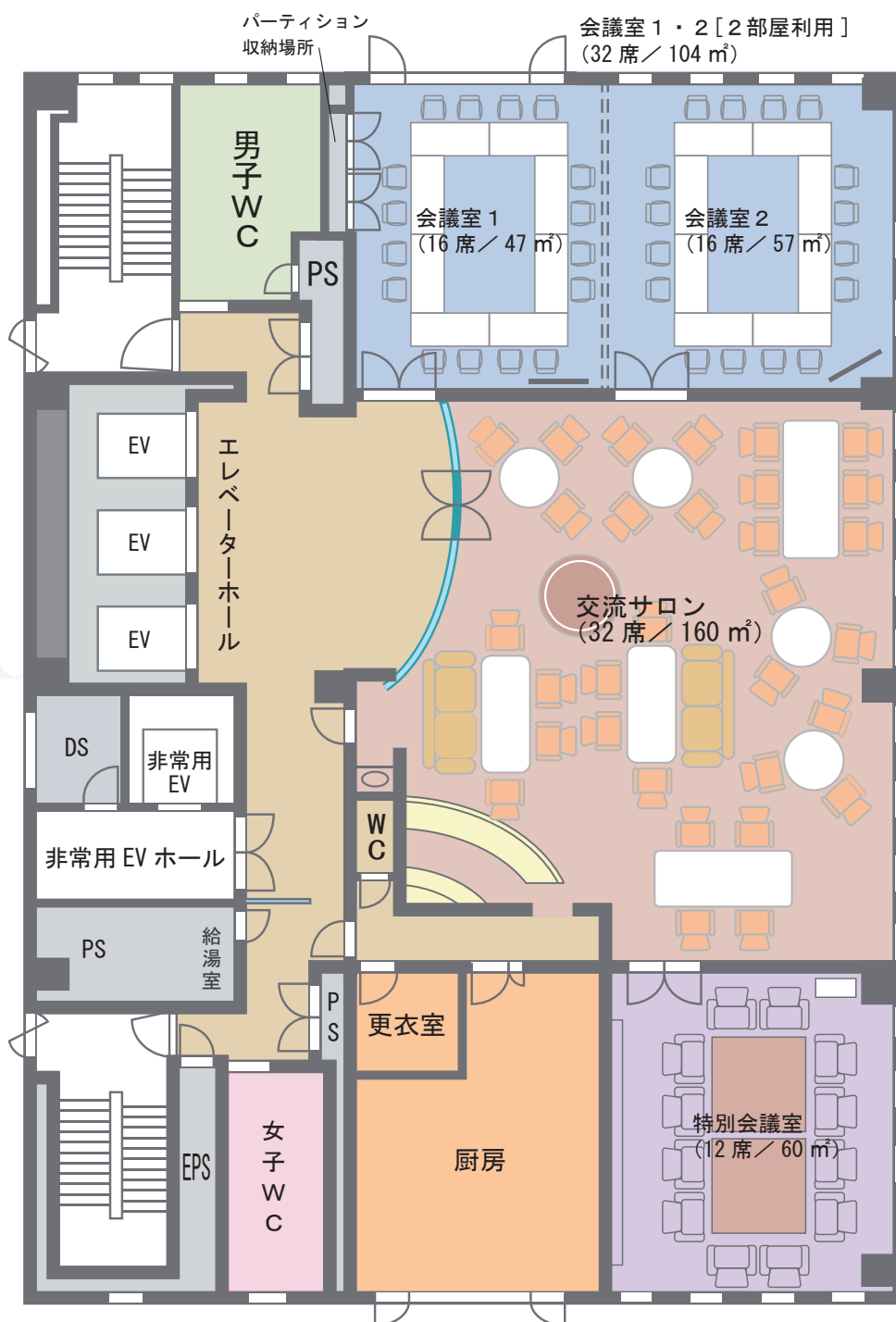
10F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■10階平面図(佐治敬三メモリアルホール)



