# 東アジアにおける日本

Heiko Lang

# Competing Visions of Japan's Relations with Southeast Asia, 1938–1960

Identity, Asianism and the Search for a Regional Role



### **Advisory Board:**

Eun-Jeung Lee, Berlin
Regine Mathias, Centre Européen
d'Études Japonaises d'Alsace (CEEJA),
Kaysersberg Vignoble, France
Ken'ichi Mishima, Tokyo
Akimasa Miyake, Chiba
Steffi Richter, Leipzig
Wolfgang Schwentker, Osaka
Detlev Taranczewski, Bonn
Christian Uhl, Gent
Klaus Vollmer, München
Urs Matthias Zachmann, Berlin

Japan in Ostasien | Japan in East Asia

Edited by Wolfgang Seifert, Heidelberg

Volume 5

## Heiko Lang

# Competing Visions of Japan's Relations with Southeast Asia, 1938–1960

Identity, Asianism and the Search for a Regional Role



Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Förderungsfonds Wissenschaft der VG Wort.

**The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

a.t.: München, Univ., Diss., 2018

ISBN 978-3-8487-6400-6 (Print) 978-3-7489-0491-5 (ePDF)

#### **British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6400-6 (Print) 978-3-7489-0491-5 (ePDF)

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Lang, Heiko
Competing Visions of Japan's Relations with Southeast Asia, 1938–1960
Identity, Asianism and the Search for a Regional Role
Heiko Lang
437 pp.
Includes bibliographic references and index.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6400-6 (Print) 978-3-7489-0491-5 (ePDF)



Onlineversion Nomos eLibrary

#### 1st Edition 2020

© Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden, Germany 2020. Overall responsibility for manufacturing (printing and production) lies with Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without prior permission in writing from the publishers. Under § 54 of the German Copyright Law where copies are made for other than private use a fee is payable to "Verwertungsgesellschaft Wort", Munich.

No responsibility for loss caused to any individual or organization acting on or refraining from action as a result of the material in this publication can be accepted by Nomos or the author.

### Editorial by Series Editor

The series 'Japan in East Asia' publishes the latest research on the historical, social, and intellectual relations between Japan and Asia, in particular East Asia. As we know today, the Cold War has not yet ceased in that region. Regardless of intensified economic cooperation and despite the transnational impact of popular culture and exchange, the East Asian societies have not yet come to terms with their past. Taking a broader historical perspective, we see that the issue of realizing democracy in East Asian countries has remained on the agenda both in the fields of politics and culture, whereas in Western countries it has become an urgent task again. Unlike in Europe and the European Union, in East Asia nation states have not been integrated into units of a supranational structure. On the contrary, nation states continue to be dominant and exclusive forms of nationalism are highly virulent in East Asia today. To understand recent and historical developments in East Asia as a region, it is important to study not only individual countries there but to focus on the entire region in terms of its interconnections and interdependencies.

The title of this series is not meant to suggest a cumulative interest in the region in the additive sense of 'Japan and China and Korea (and other countries)'. Rather, it proposes a relational perspective of Japan and East Asia in the sense of 'Japan's relations to its Asian neighbours'. While Japan today is generally perceived as a politically and economically Western country, it is culturally often seen as completely different from the West or even portraved as the West's Other. The publications in this series do not subscribe to those perceptions of contemporary East Asia that are based on an opposition of 'West' versus 'East'. Instead, Japan's pioneering role in the integration of East Asian countries into international institutions and scientific networks deserves more attention. Mutual cultural influences between Europe and East Asia are not the focus of this series. Such research is particularly problematic if combined with an unspecific concept of 'globalization'. This applies, for example, to research that does not distinguish between cultural contacts between Europe and East Asia during the European Middle Ages, on the one hand, and the power relations between both regions of a new quality since the 1830s, on the other.

