

**GSID**

**Discussion Paper No.186**

**The Two World Wars and Different Recognition of World  
History in the East and West  
-A Memo-**

**Shinzo Hayase**

**March 2014**

**Graduate School  
of  
International Development**

**NAGOYA UNIVERSITY  
NAGOYA 464-8601, JAPAN**

〒464-8601 名古屋市千種区不老町  
名古屋大学大学院国際開発研究科

# **The Two World Wars and Different Recognition of World History in the East and West**

- A Memo -

Shinzo Hayase

## **Introduction**

We, the Japanese, think the World War of 1914-18 was called the “First World War” (WWI hereafter) simply because there was another war that came after it, later to be called the “Second World War” (WWII hereafter) of 1939-45. However, the leading British daily *Times* used the words, “WWI” as early as 1920 to designate the war of 1914-18.

Takashi Koseki explains thus: “The fact that the word ‘first’ was placed before ‘world war’ only a year after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty of Versailles (1919) meant that it expressed a pessimistic view of establishing peace under the Versailles Treaty. The cause of the war was not eliminated, even after the devastation that produced so many casualties. People were in despair and resigned to the idea that another world-wide war would be inevitable.” He continues: “The fact the word *first* was added to this world war soon after the termination of the fight meant that the war did not end well or the war ended for the time being, with the expectation that another large scale war was soon to erupt.” He further points out: “In order to understand the First World War, it is decisively important to bear in mind the intra-war era as well as the Second World War that was connected to the earlier war.”<sup>1</sup>

Modris Eksteins stated in the “Introduction” to *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (1989): “The war of 1914 had been a struggle for hegemony on the European continent until England joined. It unmistakably became a war of culture.”<sup>2</sup> Akeo Okada states: “A

---

<sup>1</sup> Takashi Koseki, *Choheisei to Ryoshinteki Heieki Kyohi*. (Draft and Conscientious Objector) Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2010, pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Houghton, Mifflin, 1989.

different kind of music appeared around the time of WWI. The music definitely differed in its expression, aesthetics and system of classical music that the 19th century civil society had produced.”<sup>3</sup>

What this paper tries to sort out is firstly, what are WWI and WWII, and what does the word “world” mean in these two world wars: the former brought changes in Europe, and the latter followed WWI. Secondly, I would like to look into the influence of WWI on Asia, its continuity with WWII, and how these wars are treated in world history. In order to understand the basic recognition of these two wars in Europe and Asia, history textbooks from each country and area were used. The textbooks were limited to those which were translated into Japanese. As the title of the paper indicates, it is a “memo”; therefore, it has a lot of long quotations.

This paper will pay particular attention to culture. Modern history has been discussed centered on the change of political systems or trends in social and economic systems. When modern history treated cultural history, historians only discussed artists’ and writers’ lives or their works. They hardly treated mass culture and its sub-culture that influenced civil society. When the time of total war arrived, the cultural phenomena of people’s daily lives began having important meaning. Kumie Inose points out the importance of cultural history in the case of England. “It is not difficult to imagine that various institutions (e.g., politics, economics, labor, and education) that history textbooks treat were invariably established by “the power of culture” at the particular time in history.” “Look at various systems around us and ask yourself how they were established. Then you would know that we could not ignore culture and its power at the time the particular system was established. Think of a vector “from culture to system”; then you would notice the opposite, the power that works “from system to culture.” Once the system is established, a power of standardization of the existing culture (whether

---

<sup>3</sup> Akeo Okada, “*Kurashikku Ongaku*” wa Itsu Owatta no ka? (When Did “Classic Music” Come to the End?) Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2010, p. 11.

visible or not) would evolve. Or a new culture could be born by rearranging existing elements. I think it is also an important task of cultural history to identify the power relationship that works for both directions.”<sup>4</sup>

Ken’ichiro Hirano describes a culture during the wartime. “It is difficult to discuss academically people’s war experiences. People’s struggles at a certain time and place would be sorted out and accumulated over time and eventually create a social system and culture in order to survive. If that is the case, we would be able to predict how the people lived through the war by looking into the ‘new’ society and culture created during the war.”<sup>5</sup>

## **Chapter One: The Two World Wars in Europe**

### **1. The First World War as the Change of the Era**

*Histoire de l’Europe* (Second Edition) is a European history textbook. “It was co-authored by twelve European historians of different nationalities and was produced after numerous discussions.” The book describes the new era this way: “It is in the 1920s that the Europeans discovered, for the first time, the American way of life. Many people thought it was an ideal new model. The difference existed in old social classes, customs, and hobbies were often thrown away, and anything coming from the other side of the Atlantic Ocean was enthusiastically accepted. Among these things, the popularity of the jazz music born in New Orleans in the beginning of the 20th century was tremendous.” “Entertainment was not limited to a small number of privileged people anymore, and it had a growing influence on the European population.”<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Kumie Inose, ed., *Igirisu Bunka-shi*. (British Cultural History) Kyoto: Showa-do, 2010, p. ii.

<sup>5</sup> Ezra Feivel Vogel and Ken’ichiro Hirano, eds., *Nicchu Senso-ki Chugokuno Shakai to Bunka*. (Chinese Society and Culture in Sino-Japanese War Period) Keio Gijuku Daigaku Shuppankai, 2010, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Frédéric Delouche, ed., *Histoire de l’Europe*. (Second Edition) (tr. into

One of the root causes of WWI derived from the struggle among multiracial nations. In January 1918, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson issued the Fourteen Points, including “the self-determination of peoples” that became the foundation for postwar reconciliation. However, they could not solve the problems the European societies of the time were facing. The right of self-determination was applied to peoples in old Russia, Austria, and the Ottoman Empire; however, it was very complicated. A good example can be seen in the summary of Mari Nomura’s book. The narrow paper band placed around the book’s jacket has a good summary: “East Galicia is now called West Ukraine. The majority of the inhabitants used to be Ukrainians; however, political and economic power was in the hands of the minority Poles. The Jews were between these two peoples, and the only way to survive for them was to engage in what these two peoples abhorred. In the meantime, the Ukrainians stood up for their right to be independent, which created conflicts between Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union and Adolf Hitler of Germany. Then what happened to the Jews?”<sup>7</sup> The answer is that all the Jews were exterminated.

The change had already existed from the previous century. *History of Germany: Contemporary History* is a German high school history textbook. The first chapter is entitled “Nationalism and Liberalism-Germany’s Long Nineteenth Century.” It has the following sections: “3. Imperialism and WWI” and “3.4 WWI: Modern Europe in Crisis.” The first heading of 3.4, “The Progressive Optimism in the 19th Century,” explains thus: “The unstoppable trust in human progress that occurred at the end of the 18th century characterized populism-liberalism throughout the 19th century. The optimism that believed in progress was rooted in enlightenment philosophy that accompanied universal principles of individual freedom, equality, and rationalism. At the same time, the

---

Japanese) Tokyo Shoseki, 1998, p. 335.

<sup>7</sup> Mari Nomura, *Galicia no Yudaya-jin: Porando-jin to Ukuraina-jin no Hazama de*. (The Jews in Galicia: Between the Poles and the Ukrainians) Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2008.

root was nurtured by expanding scientific knowledge, the control of nature by technology, and industrial production activities that produced ever-increasing commodities. These developments strengthened the conviction that nature could be reconstructed infinitely. Furthermore, people began believing that the social order that had been considered impossible to change could be reformed as well.”<sup>8</sup>

The next heading, “The Collapse: WWI,” begins like this: “This kind of progressive optimism was completely shaken by WWI.” “It not only destroyed the desire for making science and industrial civilization the bearers of a better modern world, but it also uprooted the basic trust in humanity.” “In comparison with old wars, the new characteristics of WWI had the following four main points. They were cited in bold: 1) **“Advanced Weaponry Technique,”** 2) **“The Total War,”** 3) **“The Collapse of Various Nation Systems,”** and **“The War of Survival, Struggle for Existence,”** 4) **“The War Propaganda, Total Mobilization, Nationalist Inclination, Fanaticism.”**<sup>9</sup>

“The first five years of Germany’s first Republic were thrown into crisis by military defeat, the collapse of monarchy, peace conditions submitted by the victorious allied powers, and the problem of unemployment for returning soldiers.”<sup>10</sup> In addition, “The society was in the midst of reform.” Chapter 2, “Weimar Republic - The First German Democratic System” and “Society in Reform” states thus: “On one hand, the traditional environment still prescribed people’s daily sensibilities and thoughts, as in the old state of things; on the other, the old environment was beginning to open and expand into new areas as mass culture began to gain influence. Movies and radio broadcasts were being enjoyed by the masses. This new culture promised participation in ‘an American lifestyle,’ and it was potentially opened to all the people.”

---

<sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Jäger and Christine Keitz, eds., *History of Germany: Contemporary History*. (tr. into Japanese) Akashi Shoten, 2006, p. 133 (*Kursbuch Geschichte – Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin: Cornelsen Verlag, Berlin, 2005)

<sup>9</sup> Jäger and Keitz, eds., 2006, pp. 133-36.

<sup>10</sup> Jäger and Keitz, eds., 2006, p. 184.

However, in the countryside “which was far from modern life, an old-fashioned choir and soldiers controlled final decisions in daily lives. Furthermore, nationalists, anti-Americanists, and anti-Semites still held strong influence in order **to prevent modernization.**” And “**Sandwiched between modernization and tradition,**” “many young people were attracted to urban mass culture. At the same time, however, some youth took refuge in the groups that were anti-modernization or paramilitary organizations.”<sup>11</sup>

## **2. The Second World War as Continuation of the First**

*History of Germany* explains the link between WWI and WWII. “WWI meant the end of the old world where the feudal lords and the court ruled and where they believed in the principles of a politics of balance between the Danube Monarchy and Europe. With the collapse of the traditional political order, the values they held disappeared. A sense of crisis governed the whole of Europe. In this atmosphere, authoritarianism that leaned far right and totalitarian mass movements, such as Fascism in Italy and the Heimwehr in Austria, erupted. The national socialist movement that Hitler created in Germany was part of **this crisis after WWI.**”<sup>12</sup>

*European History* explains the reasons “the European New Order” which appeared after WWI did not solve the problems in Europe. Under the heading “The Unsolved Problems” the text states: “After the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the collapse of the German Empire, and the division of the Austria-Hungary empires, the following question was raised. ‘What kind of political system will prevail in European countries, is it new or old?’ First, democracy seemed to have won. However, some European nations had no experience with democracy. As a result, a new situation quickly arose.” “The ethnic minorities lived scattered throughout many areas in central Europe,” such as in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. “These areas were often invaded, causing potential conflicts and

---

<sup>11</sup> Jäger and Keitz, eds., 2006, pp. 199-200.

<sup>12</sup> Jäger and Keitz, eds., 2006, p. 231.

permanent tension that could easily be stirred by minor misunderstandings and troubles.”<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, “The newly created border subdivided the old economic sphere.” “The U.S., which was the creditor to the European Allies (the three country entente), urged them for payment and the endless back-door dealings started.” However, “In spite of tremendous hardship, the European nations did not unite and try to solve the problems.”<sup>14</sup> “The European economy of the 1920s came to be integrated into the world economy like never before because after WWI, Europe lost the economic superiority she once had.”<sup>15</sup>

As the victorious European nations began to decline, Germany saw another chance to liberate herself from the “old” Europe, in ways that she was not able to achieve during WWI. *European History* explains why a dictatorial nation had emerged. In the section, “Dictatorship Verses Democracy,” it states: “What the dictatorial nation saw in front of her were the weak-kneed democratic nations (headed by England and France). As of 1939, the future of Europe seemed to have only one choice of political system, the system that completely looked down on the previous values of the old continent and controlled people in all aspects of life. Furthermore, the parliamentary democracy that valued individual freedom, majority rule, and equality before the law seemed to be old-fashioned, weak, and rotten.”<sup>16</sup> It says how WWII solved the problems that WWI could not. “The vestige of the old European social order that survived WWI was almost totally wiped out.”<sup>17</sup>

*History of Germany* explains how the mass culture that came into bud after WWI was used to build the Nazi national system. “After Hitler obtained national power, propaganda that supported national socialist politics was utilized in all aspects of political and social life. **The Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda** was newly established

---

<sup>13</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, pp. 330-31.