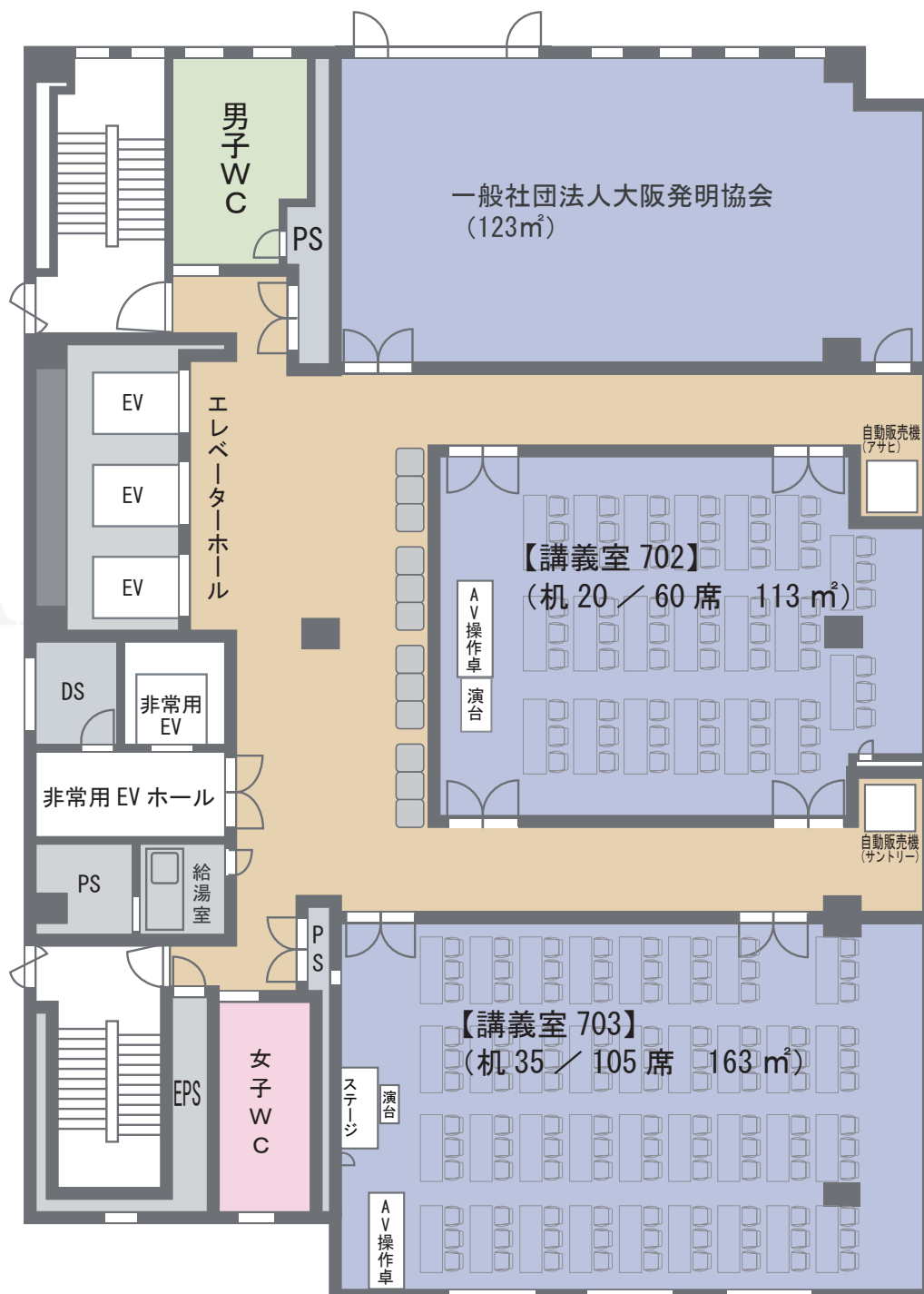
9 F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■9階平面図