The main focus of this series is the historical interactions within Asia, particularly East Asia, in the modern and contemporary periods, including

#### Editorial by Series Editor

early modern history. These interactions belong to the areas we know least about in Europe. The adoption of this focus is based on the assumption of an historical East Asian connection that continues to influence East Asia politically, both positively and negatively. Combined with the specific focus of each volume in the series, the study of this connection may provide a better understanding of the region's present.

This series welcomes contributions that use different methodologies. An important precondition for research into interregional interactions, however, is the use of primary and secondary literature in Japanese and in other Asian languages. In addition, in order to pursue truly *international* research, it is not sufficient to rely on research results published in Western languages. Only the reception of international, in particular Japanese, research as well as an intensive study of their lines of argumentation facilitate the development of new approaches to the historiography of, and social scientific and humanistic research into regional connections. This includes, of course, contributions from Korean and Chinese perspectives. This means that the language barrier that seems insurmountably high must above all be overcome from the Western side. Put differently, we must first of all learn to read, in the literal sense. The aim of this series therefore is to demonstrate that sound analyses serve to deepen our understanding better than 'travel accounts' produced by today's science tourism.

Series editor

# Table of Contents

Та	Γable of Figures		
Acknowledgements			
Note on Japanese Names and Translations			
Abbreviations			
1	Introduction	17	
	1.1 The significance of Japan's relations with Southeast Asia	17	
	1.2 State of research	20	
	1.3 Theory and method	32	
	1.4 Sources and groups of discursive actors	48	
	1.5 The fundamental dilemma of Japan's modern foreign policy	54	
	1.6 "Southeast Asia" as a constructed region	57	
2	The political and intellectual context of the first transformative period (1938–1941)	61	
	2.1 The political context: Japan and Southeast Asia in the 1930s	61	
	2.2 Shifting paradigms for framing the "Nanyō Problem"	64	
	2.3 Possibilities of locating the Nanyō region	70	
3	Discourse analysis 1938–1940	81	
	3.1 Introduction: The proclamation of the "New Order in East Asia"	81	
	3.2 Constructing the Nanyō region as a "space" for Japan	85	
	3.3 Constructing Japan's Nanyō policies	98	
	3.4 Justifying Japan's Nanyō policies	113	
	3.5 Conclusion: Competing visions of the "Nanyō Problem"	124	

# Table of Contents

4	Discourse analysis 1940–1941	127	
	4.1 Introduction: The proclamation of the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"	127	
	4.2 Constructing the Nanyō region as a "space" for Japan	132	
	4.3 Constructing Japan's Nanyō policies	144	
	4.4 Justifying Japan's Nanyō policies	180	
	4.5 Constructing the military advance in French Indochina	189	
	4.6 Conclusion	199	
5	The political and ideological context of the second transformative period (1950s)	207	
	5.1 The political context: Japan and Southeast Asia in the 1950s	207	
	5.2 Locating "Southeast Asia"	215	
	5.3 Positioning Japan and Southeast Asia	219	
6	Discourse analysis 1950s	233	
	6.1 Constructing Japan's identity via its Southeast Asia policy	233	
	6.2 Constructing Southeast Asia as a "space" for Japan	260	
	6.3 Constructing Japan's project of "economic cooperation"	287	
	6.4 Conclusion: Constructing Japan's relations with Southeast Asia, 1950s	353	
7	Conclusion	361	
	7.1 Contested visions of the relationship	361	
	7.2 The importance of the debate on Japan's relations with Southeast Asia for defining Japan's foreign policy	367	
	7.3 The importance of the debate for defining Japan's identity	369	
8	References	375	
In	Index of Keywords		
Index of Persons			