<sup>14</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, p. 331.

<sup>15</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, p. 336.

<sup>16</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, p. 341.

under the leadership of Joseph Goebbles and supervised all the news media. It stopped internal discussion of editorial bureaus, announced strict rules and regulations regarding language use, and held meetings on national media every single day. In this way, language was used to control the population. By the summer of 1933 National Socialists controlled the organization and content of all German publications. The semi-national radio broadcast was quickly established as mass media; it had controlled since its establishment both media personnel and the content of the broadcasts. It was used solely for propaganda purposes by the Nazis. The bargain sales campaign for radio receivers made it possible for every home to have a radio. As of 1933, more than 1,000,000 radio receivers were sold. (...). To the radio broadcast, the movie news was added, and this had great influence on the masses. **The Newsreels** shown as previews in movie theaters created a new genre and were used as propaganda for the Nazi establishment.”<sup>18</sup>

### **3. The Meaning of “the World”**

As we have seen above, the word “world” used in the phrase as World War does not simply mean geographic world.

First of all, WWI used to be called “The Great War” in Europe, and it was called the “European Great War” outside Europe because the battlefield was basically in Europe. However, since the European powers had advanced into Africa and Asian regions, the war involved the whole world, including countries and regions where battles were not fought. The effects of the war, be they economic or cultural, extended to the whole world; therefore, the war was called the World War. In this connection, the League of Nations was established in order to tackle problems that could not be solved in Europe alone.

For the European people, the substantial problems were the territorial problem related to the ethnic problem and the Jewish problem.

---

<sup>17</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, p. 345.

<sup>18</sup> Jäger and Keitz, eds., 2006, p. 292.

*History of Europe* does not mention any region outside of Europe, such as Asia, that had some involvement with the two world wars. The same is true of *History of Germany* in connection with WWI. When discussing WWII; however, it mentions the Japan-U.S. war in the section “The Declaration of the War against the U.S.A..” Japan is mentioned when discussing the management of problems at the end of and after the war. For the Europeans, it was indeed the Great War of the European world.

When we think of culture, we can say that Europe’s worldview changed, adopting the American mass culture into the dominant culture of the old European order. This new worldview had a “universal nature” because it spread all over the world after the war; at the same time, it had a “contemporary nature” because it could spread to anywhere in the world in any form. This means that WWI was not only geographically a world-wide great war but also a war of great change in the overall “world view.” It was indeed the turning point of the period. We can also say that WWII achieved the unfinished reform intended by WWI. Therefore, most problems of WWII can be settled by examining those of WWI. However, the case in Asia was different.

Another issue we must contemplate is the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was not simply a change of “the world view” in a country or a region, but it involved the whole world. Particularly, it was connected to the nationalist movements in Asia. One of the big problems in Europe was the one involving the Jews; however, it hardly affected Asia, and no interest was shown in that region.

## **Chapter Two: The Two World Wars As Perceived in Asia**

### **1. The Effect of WWI**

#### ***Japan***

In the Japanese high school history textbook *Shosetsu Nihon-shi* (Detailed Japanese History), the state of affairs in Asia focusing on Japan

during and after the war is explained in Chapter 10: “Modern Japan and Asia.” It has two sub-sections: 1) “WWI and Japan” and 2) “The Washington System.”<sup>19</sup> The description of the European world is limited to the basic war situation and international politics. The great reform that changed the European worldview is not at all mentioned. The text hardly indicates the continuity between the two world wars.

In contrast, *Shosetsu Sekai-shi* (Detailed World History) notes the continuity of the two wars. Chapter 15: “The Two World Wars” presents the general view, and “the result of the war” is described as: “Imperialistic confrontation among great powers over colonies and subordinate regions had existed. With this as a backdrop, WWI started due to the hegemonic struggle between England and Germany. However, when the war became a long-term total war that brought great changes in societies and people’s consciousness, the old political system and liberal social and economic policies were shaken from their foundations. While the European powers could not leave behind the custom of secret diplomacy in dividing and distributing territories and interests, the countries like **Soviet Russia** and the **United States** advocated the **new principle of postwar international order**. This raised people’s expectations. As a result, politics based on the agreement of the national majority became the predominant idea. At the same time, the tendency for the state to interfere in economics and to guide social policies increased. The Eurocentric notion and optimistic trust in the progress of history, modern science, and technology were shaken by the destruction and loss of many lives. The war heightened the awareness of and expectation for independence among the Asian and African peoples under colonial rule.”<sup>20</sup> The textbook also states: “When the great changes in societies and people’s consciousness occurred, the old political system and its liberal social and economic policies were shaken from their foundations.”

---

<sup>19</sup> Susumu Ishii et al., *Shosetsu Nihon-shi*. (Detailed Japanese History) (revised edition) Yamakawa Shuppan-sha, 2010, pp. 295-311.

<sup>20</sup> Tsugitaka Sato et al., *Shosetsu Sekai-shi*. (Detailed World History) (revised edition) Yamakawa Shuppan-sha, 2010, pp. 301-02.

However, concrete examples were not given.

*Detailed Japanese History* mentions the development of mass culture and the modernization of life in the urban areas. It also states that “various ideas and literature were newly introduced to Japan from the advanced nations of Europe and America.” These topics were described in the sub-sections “Urbanization and Change in National Life” and “Academics and Art” under the heading, “3) Popular Culture.” However, the text does not mention whether these changes were the result of WWI.<sup>21</sup>

### **China**

*History of China*, a high school history textbook, does not mention the European war front of WWI at all. Instead, WWI is described as the opportunity on the part of Japan to invade and strengthen her rule over China. “The European powers had no time to pay attention to what had been taking place in the East. Japan took advantage of this situation and strengthened the invasion, trying to monopolize China. In the fall of 1914, Japan sent soldiers to invade Shandong Province and attempted to replace Germany by establishing her aggressive status.” In the economic sphere, “Chinese capitalism advanced. The bourgeois class put to practice democratic politics and ardently sought the further development of capitalism.” “The Japanese economic invasion of China intensified, in which the spinning industry was of note.”<sup>22</sup>

In the beginning of Chapter 5: “The New Culture Movement and the Birth of the Chinese Communist Party,” the following summary is presented. “During WWI, the major imperialistic countries participated in a large scale war of plunder. After the war, these countries again attempted to divide the world. In Russia, under the leadership of Vladimir Lenin, the October Socialist revolution commenced and the Socialist state was established. These events prepared the laborers and the oppressed peoples of the world for the path to revolution.” “This was the time China entered the modern period. Although having gone through the Xinhai

---

<sup>21</sup> Ishii et al., 2010, pp. 311-02.

<sup>22</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, ed., *History of China*. (tr. into Japanese)

revolution, China was still a semi-colonial and semi-feudalistic society under the rule of a feudalistic, military clique. The Russian October Socialist revolution brought China the Marxist ideology. Progressive Chinese people again began seeking a new path in order to advance China and to reconfigure the backward old China.” “In order to divide the war spoils gained by imperialism, a conference was held after the war. The conference violated China’s sovereignty and angered the Chinese people. Thus, the May Fourth Movement arose to fight against imperialism and feudalism. From then on, Chinese modern history entered into the period of the new democratic revolution.” “After the May Fourth Movement, the great Chinese Communist party was born. The Chinese revolution entered a completely new phase.”<sup>23</sup>

The New Cultural Movement developed with this political, economic, ideological, and cultural background. The textbook describes the great influence of the Russian October Revolution. It concludes: “The New Cultural Movement created great influence in and outside China. The predominant status of feudalistic ideology was shaken, and people’s ideology gained unprecedented liberation. Chinese intellectuals received the baptism of democracy and science, and ideology based on these became widely popular which, in turn, contributed to the development of natural science in China. The rise of the May Fourth Movement demanded a propaganda effort. The Socialist ideology that spread toward the end of the movement was accepted by the progressive intellectuals. It became an ideological weapon to save the nation and to reform society.”<sup>24</sup>

When Japan further penetrated into China, the U.S. and England felt they were on the verge of a crisis. Therefore, they hosted the Washington Conference, described thus: “During WWI, Japanese imperialism extended its invasion into China and was about to monopolize China. This situation was injurious to the interests of other imperialists such as the U.S. and England. In order to restrain Japanese influence in China, the U.S.

---

Akashi Shoten, 2004, pp. 498, 532, 539.

<sup>23</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 531.

<sup>24</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 536.

convened the Washington Conference, held between the end of 1921 and the beginning of 1922. The following nations attended: the U.S., England, France, Japan, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, and China. The conference adopted the Nine-Power Treaty and approved the following principles: “equal opportunity in China for each nation” and “an open-door policy for China.” All these agreements and principles were submitted by the U.S.. In fact, they were nothing but pacts among the imperialist countries to jointly divide China.”<sup>25</sup>

### **Korea**

*Modern and Contemporary History of Korea* has no specific description of WWI. It simply mentions the European situation, the Twenty-One Demands Japan forced on China, and the Rice Riots in Japan. In this way, the textbook tries to depict Korean history from the perspective of the larger world. When President Woodrow Wilson advocated ethnic self-determination, it is described in a hopeful tone: “While our nation had been working toward independence, we heard news that brought us the hope of independence. In preparation for the Paris Peace Conference that was convened in order to deal with the problems after WWI, U.S. President Wilson advocated that each ethnic group must decide its own destiny. It was called ethnic self-determination. Our national leaders attempted to create an independence movement at this time of change in the international situation.” A part of a February 8 independent resolution of 1919 follows: “We demand that the ethnic self-determination of the Paris Peace Conference should be applied to our nation. We demand that each government convey our intention to the Japanese ambassador in each country. At the same time, we were going to send three of our representatives [committee members] to the Paris Peace Conference.”<sup>26</sup>

However, ethnic self-determination was only applied to the European world and not to Korea. The reason was described: “Japan

---

<sup>25</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 551.

<sup>26</sup> Choruho Han et al., *Modern and Contemporary History of Korea*. (tr.

participated in WWI as a member of the allied powers; therefore, she became one of the victorious countries. This was the reason Korea was excluded from the application of this principle.”<sup>27</sup> Japan was considered to be one of the “five great powers” along with England, the U.S., France, and Italy; however, her voice and influence were insignificant.

After the March First Movement (the Samil Movement) of 1919, Japan announced revisions in her colonial rule. “Despite the fact that Japanese imperialism administered oppressive *Kempei*=police rule for ten years, the nation-wide March First Movement occurred. This meant that the Japanese rule relying only on brute force was a failure. In order to avoid national resistance as well as international criticism, Japanese imperialism implemented the crafty, so-called ‘cultural rule.’”<sup>28</sup>

### **Vietnam**

*History of Vietnam* is a history textbook for middle school. It has two parts: “World History” and “Vietnamese History.” The “World History” section for the eighth grade starts with a summary of the lesson: “The developmental imbalance among the imperialistic nations that arose between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was the cause of WWI. This war was fought for four years and brought tremendous damages.” It goes on to describe the cause, development, and conclusion of the war. *History of Vietnam* gives concrete descriptions. It has three sections under the title “The Patriotic Movement (1914-1918) during WWI.” They are: 1) “Indochina Policy of French Colonialism during the War,” 2) “The Uprising of Hue (1916),” and 3) “The Activities of Nguyen That Thanh (Ho Chi Minh) Who Left the Country in Search of the Way to Save the Country.”<sup>29</sup>

Section 1 regarding Indochina policy explains: “WWI broke out on August 1, 1914. French colonialism, in order to serve the imperialistic war, made full use of personnel and other resources in Indochina.

---

into Japanese) Akashi Shoten, 2009, p. 160.

<sup>27</sup> Han et al., 2009, p. 161.

<sup>28</sup> Han et al., 2009, p. 144.

<sup>29</sup> Phan Ngoc Lien, ed., *History of Vietnam*. (tr. into Japanese) Akashi

Mercenary soldiers from Indochina occupied one-fourth of all of the other French colonial states. The Vietnamese farmers who mainly cultivated rice were forced to plant those crops that needed processing, such as sesame seeds, beans, and peanuts, in order to serve the war effort. In particular, rubber cultivation expanded. As a result, farm production decreased, first due to the forceful recruitment of farmers for soldiers, and second, due to the reduction of the area for rice cultivation. Thousands of tons of rare metals were mined by the French colonialists. Furthermore, the French forced the people to purchase public bonds to be used for war expenses.”