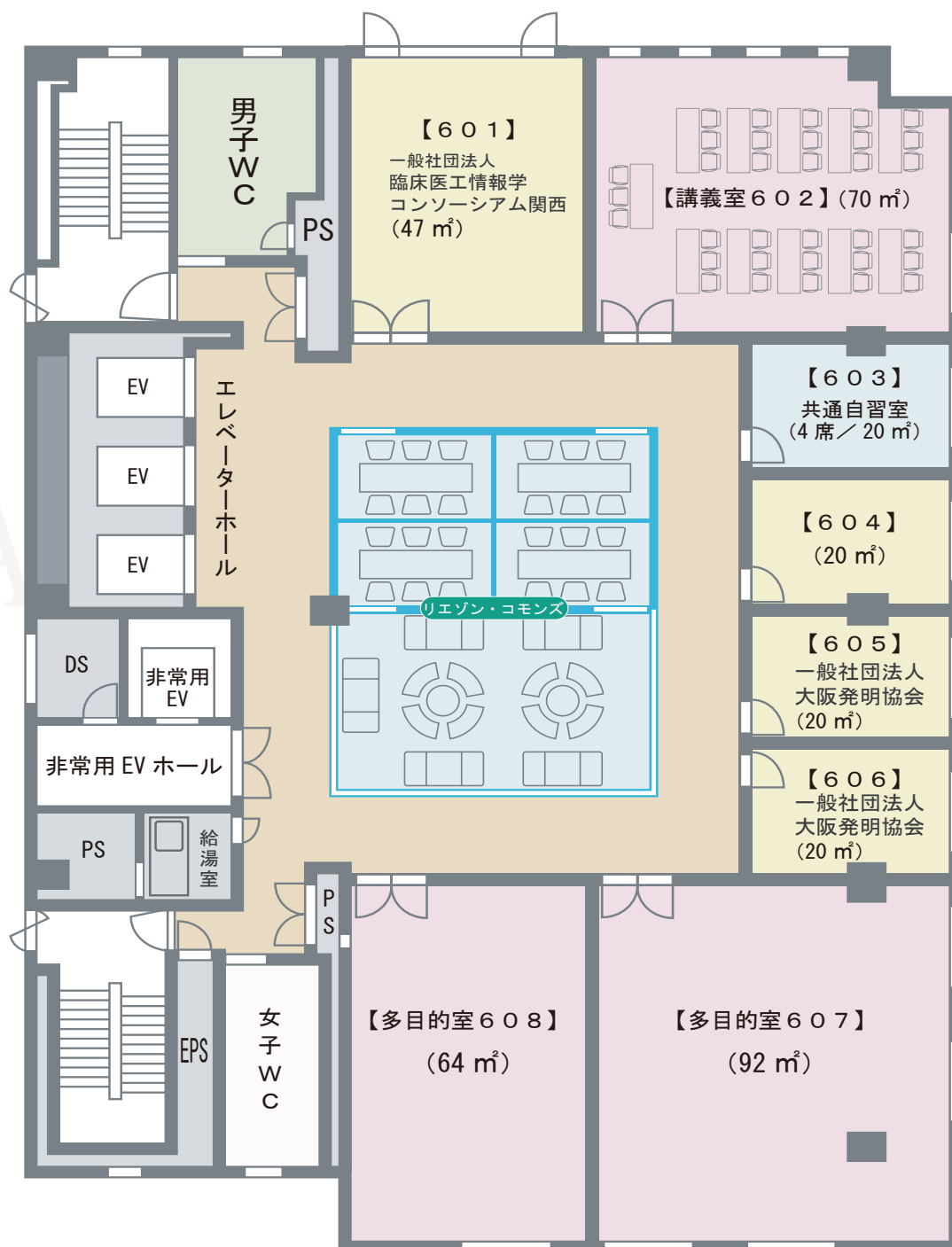
7 F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■7階平面図