# Table of Figures

Graph 1:	Rivalling conceptions of the "Nanyō problem" and the aims of <i>nanshin</i> , 1938–1940	202
Graph 2:	Rivalling conceptions of the "Nanyō problem" and the aims of <i>nanshin</i> , 1940–1941	203
Graph 3:	Positioning Japan and Southeast Asia on the basis of the dichotomy "East vs. West"	228
Graph 4:	Positioning Japan and Southeast Asia on the basis of the dichotomy "Asia vs. the West"	229
Graph 5:	Possibilities for defining Japan's identity via its Southeast Asia policy, 1950s	232
Graph 6:	Competing constructions of "economic cooperation" in Japan's relations with Southeast Asia, 1950s	359
Graph 7:	Possibilities to construct Japan's relations with Southeast Asia in the two transformative periods	366

https://www.nomos-shop.de/isbn/978-3-8487-6400-6

#### Acknowledgements

This book is a slightly revised version of my Ph.D. dissertation, which was submitted to the Japan Center of the University of Munich in 2018. It was written in Munich and Tokyo; the actual research was mainly conducted in the University of Tokyo's main library in Hongō.

While this book is the result of much labour and effort on my part, it would not have come into this world without the gracious help of many people. To them, I express my warmest gratitude.

First and foremost to Professor Klaus Vollmer, my doctoral supervisor in Munich, who has guided my academic career since my first tentative steps in acadamia. At a Christmas party some years ago, when I was just about to finish my M.A. studies as a Political Science major, Professor Vollmer kindly challenged me to obtain a Ph.D. in Japanese Studies under his guidance. This was the beginning of this book. Ever since, Professor Vollmer has supported me in my research: His recommendation afforded me a Japanese Government scholarship to conduct my research in Tokyo independent of financial worries, and he gave me the opportunity to teach Japan's Politics and International Relations for three academic semesters in Munich.

At the University of Tokyo, I was fortunate that Professor Sakai Tetsuya accepted me as his Ph.D. student and guided my research for many years. In his doctoral seminars and in personal meetings with him, his advice was invaluable. Writing a dissertation that would satisfy Professor Sakai's standards became a fervent preoccupation of mine over the next years. I think I have succeeded of sorts, although the book is clearly too thick. During my stay at the University of Tokyo, I was also fortunate to be granted financial support through the IGK Program, generously funded by the German Academic Exchange Service. Professors Ishida Yūji and Kawashima Shin kindly accepted to sit several times at my examination committees and read large parts of the manuscript; their comments decisively improved this study.

I am very thankful to Urs Matthias Zachmann of Free University of Berlin, who has accepted to be the second supervisor of my dissertation. Professor Zachmann's courses on Japan's diplomatic history have nurtured my academic interest and were an important factor for choosing the topic of this book. Karsten Fischer accepted to sit in the examination committee

#### Acknowledgements

in Munich; Peter Pörtner kindly acted as the third supervisor for my dissertation. Wolfgang Seifert, Professor emeritus of Heidelberg University, has taken an unusually kind interest in my work and read and commented on the whole manuscript before I submitted it to the publisher. Sandra Frey of Nomos Verlag kindly accepted my manuscript and constructively supported the publication.

There are many others who, directly or indirectly, have helped me to write this book. I have hugely benefitted from their comments about my previous papers, from their advice in research colloquia, or from discussions. I cannot possibly name all of them here; I have thanked them, whenever possible, and I trust they know how much I treasure their insights. I wish to make only two exceptions: Holger Wöhlbier of the University of Munich's Japan Center, a most important teacher and friend, who introduced me to Proust; and Nagasawa Yuko, who has, as my wife and fellow scholar, lovingly, critically and patiently accompanied me until this day.

#### Note on Japanese Names and Translations

In this book, Japanese names follow the Japanese order, with family name before the given name.

All English translations offered here are my own, unless indicated otherwise. The same, of course, goes with any errors.

https://www.nomos-shop.de/isbn/978-3-8487-6400-6

#### **Abbreviations**

ADF Asian Development Fund

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

EACPS East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

(Tō-A kyōeiken 東亜共栄圏)

ECAFE United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and

the Far East

GEACPS Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

(dai-Tō-A kyōeiken 大東亜共栄圏)

MOFA Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

NMS (bloc) (economic bloc consisting of) Japan, Manchukuo,

China (Nichi-Man-Shi burokku 日満支ブロック)

PRC People's Republic of China

SEATO Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

https://www.nomos-shop.de/isbn/978-3-8487-6400-6