The textbook states that August 1, 1914, was the day the war commenced. In fact, it was the day Germany declared war against Russia. Since Vietnam was under French rule at that time, we expect the date to be August 3 because that was when Germany declared war against France. It seems that Vietnamese history was influenced by Russian history. *Part 1: World History* has the following descriptions: “On July 28, Austria and Hungary declared war against Serbia which supported the Allies.” “England declared war against Germany on August 4.” It has been generally said that 587,450 mercenaries were sent from the French colonies, but some sources say 234,000. The number of soldiers is not clear, but it has been said that 50,000 soldiers were sent from Indochina.

Section 2, “The Uprising of Hue,” describes: The 1916 attempted uprising “was due to forced conscription by France to send soldiers to the European war front.” The uprising was discovered by the authorities beforehand; the leaders were executed, and the emperor was exiled to Africa (Indian Ocean). In 1917 the soldiers, in cooperation with the political prisoners, rose up and occupied the provincial capital for one week. They were forced to withdraw from the capital by the French reinforcements, but they continued fighting in the mountainous area for nearly five months. The textbook praises the soldiers’ courage. The following sentence is added at the end: “The anti-French struggle was fought in the central highlands where minority ethnic comrades lived.”

---

Shoten, 2008, pp. 410-14, 504-07.

Section 3 regarding Nguyen That Thanh describes his activities. Born in 1890, Nguyen traveled around the world for six years beginning in 1911, in a French merchant ship. He arrived in France in 1917 in the midst of WWI and joined a group organized by the patriotic Vietnamese. He promoted Vietnamese revolution while there. The text indicates the gradual change in his ideology due to the influence of the Russian October Revolution. The section concludes: “Nguyen’s patriotic activities had begun, and the Revolution provided him with the important opportunity to choose the right path to take for the Vietnamese people to save the country.”

*Part 2: History of Vietnam* for the 9th grade gives concrete descriptions of the postwar era in three chapters, with the following key ideas stated in the beginning of each chapter. Chapter 14: “Vietnam after WWI” says: “After WWI, due to the so-called second development by French colonialism, the Vietnamese economy, society, culture, and education system changed greatly.” Chapter 15: “The Vietnamese Revolutionary Movement after WWI (1919-1925)” has the following: “The influence of the Russian October Revolution and the revolutionary movements in the world reached Vietnam. This hastened the development of the open national democratic movement and the labor movement.” Chapter 16: “The Activities of Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) abroad (1919-1925)” states: “Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to China after being in France and the Soviet Union. He organized a Vietnamese revolutionary youth organization and opened the new era for the development of the Vietnamese labor movement.”<sup>30</sup>

As in China, Vietnamese communist forces succeeded in the revolution; therefore, the history textbook marks WWI as the great moment for the national and revolutionary movements. The Russian October Revolution was considered important as a starting point and underscored how French colonialism caused great suffering to the people. We see the influence of the Soviet Union on their historical view.

---

<sup>30</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, pp. 595-608.

According to the text, in order to unify the nation, the major tribe, Kinh, and the other mountain tribes were all united as one (and fought against French imperialism).

### **Thailand**

*History of Thailand* gives a broad outline of WWI in three parts: “a main cause,” “development,” and “result.” It concludes: “The great loss was forced upon Germany based on the Versailles Treaty, which led to the next war, WWII.” In relation to Thailand, the text states: “In the early stage of WWI, King Rama VI declared neutrality in order to protect the land and establish stability. He did so because the battlegrounds were limited to Europe. On July 22, 1917, Thailand declared war against the allied powers. By entering the war, Thailand was successful in abolishing extraterritorial rights held by the allied powers. Furthermore, Thailand was able to receive war reparations and became one of the signatories for the Paris Peace Treaty, later joining the League of Nations. In this way, Thailand was successful in canceling unequal treaties with the entente.”<sup>31</sup>

In actuality, things did not go smoothly for Thailand. Based on the Versailles Treaty, cancellation of jurisdiction over Thai territory held by the consulates of allied powers (i.e. defeated nations) did materialize. However, revising treaties with the victorious powers (entente) such as England and France took a long time. For instance, regaining autonomy to regulate custom duties was agreed upon in 1927, and cancellation of jurisdiction over Thai territory had to wait for another ten years, occurring in 1937.

### **Indonesia**

*History of Indonesia* has only a brief description of WWI. “After the war Indonesian nationalism rose...” and “After the completion of WWI, the number of new generation Indonesian students to go to Holland further increased.”<sup>32</sup> Perhaps the description is brief because Holland was a

---

<sup>31</sup> Chanwit Kasetsiri et al., *History of Thailand*. (tr. into Japanese) Akashi Shoten, 2002, pp. 296-301.

<sup>32</sup> I Wayan Badrika, *History of Indonesia*. (tr. into Japanese) Akashi Shoten, 2008, pp. 186, 210. (Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum)

neutral country. The rise of a nationalist movement and the increase in Japanese influence due to the decline of the Dutch influence in politics and economics were noted. Both phenomena paved the way to the future Japanese occupation and the independence of Indonesia.<sup>33</sup>

### **The Philippines**

High school history textbooks hardly deal with WWI. Renato Constantino's *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* is widely used in colleges as a history textbook, but it only mentions WWI in passing: "The development of union organization was due to the fact that industry became slightly active temporarily due to WWI."<sup>34</sup> I assume that the Filipino people did not notice the growing American influence in the international sphere after the war because the Philippines was a U.S. colony.

### **Singapore and Malaysia**

The National Museum of Singapore exhibits history based on records and testimonies; however, there are no exhibits on WWI. The Image of Singapore on the island of Sentosa also exhibits history and culture, but it does not deal with WWI either. The Army Museum of Singapore stands adjacent to the Singapore Discovery Centre and is situated in the experience-based theme park at the corner of military training facilities. The Army Museum only exhibits events that occurred since independence in 1965. The National Museum in Kuala Lumpur, which took over the historical exhibition of the National History Museum that closed in 2007, has no exhibit on WWI at all. The cenotaphs for WWI were built in Singapore and Kuala Lumpur in 1922 and 1921, respectively. However, they later became the cenotaphs for WWII; therefore, attention was focused more on WWII than WWI.

As we have seen, descriptions of WWI greatly vary, depending on

---

<sup>33</sup> See in detail: Kee van Dijk, *The Netherlands Indies and the Great War, 1914-1918*, Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*. Quezon City: TALA Publishing Services, 1975.

each country and its different purpose and emphasis in producing the textbooks. It also depends on the rate of school attendance and students who go on to the next level, and on the importance of history education in the school curriculum. Among the textbooks in Southeast Asian countries, only Vietnam and Thailand have separate sections on WWI, including events occurring during WWI and postwar influences. Vietnamese textbooks emphasize the exploitation of colonial rule and the contribution of the Communist party because the Communist party led struggles and won the wars against French colonial rule and American imperialism. However, they do not mention relationships with Vietnam's neighboring countries such as China, Cambodia, and Thailand. Thailand took advantage of WWI for revising unequal treaties and recovering "lost" territories. For the rest of the countries (in Southeast Asia), WWI was treated merely as a historical backdrop because the influence of the Japanese occupation in this region during WWII was so strong and pervasive.<sup>35</sup>

## **2. Influences over WWII**

### **Japan**

*Detailed Japanese History* says: "The Cabinet Information Bureau was established in 1940 in order to control mass media in general for the war effort. The mass media included publications, theater, radio, and films." It mentions the similarity with the Nazi policy, but we do not know exactly how the Nazi policy influenced the Japanese propaganda method. In the section "Culture during the War," the text states: "During the Japanese-Chinese war, totalitarianism influenced by *Kokutai ron* [National Polity] and Nazism became the mainstream ideology, and 'innovative' national reformist theories unfolded. These theories included the East Asian New Order, the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, and the Controlled Economic Theory." The text mentions common aspects

---

<sup>35</sup> See Shinzo Hayase, *Mandara Kokka kara Kokumin Kokka he.* (From Mandala States to Nation-States: World War I in Southeast Asian History) Kyoto: Jimbun Shoin, 2012.

shared by other totalitarian countries.<sup>36</sup>

The section describes Japan and the Japanese colonies of Korea and Taiwan in the following manner: “In the educational field, the primary school was called the **national school** in 1941 and promoted nationalistic education under the slogan, ‘Loyal to the Emperor, Love the Country.’ In Korea and Taiwan, the **policy “Transforming Citizens into Emperors’ Subjects”** was thoroughly implemented, including the teaching of the Japanese language.<sup>37</sup> In Korea, people were forced to change their names to those of Japanese.” “In the (Japanese) occupied area of Southeast Asia, the local cultures and lifestyle were ignored. Japanese language study, Emperor worship, and praying before Shinto shrines were forced upon the people.” The section mentions that this cultural coercion further heightened the anti-Japanese sentiment.<sup>38</sup>

*Detailed World History* has the following: “(As a result of) the mass propaganda of the Nazi party ... all areas of society, including education and culture, were severely controlled.” However, concrete examples are not given.<sup>39</sup> In relation to Japan, it says: “After the outbreak of the war, military power became dominant, and speech and news reporting were severely controlled. In Korea, assimilation policy, including name changing, had been enforced since the 1930s ...” “In Japanese-occupied Southeast Asia ... Japanese language education and praying before Shinto shrines were forced upon the local people under the Japanese military administration.” These policies utterly ignored local history and culture.<sup>40</sup> This description is similar to the one found in *Detailed Japanese History*.

Unlike politics and economics, culture is difficult to understand without concrete explanations. The description in the Japanese textbooks

---

<sup>36</sup> Ishii et al., 2010, pp. 333-34.

<sup>37</sup> Ishii et al., 2010, p. 337.

<sup>38</sup> Ishii et al., 2010, p. 341.

<sup>39</sup> Sato et al., 2010, p. 326.

<sup>40</sup> Sato et al., 2010, pp. 332-33.

tends to center on politics and economics, and there is hardly any reference to culture other than simply introducing the names of authors and their art works.

## **China**

*History of China* does not clearly point out the continuity between WWI and WWII. In the summary at the beginning of Chapter 2: “The Chinese People’s War Against Japan,” the text tries to understand this continuity in the context of world history. “It was not mere coincident that Japanese imperialism commenced an all-out invasion of China. It was a logical consequence because Japan had been trying to implement an established policy for years. This policy included annexing China, advocating Japanese dominance in Asia, and exhibiting power throughout the world.” “After the invasion of Northern China, Japan implemented all-out militarization of the national economy, advanced wide mobilization for the war purpose, and aggressively promoted military buildup in preparation for the war. Japan enacted an invasion policy, so called “Kokusaku no Kijun (Standard of National Policy),” in order to ensure her position on the East Asian continent. Japan also aimed at expanding to the South Seas. Before the old disease of economic crisis in the capitalist world was cured, new ailments occurred one after another in 1937. Fascist Germany, Japan, and Italy expanded the war of invasion in order to get out of their wretched condition and decided to compete for world hegemony against the imperialism of England, France, and the U.S.. The Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937 was the beginning of the all-out invasion of China by the Japanese Imperialism. This signaled the start of a formal war against Japan launched by the Chinese people. It was the largest Imperialist invasion that China had ever experienced in the modern era. The Chinese people, including all the ethnic groups, had gone through indescribable hardships. They finally achieved victory after paying a great price of sacrifice. The Chinese people’s struggle greatly contributed to the victory of the war against fascism fought by the peoples in the

world.”<sup>41</sup>

The Chinese understood the war as a war against Japan, not as part of the world war. Therefore, the book mentions neither the European war front nor the Japanese declaration of war against the U.S.. Likewise, it does not mention the role played by the government of the Republic of China at the settlement of the war. Chapter 2 concludes: “The victory over Japan was achieved by the Chinese people for the first time in over 100 years. It was a complete victory in an anti-imperialist struggle. This experience greatly reinforced the nation’s pride and confidence and established a sound basis for the future victory of democratic revolution all over China. The Chinese war against Japan was an important integral part of the anti-fascist war in the world, and the Chinese people’s struggle greatly contributed to victory. Furthermore, Chinese status in the international setting improved.”<sup>42</sup>

Chapter 3: “People’s Liberation War” deals with the events after the war. The summary in the beginning of this chapter is as follows: “The victory in the world war against fascism produced grave changes in the international balance of power. The Socialist Soviet Union became stronger, and some countries in Asia and Eastern Europe established people’s democratic and socialist systems. While the people’s liberation movement in the world continued to develop vigorously, the colonial system of the old world collapsed day by day. All these events produced advantageous conditions for the liberation struggle of the Chinese people.”<sup>43</sup>

The period between WWI and WWII overlaps the period of the Republic of China. “The Culture of the Republic” is summarized as: “During the forty years under the Republic, the Chinese people undertook a courageous, indomitable struggle of resistance against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. In the area of culture, the

---

<sup>41</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 641.