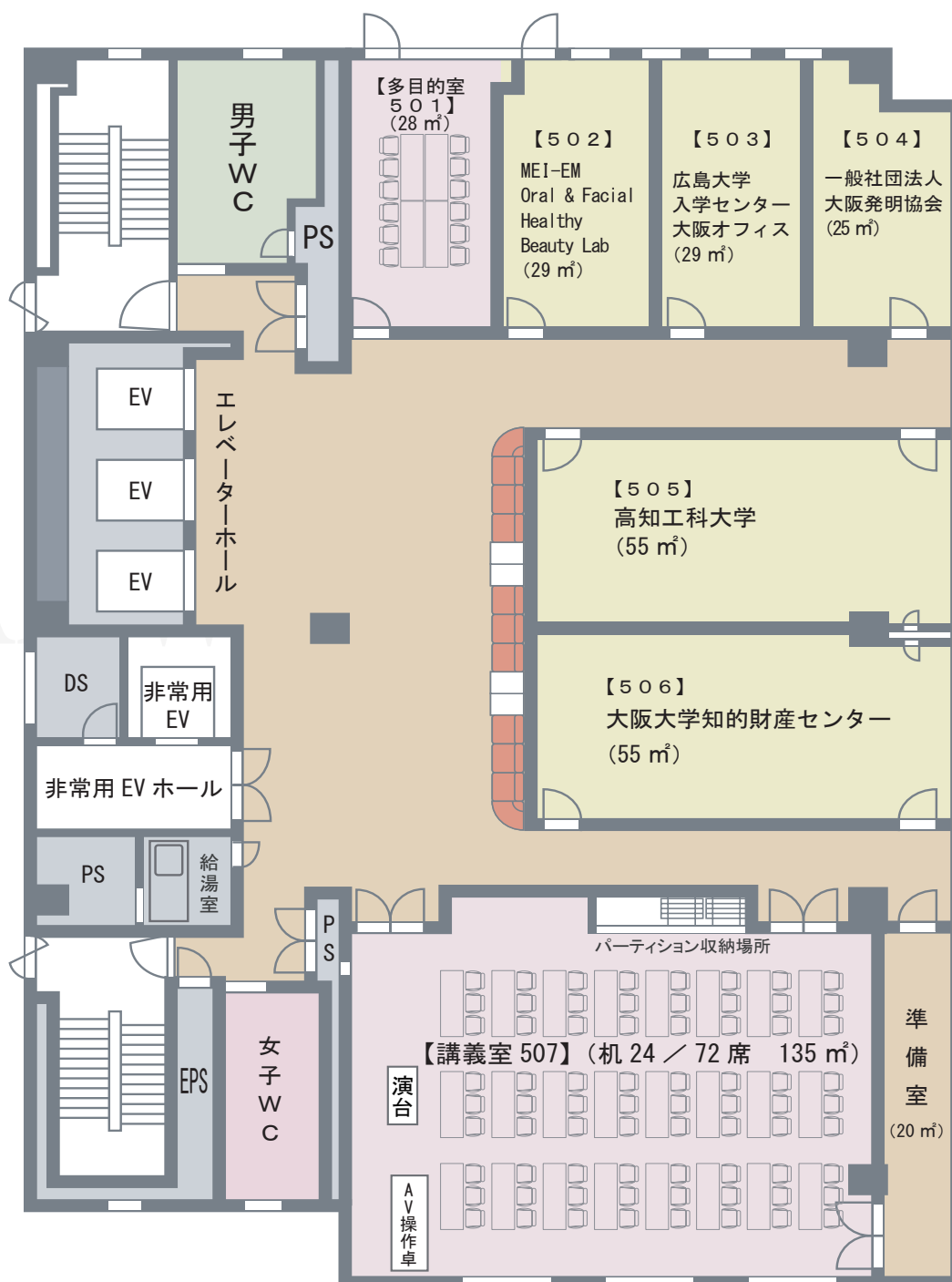
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■6階平面図



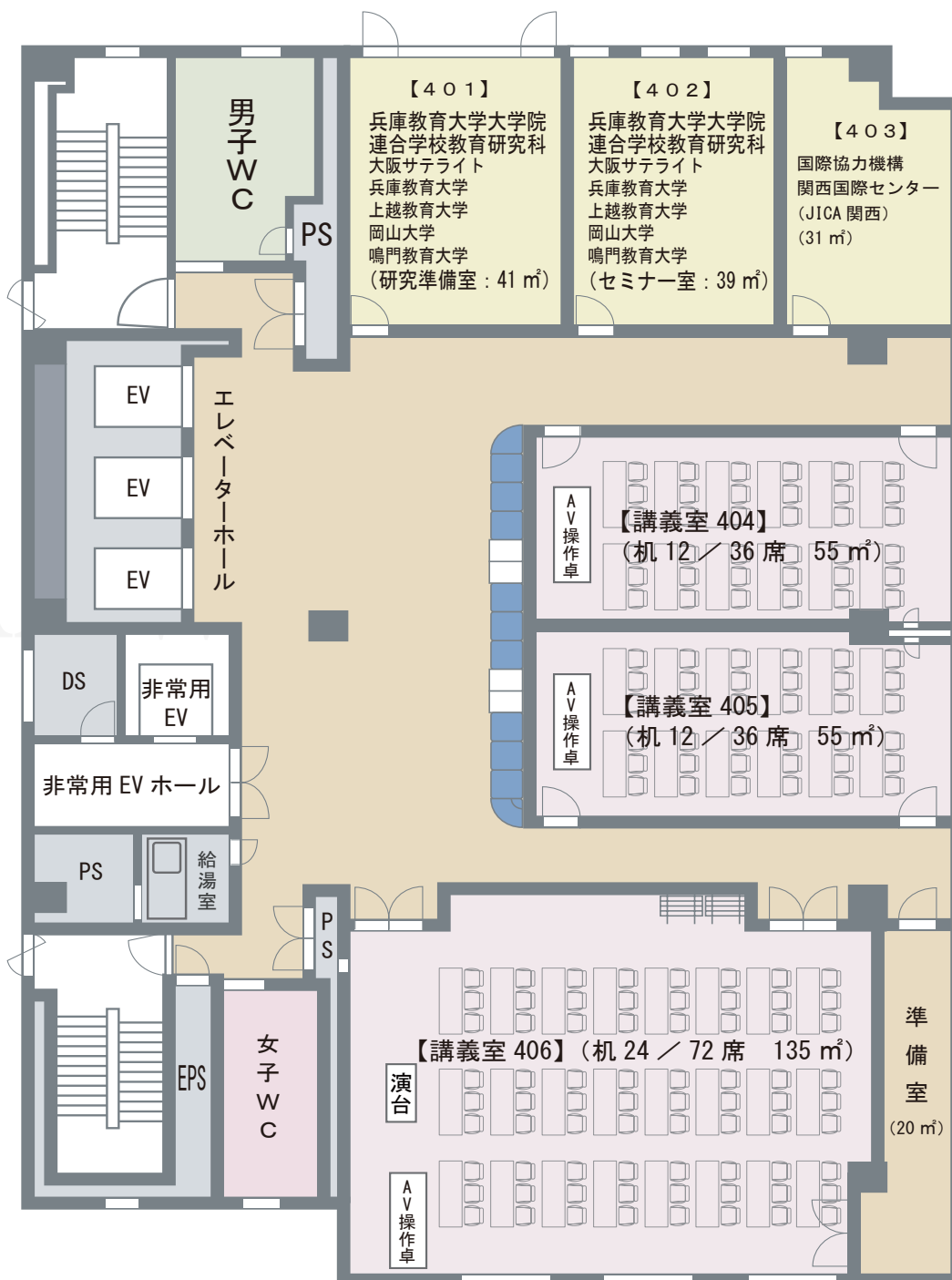
5F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■5階平面図