<sup>42</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 670.

<sup>43</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 673.

constant clash between light and darkness, progress and reaction was seen. This was due to the strenuous efforts on the part of Communist party members trying to combine the universal truths of Marxism and the concrete practices of the Chinese revolution. It was also due to the constant search for the truth on the part of progressive intellectuals. The principal ideas in the cultural field at the time of the Republic were to propagate progress, oppose dropping out, inquire into democracy, denounce dictatorship, extol national independence, and resist foreign invasion as well as the people's tendency to surrender. During this period, the arrival of modern European scientific technology and culture was relatively swift. This influenced the development of culture in this period, and the fruits of some scientific technology reached the world standard."<sup>44</sup> An example of anti-Japanese resistance by the Beijing opera actor, Mei Lanfang, who played the female role, was described: "Mei Lanfang was in the height of his popularity when Japanese imperialism invaded China, but he refused to perform for the Japanese. He resolutely remained unshaved and stopped appearing on the stage for some years."<sup>45</sup>

Education was emphasized especially because the Chinese were experiencing the turmoil of the Japan-China war. "Educational endeavors during the roughly forty years of the Chinese Republic were hindered by continuous civil wars and the invasion by the outside enemy; they were also restricted by the overbearing policies of the government. In spite of these conditions, education developed somewhat, due to the efforts of wide-ranging educators. For example, there were a little over seventy universities in China as of 1929, but the number increased to ninety-one by 1937. During the time of the war against Japan, educational enterprises were greatly affected: Some schools were closed, some moved to Kuomintang-ruled areas and some others were consolidated. After the victory in the war, education recovered to a certain extent and continued to develop. There were already 200 universities on the eve of the

---

<sup>44</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 723.

<sup>45</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, pp. 726-27.

establishment of the New China. In this period, all levels and kinds of education - such as primary, middle, and normal schools and vocational education - saw a certain degree of development.”<sup>46</sup>

In addition, “the outcome of cultural education in the revolutionary base and the liberated area” is described as: “The revolutionary base gave great importance to cultural development. Chu Chiupai organized the Gorky drama school. He pointed out that art and literature must be for the masses. The school produced several dramas that propagated revolution and trained a group of art and literature leaders.” And “In 1942, at the time of the war against Japan, the Chinese Communist Central Committee held a forum on literature and art in Yan’an. Mao Zedong gave an important speech on this occasion, the famous “A Talk at the Forum on Literature and Art in Yan’an” He pointed out that the basic policy of revolutionary art and literature should be to serve the people, especially the laborers, peasants, and soldiers. Mao emphasized that activists in the field of art and literature must thoroughly solve problems related to their social status and attitude. Reflecting the spirit of this speech, the production of artists and writers in the liberated area greatly developed.”<sup>47</sup> Here we see a similarity between China and Europe. Art for the masses was now in demand, as seen in Europe where culture was no longer only for the emperor or the court.

## **Korea**

*History of Modern and Contemporary Korea* describes the country’s culture under Japanese colonial rule: “The Korean people have had a high cultural standard and a strong national consciousness, but Japanese imperialism attempted to erase our national culture and traditions in order to mobilize our people for the war of aggression. To this end, the Japanese threw away the mask of so-called ‘cultural rule’ and adopted an absurd slogan: ‘Japan and Korea Are One.’ Japan implemented the policy of ‘Transforming Citizens into Emperors’ Subjects,’ assimilating the

---

<sup>46</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p.728.

<sup>47</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, pp.730-31.

Korean people with the Japanese.”<sup>48</sup>

In spite of this, the Korean people tried to protect their culture by establishing a national learning movement such as the diffusion of *Hangul* (national writing system). Korean culture is treated under the following headings: “III-5: National Culture Protection Movement,” “4: Korean Soul Expressed in Literature and Art,” “4-1: Resistance or Collaboration.” The purpose of these sections is described this way: “On one hand, even under the oppression of Japanese imperialism, anti-Japanese literature and art movements developed, awakening national consciousness. On the other hand, there were writers and artists who collaborated with the Japanese. We try to understand these writers and artists.” The following explanation is given: “Even under the barbarous colonial rule of the Japanese, lively literature and art movements developed, influenced by modern European literary ideas. Poets like Han Yong-un, Yi Yuk-sa, and Yun Tong-ju were well known anti-Japanese poets. They resisted Japanese imperialism and inspired national consciousness through their works. Some writers and poets, however, tried to turn their eyes away from the gloomy reality of colonial rule by embracing notions of pure literature and art, thus living in their own world.” “The Japanese, knowing the influential power of literature and art on the masses, forced writers and artists to produce pro-Japanese works. Thus some people led the pro-Japanese literature and art movement, acting as agents of the Japanese imperialists.”<sup>49</sup>

The purpose of the section “4-2: The People’s Joy and Sorrow Expressed in Mass Art” is “to understand the colonized people’s joy and sorrow expressed in the popular art and their unsophisticated feelings of defiance and resistance.” The following explanation is added: “Mass culture that moves in and out of fashion reflects the lives of people who live in a certain time and place. Even under the cruel colonial rule of Japanese imperialism, new mass culture such as movies, drama, and songs became popular and helped ease people’s oppressive lives.”<sup>50</sup> It further

---

<sup>48</sup> Han et al., 2009, p. 146.

<sup>49</sup> Han et al., 2009, p. 230.

<sup>50</sup> Han et al., 2009, p. 232.

mentions that in Korea under Japanese rule, national culture that resisted colonial rule was praised and became a means of uniting the people.

In Korea, it was not only those pro-Japanese writers and artists who were criticized but also those who did not resist colonial rule. This may be connected to the fact that even present day, pro-Japanese Koreans have been singled out.

### **Vietnam**

Describing the period after WWI, *Part 1: World History* exhibits a strikingly Soviet-centered worldview. The following three topics are briefly described: “The Cause of the Outbreak of WWII,” “The Major Developments,” and “The Conclusion of WWII.” The following chapter, “The Development of World Science, Technology, and Culture in the First Part of the 20th Century,” states: “Soviet culture especially produced certain results.”<sup>51</sup>

*Part 2, History of Vietnamese*, has three chapters that talk about WWII: Lesson 21: “Vietnam in 1939-1945,” Lesson 22: “The Rise of the Revolutionary Movement Leading to the August General Uprising of 1945,” and Lesson 23: “The August General Uprising of 1945 and the Establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.”

Lesson 21 states: “In spite of Japanese intimidation and plunder in all areas, French colonialism still benefited most through many cunning methods.” The most direct damage that Japan inflicted upon the Vietnamese was the food shortage. “The atrocious method that Japan used was forceful requisition of food (mainly rice) with a low price. A part of the food supply was reserved for the war effort. Due precisely to this atrocious method, a grave food shortage was created, and 2,000,000 compatriots, mostly peasants from the north, died of starvation between the end of 1944 and early 1945.”<sup>52</sup>

Lesson 22 states that two war fronts existed in the world, “one comprised of democratic powers headed by the Soviet Union and the other,

---

<sup>51</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, pp. 452-58.

<sup>52</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, p. 632.

the fascist group comprised of Germany, Italy, and Japan.” It describes the rise of the revolutionary movement. In “The Japanese Coup d’etat to Topple France,” the following description is given: “On the night of March 9, 1945, Japan pointed a gun at France all over Indochina and toppled France. The French army tried to fight back; however, its power was weak, and after a few hours of fighting, France surrendered. The Japanese government of the Emperor declared it would work for the independence of the Indochinese people. Soon, however, the falsely charitable and righteous masks of the Japanese fascists and their puppets were removed. Our people further harbored grudges against Japan and detested the puppets who acted as agents of the enemy.”<sup>53</sup>

WWII was treated as merely a background for the August Revolution in the *History of Vietnam*. Lesson 23 summarizes the historical significance of the revolution. “The August Revolution was the great event in the history of the Vietnamese people. It threw off two shackles, French colonialism and Fascist Japan. At the same time, it overthrew the absolute monarchy that had existed for the past 1,000 years. Vietnam was no longer a colony and became an independent country, a republic based on a democratic system. The people were no longer slaves. They became the masters of the country, having independence and free will.” The lesson emphasizes that Vietnamese influence spread to the world. “The August Revolution was the first victory in the world of a small and weak people who liberated themselves from the oppression of colonialism and imperialism, thus creating a new era. This victory greatly inspired a fighting spirit among other peoples under colonial and semi-colonial rule in the world, especially in Asia and Africa.”<sup>54</sup>

The Indochina War and the Vietnam War followed after the August Revolution; therefore, there is no discussion of culture in *History of Vietnam*. Instead, the textbook emphasizes the history of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement after WWI. “The Formation and Development of

---

<sup>53</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, pp. 638, 642.

<sup>54</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, p. 648.

Soviet Culture” in the text *World History* states: “The result of the Soviet cultural enterprise was the following. It eliminated illiteracy, solved problem of unschooled children, created alphabets for those ethnic minorities who had no written language, developed a national education system, struggled against the ideological sediment of the old system, and developed literature and art.”<sup>55</sup>

As seen in the description related to WWI, the description in *World History* centered on the historical view of the Soviet Union. Likewise, *History of Vietnam* centered on the movement against French colonialism. Since absolute monarchy was overthrown by the August Revolution, the phrase “Japanese government of the Emperor” is used instead of “Japanese government.”

### **Thailand**

Thailand has historically been an independent country. The text *History of Thailand* cites six points as “the primary factors for the cause of WWII:” 1) “Defects in the peace treaty concluded after WWI,” 2) “Confrontation of political ideology,” 3) “Nationalism,” 4) “Militarism,” 5) “A policy of appeasement,” and 6) “Weakening of the League of Nations.” After emphasizing the relationship between WWI and II, it moves on to “The Development of WWII.” After the European war front, the Pacific war front is briefly described.

The text goes on to say how Thailand dealt with WWII. “On December 8, 1941, Thailand was invaded by Japan, an ally of the Axis force. The Thai government under the leadership of Plaek Phibunsongkhram was obliged to allow the Japanese army to pass through Thailand to go on to Burma and Malay. Thailand did not have enough military power to confront Japan.” “Thailand established an alliance with Japan for self-defense. At that time, the Southeast Asian region was all under Japanese influence. Thailand declared war against England and the U.S. on January 25, 1942. Thus Thailand became the target of Allied attacks.”

---

<sup>55</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, p. 460.

“This decision on the part of the government caused some bureaucrats, politicians, and citizens to begin anti-government movements inside and outside of Thailand. This movement was called Khabuankan Seri Thai (Free Thai Movement). The purpose of this movement was to protect Thai independence and prevent any damage by England and the U.S. in the event of their victory.” “When Japan surrendered, Pridi Phanomyong declared the declaration of war against England and the U.S. null and void. However, England did not recognize this. Britain demanded that Thailand send 150,000 tons of rice and pay 150,000 pounds as compensation and purchase the so-called ‘Death Railway.’ Thailand agreed and the negotiation was settled. Afterward, England added 5,224,220 pounds for further compensation to England and India.”<sup>56</sup>

The textbook states that the Thai government did not have a choice but to enter into the treaty with Japan. However, at the initial stage, the Thai government considered Japanese military power superior and took advantage of this dominant power, advancing to the neighboring countries and regions. The Thai government used its diplomatic maneuvering skill to side with whichever country she thought might bring victory, just like she did during WWI.

### **Indonesia**

Chapter 6: “The Japanese Occupation and the Preparation for Indonesian Independence” of *History of Indonesia* gives a summary of modern Japanese history in several pages. The purpose of the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia is described: “By starting the Pacific War (1941-1945), Japan attempted to rule Southeast Asian regions which had abundant food, industrial materials, and other resources. These regions became supply bases in order to bring success to the intense Great East Asia War.”<sup>57</sup>

The Japanese occupation of Indonesia is summarized this way: “In general, the Japanese occupation of Indonesia was not welcomed. In

---

<sup>56</sup> Chanwit et al., 2002, pp. 304-05.

<sup>57</sup> Badrika, 2008, p. 244.

Western Kalimantan, many intellectuals were murdered by the Japanese. In that region, at least 20,000 became the victims of Japanese ferocity. Only a few were able to escape to the island of Java.” It is not clear where the number 20,000 comes from; however, it is said that several thousands, including influential people such as the king and members of the royal family, were executed.<sup>58</sup>

The section “The Effect of the Japanese Occupation on the Indonesian People” is divided into the following topics: Politics, Economics, Education, Culture, Society, Administration, and Military. The assessment of Education is as follows: “In comparison to the Dutch East India period, the Japanese occupation period saw rapid advancement in the field of education. The Japanese occupation government gave the Indonesian people an opportunity to participate in the schools built by the government. Furthermore, the Indonesian language was used in schools as an intermediary language, and many names were converted into native names. However, the true motive behind the promotion of education was to nurture pro-Japanese sentiment so that Japan could count on Indonesians’ support when Japan would confront her enemies in the Pacific War.”

The section on culture is summarized as: “Fascist Japan constantly tried to implant Japanese culture in the minds of the Indonesians. One example was to pay respect facing the direction where the sun rises. This custom was based on the Japanese tradition of paying homage to the Emperor, who was considered to be the descendant of the Sun God.”<sup>59</sup> A similar description is given in *Detailed Japanese History*: “In the occupied areas of Southeast Asia ... under the Japanese military administration, policies that ignored local history and cultures had been implemented, such as the promotion of Japanese language and enforced visits to Shinto shrines.” It is an admission on the part of the Japanese that these policies gave pain to the peoples in the occupied areas. At the

---

<sup>58</sup> Badrika, 2008, p. 252. See Shinzo Hayase, “Kaigun Minseika no Nishi-Boruneo” (West Borneo under Japanese Navy Administration) in Iwanami Lecture Series: *Ajia Taiheiyo Senso*. (Asia-Pacific War) Volume 4, 2006, pp. 31-58.

same time, the text indicates that the peoples in occupied areas recognized the great influence of the Emperor, as we have seen in the Vietnamese history book.

### **Chapter Three: History Textbooks and the Two World Wars**

The Iwanami Lecture Series: *Higashi-Ajia Kin-Gendai Tsushi* (Comprehensive History of Modern and Contemporary East Asia) was published from 2010 to 2011. One of the characteristics of this series was “to look into the changes and their causes in modern and contemporary Asia from the point of view of the following four perspectives: global (world), regional (wider area), national (nation), and local (rural).” We shall now examine how these four perspectives were expressed in the history textbooks of each country/region in relation to the two world wars in order to understand how the world was viewed.

#### **Europe**

*History of Europe* is the first history textbook encompassing the history of the entire European continent, going beyond the history of one country. The “Introduction” to the second edition of this textbook explains the significance of this publication. “When we study history, it is natural to start from our own national history. It is the most intimate to us. It has been considered to be the soul and treasure of the nation. However, the concept of nationhood is only several centuries old. Education often played a fundamental role when the nation was being established or the national consciousness was changing. Can history play an equivalent role today in building contemporary Europe as it did when the nation was originally built? History typically arouses feelings as well as passion. With the help of history, we are able to dig into our roots and understand the tension still haunting some parts of Europe, tension that derived from these very roots. Furthermore, we are able to understand

---

<sup>59</sup> Badrika, 2008, pp. 252-53.

what we Europeans share in common, basic **things that are intrinsically European.**” By looking into the past, history as a record of the past encourages us to deliberate upon the present and the future as well.”<sup>60</sup>

The publisher further adds the following explanation, thinking the above statement was insufficient. In the “Preface” to the French version, he says: “Please do not misunderstand us! We, the writers and the publishers, have no intention whatsoever to look down upon local history or one country’s history. Without doubt it has its own place. Neither do we ignore world history and continental history outside of Europe. They are essential to understanding the contemporary world. Our intention is to complement them. We mean to be helpful in contemplating what took place in Europe by comparing it with our regional past, ethnic reality, and the adventure of all mankind.”<sup>61</sup>

We can surmise from this description that regional history and each country’s history have been dominant in Europe and that it is difficult to write an integrated history. Although the publisher says, “We have no intention of ignoring world history and continental history outside of Europe,” as seen above, the text completely ignores them as far as the description of the two world wars is concerned. This indicates how difficult it is to view history from the wider perspective beyond Europe. As far as the names of Asian countries are concerned, only Japan appears several times. The first mention is when the League of Nations was established in 1920: “It was comprised with four permanent member countries: France, England, Italy, and Japan.” The next reference is: “Italy formed the “Rome-Berlin” Axis League (October 1936) and Japan joined, followed by Spain under General Francisco Franco (1939).” The third and fourth references are made when the Japan-U.S. war broke out, and the atomic bombs were dropped. “Germany at last made an unconditional surrendered on May 7, 1945 (Japan did so on August 15).”<sup>62</sup> There is no detailed explanation other than that. Perhaps there won’t be

---

<sup>60</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, “Introduction”.

<sup>61</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, “Preface for French edition”.

<sup>62</sup> Delouche, ed., 1998, pp. 330, 340, 344-45, 347.

any student who might ask “Why Japan?” Accordingly, the teacher won’t feel it necessary to prepare answers to this kind of question. Asia is far away to the European people.

### **Germany**

*History of Germany* (original title: *Timetable of History*) is “a textbook that covers all the historical themes from classic ancient times to the contemporary period.” The Japanese translation of the book is done only from the 19th century on. There is no “Introduction” in the original, but the Japanese translation has one written by the chief translator. It cites three characteristics of the book. The first characteristic is: “The basic historical recognition of the original editor derives from the following. The Germans, the Europeans, and all people in the world have to live today after going through the unparalleled dark age of Nazi barbarism that was based on the ideology of racial discrimination and pseudo-academics. This is the basic point of departure. The author of the textbook tried to write based on a certain historical recognition without being buried in the rise and fall of all sorts of historical events and their divers descriptions.” The second characteristic is: “While it is true that this history textbook was basically written for German students from the German point of view, it also attempts to represent perspectives of both European and world history. In other words, it attempts to see things from a range of viewpoints, that is, to look at German history through the lens of European and world history.” The third characteristic is: “This book can be considered to be a history textbook.”<sup>63</sup>

Although the “Introduction” contains phrases like “people in the world” or “world history,” this book contains only descriptions of Europe and America, regarded as an extension of Europe, as is the case for *History of Europe*. When it says “world,” it means “European world” and “Euro-American world.” This indicates how hard it is for Europeans to break away from the Eurocentric view of history. It is also hard for us Japanese, who learn from Europeans, to break away from a

---

<sup>63</sup> Jäger and Keitz, eds., 2006, pp. 3-4.

Japanese-centered view.

## **China**

*History of China* was compiled “in line with the *Historical Outline of Full-time Regular Higher Junior High School* which was adopted by the Basic Educational Bureau of the National Education Committee in 1996 (on a trial basis).” The content of this textbook is explained: “This textbook has an important role to play: to establish a Socialist civilization in order to raise national aptitude. Through education, the text also aims to produce builders and successors in a fully developed Socialist society, including various aspects of virtue, intellect, and physical work. The purpose of this book is to raise students’ aptitude, so they are able to understand history, that is, to develop the ability to observe historical events from the viewpoint of the materialistic dialectic (dialectical materialism) and its historical view, historical materialism, and apply what they have learned. In this way, students are able to better understand current affairs; to devote themselves to our Socialist nation; to strengthen their faith in building uniquely Chinese Socialism; to build a Socialist country with strong military power, and a democratic and modernized civilization; and to implant in them a spirit of dedication to world peace, justice, and progress.”<sup>64</sup>

“The Preface of the Translator” cites the following characteristics of Chinese history textbooks by comparing them with Japanese texts: “In the past, the significance of class struggles, especially the peasants’ ‘anti-feudal’ struggles, was emphasized by highlighting peasant uprisings and peasant wars.” What is emphasized today is “the technology of agriculture and the manufacturing industry, the development of commerce and a money economy, and the superior legacy of ancient Chinese scientific technology. The text pays special tribute to scholars and technicians who contributed to these developments and encourages students to emulate these people. In this textbook, the progress of literature, art, and ideology is emphasized as in the other textbooks, but

---

<sup>64</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, p. 15.

this textbook gives more emphasis to the development of industrial technology and science from the primitive age to contemporary times. Other great differences found in this textbook are concrete and detailed descriptions of changes in people's daily lives, such as clothing, food, dwellings, entertainment, games, and customs." "For students to have national pride is also emphasized in the text." Therefore, the following descriptions are often seen: "Such and such discovery (or invention) was achieved (...) years earlier than in Europe." The translator points out: "It seems it is difficult to shed the Euro-American inferiority complex on the part of the Chinese."<sup>65</sup>

### **Vietnam**

We can see similarities between the two history textbooks published in Vietnam and in China because both are Socialist countries. The similarities are well summarized in "The Epilogue" written by the chief translator. "A clear message that students learn from the past is presented in the Vietnamese history textbook." Students are "to cultivate and strengthen the following four points." "The first is patriotism; the idea that Vietnam is politically independent of China with a historical tradition that resisted foreign invasions is emphasized." "The second point is Socialism; the starting point of contemporary Vietnamese history is the Russian October Revolution, with relatively great attention given to the description of the former Soviet Union." "The third point is the Vietnamese Communist Party; the positive role the party played in the national liberation struggle and the Vietnam War is highly regarded. The country's victory in the Vietnam War was attributed particularly to the wise leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party." "The fourth point is modernization and industrialization; compared to the old edition, this point is given much more emphasis and should be considered to be a new characteristic of this book."<sup>66</sup>

Another characteristic of this textbook is the description of

---

<sup>65</sup> Renmin Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 2004, pp. 3-4.

<sup>66</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, pp. 775-76.

relationships with the neighboring countries and with “ethnic minorities.” This section has a “careful description of China” and “more space was given to the description of other parts of Southeast Asia.” The text avoids using the word “China” and instead says “the period belonging to *the north*,” “*the northern* feudal force,” or “the defense struggle for the *northern* border (meaning the Vietnamese-Chinese War of 1979).” The textbook is critical of the Cultural Revolution in China; however, it respects China’s reform/open door policy. The descriptions of other Southeast Asian countries are seen in each historical period. Lesson 5 for the 9th grade textbook has a relatively detailed description of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) history. It gives special attention to Vietnam’s relationship with Laos and Cambodia. The lesson states that one of the factors leading to the victory in the Vietnam War was the unity of these three countries in Indochina.<sup>67</sup>

The following introduction pertains to the relationships with “the ethnic minorities.” “The history textbook for junior high school in Vietnam does not mention ethnic minorities. However, there are many important historical facts regarding their relationships among the ethnic groups. For instance, none of the textbooks touches on and systematically describes the major ethnic group, the Kinh tribe. It advanced toward the south and gradually enlarged its sphere of influence. In regard to the ethnic groups, this textbook emphasizes that with the cooperation with the Kinh tribe, the resistance movement against foreign invasions was possible. The history of Champa is touched on in Lesson 24 in the 6th grade textbook. However, no multifaceted, complex historical relationships among ethnic groups are presented. Did such relationships involve confrontation or subordination?”<sup>68</sup> The Vietnamese still consider unification of the country as one of the most important problems. The description of China and other neighboring countries is cautious because they have had a long, complicated historical relationship.

---

<sup>67</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, p. 777.

<sup>68</sup> Phan, ed., 2008, pp. 777-78.