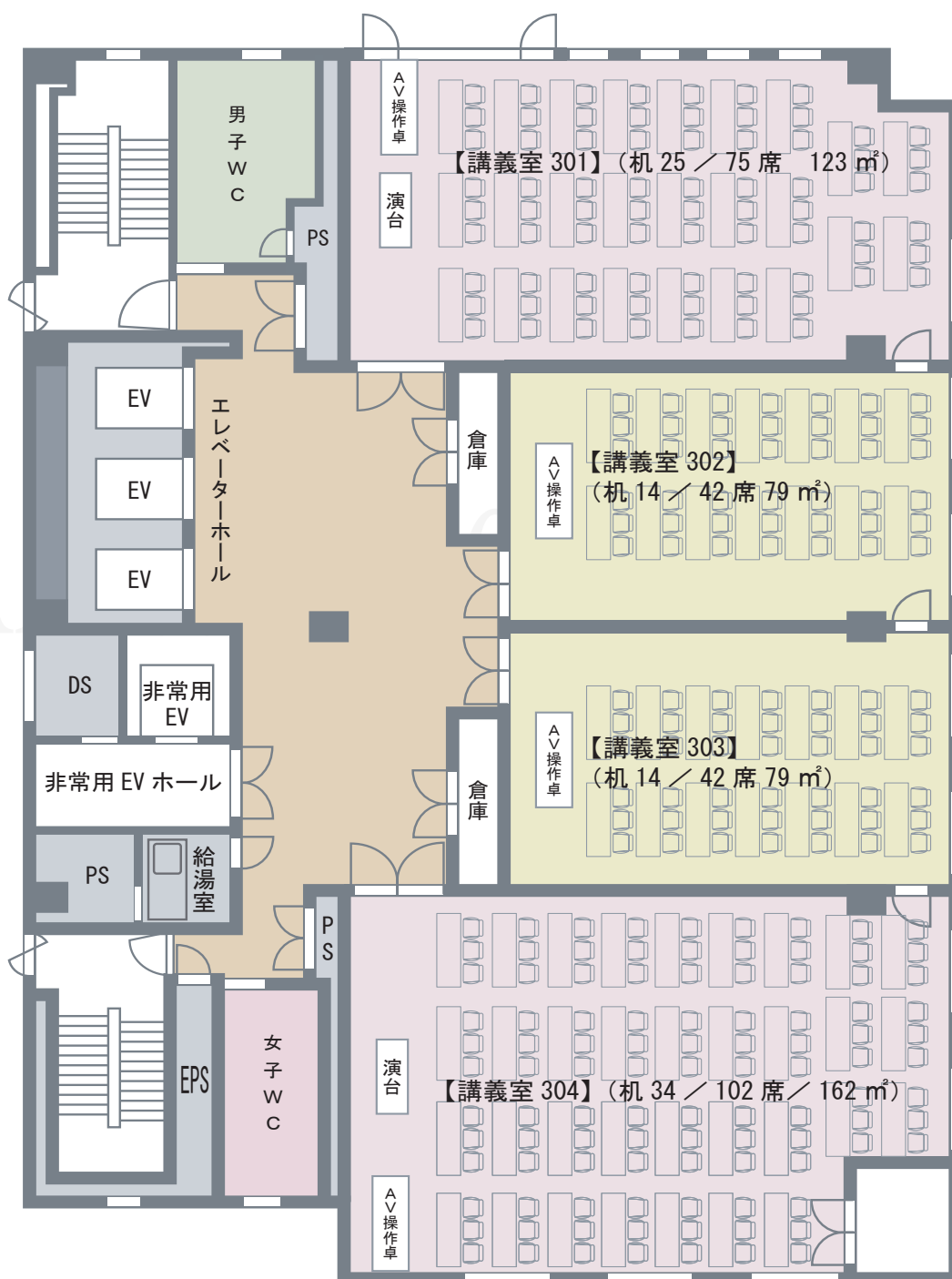
4F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■4階平面図