## **Korea**

The text *Korean Modern and Contemporary History* has a chronological table at the beginning of each historical period, divided into “our country,” “China,” “Japan,” and “the world.” It is an attempt to understand the history of Korea in relation to China and Japan, and the world.” According to the translator’s “Epilogue,” *Korean Modern and Contemporary History* is one of the six textbooks approved by the government. The main characteristic of this book is to “let the historical materials speak.” “It was first published in March 2003 and will no longer be used by February 2013.” After 2013, *National History* will change its name to *History of Korea*. *Korean Modern and Contemporary History* will be scrapped from high school elective classes, and *World History* will be called *Understanding World History*. Furthermore, *History of Korean Culture* and *History of East Asia* will be added.” “Special education for the gifted; science and technology education; and education in information technology will be promoted.” “This is a reflection of an awareness of globalization on the part of educators.” Furthermore, “students are strongly reminded of having to survive in this world.”<sup>69</sup>

## **Thailand**

The content of *History of Thailand* is out-dated because it was first published in 1994. The “Introduction” explains the purpose of this textbook: “Social studies textbook ‘S605’ is for high school students to deepen their knowledge and understanding by considering human society from various angles, through academic knowledge of history, politics, economics, culture, and international cooperation. For this purpose, we are providing the most familiar subject, Thai society. In addition, we give examples of what happened in the East and the West in order to compare, which will further promote deeper understanding of our country.”<sup>70</sup>

According to the “Postscript,” social studies in Thai junior high school is a compulsory subject. “In the first year, the students learn

---

<sup>69</sup> Han et al., 2009, pp. 336-38.

<sup>70</sup> Chanwit et al., 2002, p. 6.

familiar matters and basic knowledge about their own country. In the second year, the students' horizons will be broadened to the other parts of Asia, and in the third, to the world. Eventually, students will understand how relationships have developed between Thailand and the rest of the world from the past to the present." Social studies in high school is also compulsory. The purpose of studying *History of Thailand* is "to understand the cause and effect nature of the historical events that took place in Thai history." "Since this book emphasizes the results of modernization and praises its spirit," we can detect what it insinuates: "The ideal model is the West, and the Thais must emulate Japan and other countries which have developed by learning from the West."<sup>71</sup>

Thai history is "an accumulation of what had happened from ancient times in what is considered to be a Thai territory." The text explains as follows: "Strictly speaking, the Thai tribe is not the main bearer of Dvaravati and Khumer cultures. However, their relics still remain in Thailand; therefore, they are considered to be the vestiges of Thai culture. The civilization of these indigenous tribes is a bit different from the Thai culture that developed later; however, this kind of recognition among the Thais hardly exists today. Rather, their culture is considered to be the root of Thai culture and, therefore, is a valuable legacy. The pottery that was produced at the time when there was no concept of a Thai nation or Thailand is considered to belong to Thailand as long as it was found on Thai soil."<sup>72</sup> This indicates that the history of Thailand centered on the present territory considered to be the Thai domain. It will be up to future Thai historians to decide how to treat the Thai ethnic tribes who live outside of Thailand and non-Thai ethnic tribes who live within.

### **Indonesia**

The "Introduction" of *History of Indonesia* says: "The subjects national and world history, produced in line with the 1994 curriculum for high school, are compulsory for all students in the regular course." "The

---

<sup>71</sup> Chanwit et al., 2002, pp. 332-38.

<sup>72</sup> Chanwit et al., 2002, p. 339.

organization of this textbook was based on the previous publications of national and world histories but is widely revised to be consistent with the 1994 curriculum and the supplement for the 1999 teaching guidelines.” This textbook consists of three volumes, from pre-historic times to the present. National history (Indonesian history) and world history are combined. The translation of this book “only includes Indonesian-related descriptions. World history is completely omitted.”<sup>73</sup>

## **Japan**

On March 29, 1999, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture partially revised the School Education Law Enforcement Regulations and completely revised the High School Course Guidelines. The new regulations and guidelines were applied starting in the fiscal year 2003. *The Commentary on the High School Course Guidelines: Geography and History* describes “the purpose of improving instruction and content.” It was written “in order to deepen the understanding of curriculum standards and to organize and enforce uniquely original and imaginative curriculum.”

“The goal of teaching geography and history is to deepen the understanding and awareness of the historical process that formed Japan and the world and of the regional characteristics of life and culture. It is also to nurture the necessary self-awareness and innate disposition to be one of the members of a democratic and peaceful nation/society, so one can live and act on one’s initiative in the cosmopolitan setting.” “The ultimate goal of this book is to train students to be responsible and self-aware, so they will be able to maintain and develop a democratic and peaceful nation/society.”<sup>74</sup> In short, the textbook is to give necessary historical knowledge and help develop students’ ability to think. When we look at the “Goal” of each subject, there is no distinction between world history and Japanese history. According to the *Commentary*, those who

---

<sup>73</sup> Badrika, 2008, pp. 3-4.

<sup>74</sup> Monbu-sho (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture), *Kotogakko Gakushu Shido Yoryo Kaisetsu: Chiri Rekishi-hen*. (The Commentary on the High School Course Guidelines: Geography and History) 1999, pp. 7-8.

learn world history need the knowledge of Japanese history and vice versa.

“The goals of learning geography and history stated above are to enable students to examine the special characteristics of the contemporary world from a broader view” and “to contemplate comprehensively the development of our national history from the perspective of world history.” However, reality seems to contrast with these goals. For instance, the college entrance examination for Japanese History B (a subject which covers a broad survey of history from ancient times to the present) asks questions according to each time period: Ancient, Middle, Modern, and Contemporary. This goes against the stated purposes of “learning the historical view and way of thinking through pursuing certain themes without periodic division.”<sup>75</sup> If we divide history according to time periods, it is hard to grasp the special characteristics of a certain time and the flow of history, which in turn, encourages students to think that each period stands on its own. From the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the study of history study in Japan had been divided into three categories: Japanese history, Oriental history, and Occidental history. This approach was significant then because the historical view at the time was centered on modern Japan. Japan was an independent country in East Asia; she created her own unique history and culture and was formed by incorporating modern Western ideology. However, today this division of history presents a hindrance to understanding not only world history but the study of history itself.

Both *Detailed World History* and *Detailed Japanese History*, written in line with the *High School Course Guidelines*, present a well-balanced view. However, compared with history textbooks in other countries, the descriptions are quite short, and many concrete historical facts are not stated. This is the greatest problem with these books.

From the above research, we understand that it is very difficult to

---

<sup>75</sup> Monbu-sho, 1999, p. 116.

build a wider historical view that goes beyond national history, although all these history textbooks recognize the importance of such a view. The historical perspective in the textbooks written in non-Western countries seems to suffer from an inferiority complex, with historians looking up to these countries as ideal models. If the textbooks have clear purposes, they have prejudicial descriptions. The Japanese textbooks present a relatively balanced view; however, there is no clear assertion on any subject. The descriptions are short; therefore, it is hard to understand what they mean to convey. It is as if one is reading meaningless sentences. This criticism applies particularly to the textbook produced by the “Committee to Write a New History Textbook.” In sum, I can say that so far, history textbooks that achieve a certain desired standard have not yet been produced, be they world or national histories.

#### **Chapter Four: The Two World Wars in World History**

WWI was a social and historical turning point for the European nations, and eventually led to WWII. During the latter war, battles were fought all over the world, not only in military fields but also in the fields of thought, culture, and values. In this sense, if we want to understand various problems that exist in Japan today, it would help if we examine WWII in the context of world history. I would like to present two examples to prove my assertion.

The first is the Emperor system. German imperial rule was abolished as a result of WWI; however, the Japanese Emperor system continued to exist even after the defeat in WWII. Japan and England are among the countries that still have a monarchy today. Why is this? When we contemplate this question by looking into history, we find an answer and also consider what the future of the Emperor system should be.

The second example is the so-called “Yasukuni Problem.” When war is waged by a country where sovereignty resides in the people, these

modern nations share the problem of memorializing the war dead. This problem has been more or less solved by European countries/regions; however, it still exists in Japan and has become an international problem. The “Yasukuni Problem” involves the national religion of Shinto; therefore, we must look into its relationship to the Emperor system as well.

## **1. Monarchical System and World War**

### **(1) Modern Monarchical System and the Military**

Prince Andrew of York was born in 1950 as the second son of Queen Elizabeth. He entered the Navy in 1978 and participated in the Falklands War (Malvinas War) as a helicopter pilot. When the war started, Prince Andrew was to be transferred to office work as rear support; however, with the permission of the Queen, he was sent to the war front to perform his duty as assistant pilot, just like other officers and men. His duty included submarine and maritime strategies. After the war, along with other families, the Queen and her husband welcomed Prince Andrew's return at the Portsmouth military port.

In Japan, since the Meiji Restoration, along with the common people, members of the Imperial family had taken military duties upon themselves, just like British royal family members have taken the lead in participating in the military. Until the collapse of the Imperial military in 1945, twenty-eight members of the royal family served in the military, eighteen in the Army and ten in the Navy; and they fought in the Sino-Japanese, the Russo-Japanese, and the Asia Pacific wars.<sup>76</sup> According to Yuji Otabe, this imperial participation in the military started when one family member studied in Europe: “It was Prince Higashifushiminomiya Yoshiakira. He arrived in London in 1870 and studied European civilization. He also attended British national ceremonies. Eventually he formed friendly ties with the British royal

---

<sup>76</sup> Yuji Otabe, *Kozoku: Tenno-ke no Kin-Gendai-shi*. (Imperial Family: Modern and Contemporary History of Emperor's Family) Chuko Shinsho, 2009, pp. 43-45.

family. He was the first Japanese royalty to have an audience and shake hands with Queen Victoria. The prince attended a Thanksgiving party for the recovery of Edward VII. Based on his observations in Europe that members of the royal family of a young age were studying and serving in the Army and Navy, Prince Yoshiakira voluntarily became second lieutenant in the Army upon his return to Japan. This was how the path was opened for royalty to join the military. Around that time, Prince Kachonomiya Hirotsune and Prince Kitashirakawanomiya Yoshihisa were studying at the Marine Academy in the U.S. and at a Military Academy in Prussia (Germany), respectively. Eventually the participation of royalty in the military became the custom.”<sup>77</sup>

The members of the imperial family took special interest in WWI. Otabe writes: “They showed particular interest in the European state of affairs during WWI. Since the start of the war, they actively tried to gain information on current affairs, domestic affairs as well as diplomacy in Europe. For instance, lectures were held once a month, mainly on Saturday afternoons, sponsored by each house of the imperial princes. The venue used to be at the detached palace of Kasumigaseki or Shiba and later at the houses of whoever sponsored them. They invited professors from Tokyo Imperial University and soldiers on active duty as lecturers to learn the effects of WWI.”<sup>78</sup> The Crown Prince, Hirohito visited battle sites of WWI on his tour of inspection to Europe in 1921.<sup>79</sup>

At the time of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, various support organizations for soldiers and the war bereaved were organized. They included the Imperial Soldiers Support Group (1899- ), the Imperial Soldiers Protection Group (1904-06), and the Veterans Organization (1910-45). Members of the royal family had served either as the presidents or officers of these organizations. Since Japan is surrounded by ocean, they also served in various sea-related organizations such as the Nippon Kaiji Kyokai (Japan Ocean Association), the Sea Protection

---

<sup>77</sup> Otabe, 2009, p. 42.

<sup>78</sup> Otabe, 2009, p. 138.

<sup>79</sup> Otabe, 2009, p. 156.

Organization, the Maritime Youth Organization, the Japan Fisheries Association, and the Japan Relief Organization for Disasters at Sea. Furthermore, they were engaged in Koakai (Raise Asia Society) and Kouten Kokyujō (Shinto Research Education Institute).

## 2) *The Red Cross*

The female members of the imperial family served in wartime as rear support by engaging in the activities of the Red Cross. The predecessor of the Japanese Red Cross Society was the Hakuai-sha established in 1877 during the Seinan War (Satsuma Rebellion); it changed its name to the Red Cross in 1887. The Red Cross was organized in the latter part of the 19th century in Europe, and its activities were supported by the royal families. When it was introduced in Japan, the Empress Shōken (empress consort of Emperor Meiji) actively took up the cause following the European model, as Japan at that time was on the way to modernization. The rest of the imperial family members and people of high social class took leading positions in the Red Cross. The background of the establishment of the Red Cross is further explained: “In European societies in the latter part of the 19th century, the principle of the Red Cross was understood to be humanitarian, assisting and saving lives of the wounded during the war. This principle was extended to anyone regardless of nationality, national interest, or political differences. However, the Red Cross could not function without the support of the government and military. The Red Cross had to face this dilemma, and it was the only way to survive.”<sup>80</sup>

This humanitarian principle has its roots in historical events: “After the conscription system had been introduced at the time of the Napoleonic Wars, it became the routine way in which citizens began joining the war.” “As the number of sick and wounded soldiers increased, humanistic feelings arose and became widespread. As Western countries became modern nation-states, the number of war dead, the sick and wounded

---

<sup>80</sup> Fumitaka Kurosawa and Toshinobu Kawai, eds., *Nihon Sekijūji-sha to Jindō Enjō*. (Japanese Red Cross Society and Human Aid) University of Tokyo Press, 2009, p. 4.

increased because the war was no longer fought by mercenaries or a standing army of the monarchy but by a modern national army. The government had to pay special attention to the increasing number of these soldiers.”<sup>81</sup>

The activities of the Red Cross have the universal quality of internationalism as well as the individual quality of nationalism. In the modern era, their works were performed within each country. In the monarchical nations such as Austria and Japan, loyalty to the monarchy was added to internationalism and nationalism. In Japan, when the Hakuaisha changed its name to the Red Cross in 1887, it was clearly cited that “the Red Cross was to receive royal patronage from the Emperor and the Empress.” The role of female members of the imperial family was significant. “It became the Empress’s duty to make bandages in the time of war.” “When the Empress was to travel alone without the Emperor, her destinations were the Red Cross, hospitals, and charitable organizations, in this order. The humanitarian activities of the Japanese Red Cross have been based on the three elements - nation, emperor, and humanism - that were the foundation of *houkoku juppei* (loyalty to the nation and relief to soldiers) and *hakuai jizen* (philanthropy and charity). “By bestowing patronage on the Red Cross, the image of the Emperor, the Empress, and the Imperial family in Japan has been transformed to adjust to modern times.”<sup>82</sup>

The Red Cross was born in the midst of this dilemma: “The humanism that the Red Cross embraced could not have been achieved without forging relationships with the government and military.” Its activities during WWII were “governed by patriotism, and the Japanese Red Cross was organized in the militaristic fashion. Therefore, it could not stop or control the inhumane actions of the military.” The historical relationship between the Red Cross and patriotism is explained: “The birth of the Red Cross was the flowering of 19th century humanism. It

---

<sup>81</sup> Kurosawa and Kawai, eds., 2009, p. 5.

<sup>82</sup> Kurosawa and Kawai, eds., 2009, pp. 22, 25, 52.

laid the foundation for questioning pre-modern philanthropy, consisting, heretofore, of the personal activities of certain rich individuals such as the monarchy, aristocrats, or rich bourgeoisie. Their activities were opportunistic and sporadic and mainly consisted of large donations and gifts. As the middle class grew in Western countries, the nature of philanthropy changed. It came to be supported mainly by the middle class, and although the donation amount might be smaller, it was regular and came from a broad segment of the public. In major European countries, large-scale charity organizations supported by donations from citizens came to exist between the middle of the 19th century and WWI. On the war front, the Red Cross eased the pain of the sick and wounded soldiers by cooperating with the national military; on the home front, it softened the anxiety of the citizens. This way, the Red Cross connected the war and the home fronts. Its humanitarian activities were supported by a wide range of people and their donations. The stronger the support became, the narrower the gap between the Red Cross and patriotism.<sup>83</sup>

Since the abolition of the monarchy by the French revolution, the existence of royalty and the aristocracy was threatened. Shusaku Kanazawa explains the so-called philanthropy strategy used in England to prolong the monarchy: “What was the purpose of the royal family eagerly engaged in philanthropic projects by holding honorary positions such as patron or president or making great sums of donations?” “The royal family’s political power gradually declined since the latter part of the 18th century. In inverse proportion to this, the royal family’s involvement in philanthropic activities increased. In this way, the royal family was supported by all kinds of social classes, especially the middle class. The king/queen was called the ‘father/mother of the nation’ thereby maintaining their *raison d’être*. Royalty at the apex of society placed relief works for the lowly and the weak under their patronage. At the same time, the relief organizations looked forward to receiving it. It was nothing but a manifestation of paternalism.” “The charity organizations

---

<sup>83</sup> Kurosawa and Kawai, eds., 2009, p. 293.

were under the patronage of the royal family, followed by the aristocrats, the gentry (as presidents/vice presidents), and the rich middle class (as steering committee members). They were financially supported by (well-to-do) donors who were eager to join in the elegant high society of the rich and famous. Their relief activities flowed down to the poor and weak at the bottom of society. This way, the current social order was embodied and maintained.”<sup>84</sup>

In Japan, in the prewar years, the Imperial family performed as the leaders and officers of not only military support organizations, but also many other societies to which they donated great sums of money. These prewar organizations included medically related groups: the Japan Red Cross, Japanese Foundation for Cancer Research, Japan Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the Saiseikai (Social Welfare Organization Saiseikai Imperial Gift Foundation), the Princess Takamatsu Cancer Research Fund, and the Tokyo Jikeikai. For the promotion of science and technology, organizations in the prewar and wartime period included: Japan Institute of Invention and Innovation, RIKEN, Japan Society for Promotion of Science, and Yamashina Institute for Ornithology. The imperial family also headed the prewar sports organizations, including the Japan Sailing Federation, the Japan Hockey Association, the Japan Fencing Federation, the Japan Football Association, the Japan Tennis Association, the Japan Equestrian Federation, the Nippon Billiard Association, and the Japan Basketball Association. Other organizations are the Maison Franco-japonaise, the Japan-Turkey Society, the Ryuchikai (Japan Art Association), and the Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Great Japan Martial Art Association).

In the postwar period, all organizations that had something to do with the military were abolished; instead, organizations like those protecting the natural environment were created, and they received patronage from the Imperial family. These included the Japanese

---

<sup>84</sup> Shusaku Kanazawa, *Charity to Igitrisu Kindai*. (Charity and Modern England) Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2008, p. 190.

Association for Preservation of Birds and the World Wide Fund for Nature Japan. Others were those which promoted culture and art such as the Federation of Japan Amateur Orchestras Corp. and the Japan Ikebana Association. Sports organizations were the following: the Japan Rubber Baseball Association, the All Japan Archery Federation, the Professional Ski Instructors Coach Association of Japan, the Japan Squash Association, the Japan Grass Ski Association, and the International Kyudo Federation.

## **2. Memorial for the War Dead**

### **(1) Modern Europe**

In Europe, memorials to the war dead have traditionally been connected to the Christian faith. George L. Mosse explains: “The function of Protestant Christianity within such nationalism came into sharpest focus in the face of death. With the development of the cult of the fallen soldier, dating from the wars of the French Revolution and the German Wars of Liberation, the death in war of a brother, husband, or friend became a sacrifice; now, at least in public, the gain was said to outweigh the personal loss. It was not only the belief in the goals of the war which justified death for the fatherland, but death itself was transcended; the fallen were truly made sacred in the imitation of Christ. The cult of the fallen provided the nation with martyrs and, in their last resting place, with a shrine of national worship. War monuments, commemorating the fallen, symbolized the strength and manliness of the nation’s youth and provided an example for other generations to follow. The cult served as a reminder of the glory and challenge of war even in peacetime.”<sup>85</sup>

This kind of tribute and ceremony has changed “with the beginning of modern warfare and a new national consciousness.” Cemetery and war monuments became sacred places for national worship, and all the war dead became heroes, regardless of their social class, due to the great number of deaths during WWI. The tomb of the unknown soldiers became

---

<sup>85</sup> George L. Mosse, *Eirei: Tsukurareta Sekai Taisen no Kioku*. (tr. into Japanese) Kashiwa Shobo, 2002, p. 40. (*Fallen Soldiers; Reshaping the*

the focus of memorial ceremonies the masses could attend. Unlike in the past when the war was fought by professional soldiers, volunteers, and mercenaries, ordinary people were now conscripted as a call of duty. In order to bring up those who would fight and die for the sake of the country without hesitation, memorial ceremonies became important activities.

“Reconstitution of war memory” was connected to nationalism, and it steered the people not to pacifism but toward WWII. Mosse, who was born in 1918 in Berlin and left Germany in 1933 as Nazism was spreading, talks about the interwar period as follows. “The Myth of the War Experience was central to the process of brutalization because it had transformed the memory of war and made it acceptable, providing nationalism with some of its most effective postwar myths and symbols. The Myth of the War Experience also attempted to carry the First into the Second World War, to establish an unbroken continuity which would rejuvenate the nation. But for all that, there was almost no enthusiasm for war in 1939, no new generation of 1914, in spite of the Nazis’ efforts to produce one. Nevertheless the attitudes toward politics, life, and death which the myth projected prepared many people to accept the inevitability of war. To a great extent the interwar period built on war, and no effective pacifist movement was able to take its place beside the Myth of the War Experience.”<sup>86</sup>

However, a great change occurred after WWII. Monuments built after WWII embodied the war experience itself, but those containing a warning against war symbolized the end of the war. In England at the end of WWII, extensive discussions regarding the memorials to the war dead took place. One view was “that memorials should commemorate the individuals rather than the collectivity and should contain a warning against all war.” As a result, a utilitarian approach was taken: “The majority of the population preferred such memorials as parks or gardens that people could

---

*Memory of the World War.* Oxford University Press, 1990)

<sup>86</sup> Mosse, 2002, p. 182.

enjoy long after the war.” This practical idea was the people’s wish, and it has been supported.<sup>87</sup>

Arisa Mori explains how England solved the problem of ceremonies for the war dead. “An ‘unknown soldier’ who returned home has no identity outside of being British. Therefore, he could become a symbol of the countless war dead, including missing soldiers who have no burial markers. Furthermore, lack of knowledge regarding where, exactly, he died made him more suitable for that symbol.” “The coffins of ‘unknown soldiers’ wrapped in the Union Jack were paraded through the city, and after passing in front of the Cenotaph, they were buried at Westminster Abbey where successive kings and queens had been buried.” Furthermore, “on the cease-fire commemoration day of 1920, France, like England, also held a memorial service for the ‘unknown soldiers’.” In 1921, the U.S. followed suit, and these countries gave decorations to the ‘unknown soldiers’ of each former allied country.”<sup>88</sup>

Yoko Takayama explains about the Cenotaph: “The origin of the word came from the Greek word ‘sky tomb’ and it was designed by Edwin Lutyens in 1920. This simple cenotaph was engraved with ‘The Glorious Dead’ in order to memorialize the war dead during WWI. King George V unveiled the Cenotaph on November 11, 1920 (the cease-fire commemoration day). In thirty days after the unveiling, 400,000 people visited the site. The Cenotaph’s purpose was not only to memorialize the war dead but also to present the idea that the war was an indispensable necessity for justice. The fallen soldiers had transformed to *eirei* ‘spirits’.”<sup>89</sup>

## **(2) Modern Japan<sup>90</sup>**

---

<sup>87</sup> Mosse, 2002, pp. 224-25.

<sup>88</sup> Arisa Mori, “Dai-ichiji Sekai Taisen to ‘Mumei Senshi’ Tsuito no Katachi” (World War I and Memorial Service for “Unknown Soldiers”) in Inose, ed., 2010, p. 246.

<sup>89</sup> Yoko Takayama, “Senseki Kanko to Kinenhi,” (Battle Site Tour and Monuments) *Journal of International Relations* (Asia University), Vol. 20, Nos. 1-2, 2011, pp. 195-96.

<sup>90</sup> See in detail: Shinzo Hayase, “Tairyō Shi to Haisen,” (Publications of War Memories as Paper Cenotaphs - Mass Death and the Defeat: The Meaning of Writing War Memories” *Jimbun Kenkyū* (Osaka City

When the modern state of Japan was established through the Meiji Restoration, the Compulsory Draft Order was promulgated in 1873. Initially 80% were exempted; but the Order saw a great revision in 1889, and the entire male population (who were considered to be imperial subjects) became the object of conscription. The Order was completely revised in 1927 and called the Military Service Law. According to the new law, all males over 20 (it became 19 in 1943) were conscripted by the end of “the Great East Asia War.” The law was abolished on November 17, 1945.<sup>91</sup>

With the universal conscription system enforcing the Order and law, Japan had engaged in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05), WWI (1914-18), the (second) Sino-Japanese War (1931-45), and “the Great East Asia War” (1941-45). The memorial services for the fallen soldiers had been held publicly.