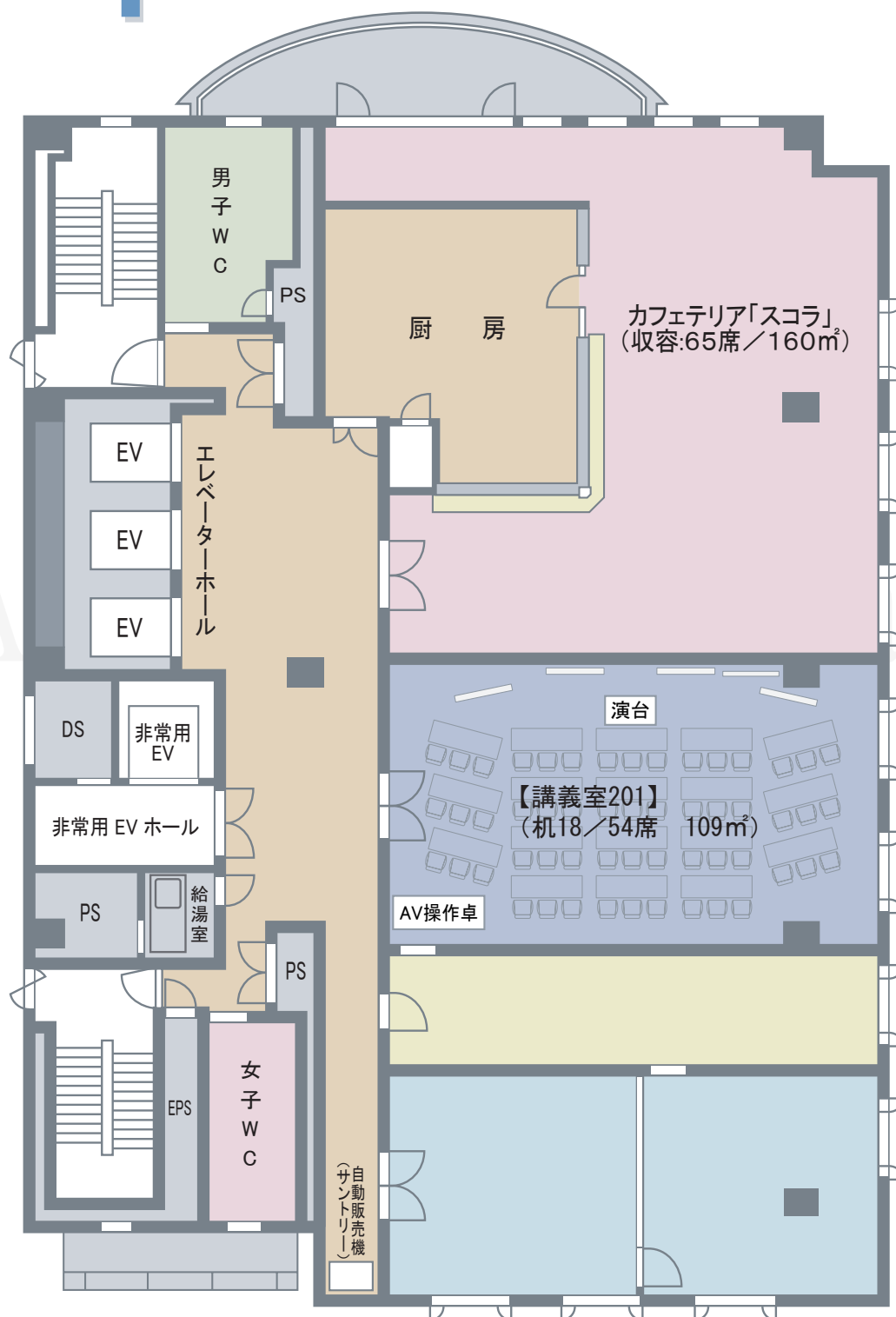
3F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■3階平面図



2F OSAKA UNIVERSITY NAKANOSHIMA CENTER

■2階平面図



4th AAWH Congress in Osaka, 2019

Creating World Histories from Asian Perspectives

Dates : 5 & 6 January 2019

Venue : Osaka University Nakanoshima Center



Keynote Speakers

The Meiji Revolution in Global Context

Professor Mitani Hiroshi (Atomi University, Japan)

*The Transformation of the Indian Economy in the Contemporary Period:
From the Colonial to the Post-Colonial*

Professor Aditya Mukherjee (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India)

1524: The End of the Silk Road

Professor Li Bozhong (Peking University, China)



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The Fourth AAWH Congress

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