These soldiers were first cremated on the spot where they were killed; after their remains were brought home, memorial services were held by their military units and lastly, public services were held in their respective hometowns. For more concrete information on the public memorial services for the fallen soldiers in Japan, refer to the works of Yukio Hiyama (on the Russo-Japanese War), Jiro Kagotani (on the Russo-Japanese War and (the second) Sino-Japanese War), Katsuhiko Tanakamaru (on WWI and (the second) Sino-Japanese War), and Toshiya Ichinose (on the wars after the Manchurian Incident of 1931).<sup>92</sup>

We do not know how many Japanese soldiers perished in these wars. In the beginning, those who died of sickness and disease were not included. According to the number of the dead enshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine, it is 2,466,532 as of October 17, 2004. The following are the

---

University, Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences), Vol. 63, March 2012.

<sup>91</sup> Yoko Kato, *Choheisei to Kindai Nippon 1868-1945*. (Conscription System and Modern Japan, 1868-1945) Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1996; Toshiya Ichinose, *Kogun Heishi no Nichijo Seikatsu*. (Everyday Life of Emperor's Soldiers) Kodansha Shinsho, 2009.

<sup>92</sup> Akira Nishimura, *Sengo Nippon to Senso Shisha Irei* (Postwar Japan and Mourning for the War Dead) Yushisha, 2006, p. 39.

numbers according to each war: war at the Meiji Restoration (7,751); the Seinan War (6,971); the Sino-Japanese War (13,619); the Taiwan Conquest (1,130); the Northern China Incident (1,256); the Russo-Japanese War (88,429); WWI (4,850); the Jinan (Sainan) Incident (185); the Manchurian Incident (17,176); the China Incident (191,250); the Great East Asia War (2,133,915) (The numbers and the names of the wars are based on the Yasukuni Shrine records).<sup>93</sup>

The Yasukuni Shrine is defined in its official guidebook as a shrine “where the *eirei* of the war dead who dedicated their precious lives for the sake of the country are enshrined.”<sup>94</sup> The *eirei* has two meanings according to the *Kojien* dictionary (6th edition, Iwanami Shoten, 2008). “1. The spirit or soul of an outstanding person. 2. An honorific title given to a spirit of a dead person, especially the spirit of the war dead.”<sup>95</sup> However, the word *eirei* is a relatively new word. It came into use at the time of the Russo-Japanese War. Approximately 90% of the total death toll during the earlier Sino-Japanese War was due to sickness and disease. In contrast, many died on the battlefield during the Russo-Japanese war. Their heroic fights on the battlefields created “the gods of war.” The news of the deaths reached the people at home through military, school, and mass media that emphasized that each fallen soldier dedicated his life to the cause of the country. Previously the use of the word *eirei* was limited to the military and news coverage, but it began to be used among the people in general. An organization called “Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai” (Repaying the *Eirei*) established in Showa 51 (1976) defines *eirei*: “It is a title of reverence given to (the spirits of) the dead. In a narrow sense, the word represents (the spirit of) fallen soldiers. In Japan, it means the spirit of a dead person enshrined in the Yasukuni Shrine.”<sup>96</sup>

The fair name of *eirei* took root among the people due to the public

---

<sup>93</sup> *Mainichi Shimbun*, June 20, 2005.

<sup>94</sup> Isao Tokoro, ed., *Yokoso Yasukuni Jinja he*. (Welcome to Yasukuni Jinja) Kindai Shuppansha, 2000, p. 8. (New edition, 2007)

<sup>95</sup> Katsuhiko Tanakamaru, *Samayoeru Eirei-tachi*. (Wandering Sprits) Kashiwa Shobo, 2002, p. 15.

<sup>96</sup> Tanakamaru, 2002, p. 21.

funerals that honored the war dead as *eirei*. By the time of the Russo-Japanese War, a public funeral in the soldier's hometown became more systematic. Usually the primary school yard was used as a ceremonial ground. The pupils sang songs; a band played music; memorial addresses were delivered by public officials, including the mayor or village head; and a photograph of the deceased was decorated. All this made the bereaved very proud of their husband or son. In this way, the death was glorified and honored. The number of Japanese war dead in WWI was 4,850, which was relatively few; therefore, this war did not make much of an impact on the Japanese people. In spite of the small number, the public funerals were held on a grander scale. In this way, the public funeral affirmed the war and enhanced national prestige. The public funeral had a tremendous influence on the school children who attended it. Some of them even thought, "I do not mind dying if they hold such a grand funeral."<sup>97</sup> The war bereaved proudly placed a wooden plate at the entrance of the house; it said "House of Honor," if the deceased was in the Army and "House of Exploit," if in the Navy.

The concept of honoring the spirits of dead soldiers is not unique to Japan. When the book written by Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers; Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* was translated into Japanese, the main title became "Eirei," which was defined as "the fallen soldiers who were deified through ceremony."<sup>98</sup> World War I created a new level of total warfare, and draftees dying on the battlefields became rather common. Therefore, properly memorializing those who died for the sake of the country became an issue among modern states because the mobilization of more soldiers was expected for the next war. It was also extremely important to inculcate school children who would provide future troop power, since the state depended on its citizens to be the soldiers who would fight in future wars.

---

<sup>97</sup> Tanakamaru, 2002, p. 36.

<sup>98</sup> Mosse, 2002, p. 229.

Public funerals and memorial services for the war dead were not as elaborate as they should have been during and right after the war, due to the worsening war situation and material hardship, respectively. However, they did take place for some time after the war until the so-called Shinto Order was promulgated. The Shinto Order (“The Order to Abolish Governmental Assurance, Support, Maintenance, Supervision, and Dissemination of National Shintoism and the Shrine Shintoism”) was issued to the Japanese government on December 15, 1945, by General Headquarters (GHQ). The Shinto Order did not directly ban official funerals. It was the military administration of GHQ in the prefectures that banned them because it considered the funerals to instill “militarism and ultra-nationalism” into the hearts of the people. On November 11, 1946, the vice-minister of the Department of Interior and Education issued an official notice, “On the Official Funeral and Other Matters” (No. 51) to the local directors.<sup>99</sup>

In this notice, the war dead were treated the same as those who were “militarists or extreme nationalists.” It said: “Transporting, keeping, and delivering the remains to the bereaved must be done in a courteous and devout manner. Delivering the remains is the government’s duty; therefore, public buildings or public places (except school buildings and yards) can be used. However, the public in general is not allowed to participate in the ceremony.” “One must keep in mind the following: When the funeral or other ceremony/event, such as welcoming the remains of the war dead is to be held, the school teacher should not lead students to attend such a function, and the public in general should not be forced to attend. One must also bear in mind that these occasions are not used for disseminating militaristic ideology.”

Clause Four of the same official notice has the following passage on the “War Memorial:” “Clause 4: Construction of memorial towers,

---

<sup>99</sup> Homepage of Monbu-kagaku-sho (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology):  
[http://www.mext.go.jp/b\\_menu/hakusho/nc/t19461101001/t19461101001.html](http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/nc/t19461101001/t19461101001.html)

monuments, and bronze statues for the war dead, as well as the militarists, and extreme nationalists were not allowed. Those that are currently under construction should be immediately stopped. For the treatment of those that already exist, refer below: 1. Remove those existing in school buildings and their premises. 2. Remove those existing in public buildings or on public lands whose purpose was clearly to disseminate militaristic and extreme nationalistic ideologies.”

In compliance with this notice, 5,613 memorial towers and monuments and 354 bronze statues were either removed or destroyed; 890 memorial towers and monuments and 17 bronze statues were moved to inconspicuous places; 908 memorial towers and monuments and 29 bronze statues were remodeled - a total of 7,411 memorial towers and monuments and 400 bronze statues.<sup>100</sup> Those which were buried underground were dug up again after Japan regained sovereignty. Others were changed to peace towers. Some war bereaved, who considered memorial towers as their precious “lifeline,” were deeply hurt and refused to remove the memorial towers.<sup>101</sup>

This notice is indicative of GHQ’s goal of total eradication of militaristic education, not only in the field of religion but also regarding public funerals and war memorials. The war bereaved, however, had to face doubly severe treatment. The first was economic hardship, as military pensions were cut off partially or entirely. This was based on “Special Case on the Pension Law” ordered on February 1, 1946. The second was mental anguish because the GHQ decided to treat the war dead the same as “militarists or ultra-nationalists.”

A stark difference between the gala send-off and their treatment after the war brought such heartache to the soldiers who returned home after witnessing the mass killing; the war bereaved suffered as well. Memorials for fallen soldiers are problematic among modern nation-states,

---

<sup>100</sup> Yasuo Ohara, *Shinto Shirei no Kenkyu*. (Studies of Shinto Order) Hara Shobo, 1993, p. 221.

<sup>101</sup> National Museum of Japanese History counted 15,942 monuments all over Japan. See *Kin-Gendai no Senso ni Kansuru Kinenhi*. (Monuments on

but the problem in Japan is that the memorial has been connected to the uniquely Japanese religion. The problem of memorializing the war dead, including the “Yasukuni Problem,” remained unsolved until today. The way the war memorials of the fallen soldiers of WWI and WWII were handled in Europe was different from Japan. We must make it clear why we should memorialize the war dead. We do so to avoid engaging in any more war in the future. If this is the case, we would be able to contemplate what kind of memorial should be built and how the ceremony should be conducted. It should neither be “to praise militaristic tradition nor military events” and should not be used to mobilize the people for war. Those memorials that have engraved the names of politicians or that generate some funds for particular organizations are out of the question. The problem of memorialization in Japan is not the problem of the past. It is the problem of today because it indicates Japanese attitudes toward war.

## **Epilogue**

It is very difficult to share common knowledge of world history given how the two world wars, WWI and WWII, were described in history textbooks. What binds Europe together is Christianity. Furthermore, Europe has a network of royal families through marriage. In spite of these, Europeans had a hard time forming nation-states, and therefore it has been hard to produce a national history. This is the reason they cannot easily accept an integrated European history that denies national or local history. Some non-European countries look up to Europe as a model for modernization, and their histories are based on a Eurocentric view. In the meantime, in Socialist countries such as China and Vietnam, the Russian Revolution of 1917 was considered to be the beginning of contemporary society, and the achievements of the Communist Party have been emphasized. In former imperial countries in Asia that have had difficulty

forming nation-states, the importance of national unity is mentioned, but their past invasions of neighboring regions are ignored. In the countries that respect regional unity, such as members of ASEAN, the effort of sharing a common history is noted. The case of Thailand is a good example. Thai history does not mention the alliance with Japan during WWII; instead it emphasizes the activities of Seri Thai that fought against Japan.

In the countries where people expect so much from history education, history writing tends to be biased, and too much emphasis is placed on certain issues. This tendency alienates some people from learning history. While Japanese history textbooks are well balanced, the goal of history education is not clear. Some Japanese even advocate that history education is not necessary. In a country like Korea where students are subjected to a fierce “entrance examination war,” one might ask what is the concrete goal of education for the Koreans to “survive in the international setting.” As of now, it is impossible to have common historical recognition in world history. Even in the history of East Asia where it is more or less regionally integrated, it is still difficult. In order to write such history, I would like to advocate that each country/region recognize the differences in historical recognition and contemplate where the difference is coming from. It is the first step toward looking at history regionally as well as globally. This paper is “a memo” for that purpose.

### **Acknowledgement**

This paper is a partial result of what I learned in the joint research titled “Toward Comprehensive Study of WWI,” initiated in 2007 by the Institute for Research in the Humanities, Kyoto University (In 2010 the title was changed to “Comprehensive Study of WWI”). I am grateful to Osaka University Historical Education Research Society and Nagoya

University GSID (Graduate School of International Development) Seminar that gave me opportunities to report on this subject on October 16, 2010, and on October 29, 2011, respectively. This paper is based on these reports. I would like to extend my gratitude to those who invited me to join the project as well as to those who organized the seminars.

This is the English translation of GSID Discussion Paper No. 186 published in February 2012. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Motoe Terami-Wada for translating this Japanese paper into English.