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Abstract

Due to its geographical proximity, the urban city of Fukuoka claims itself as a 'gateway towards Asia' establishing institutions and organizing various events related to Asia. This paper examines the two recurring events that represent the 'Asianism' of Fukuoka, which is inter-connected over a period of one hundred years. First, the Pan-Asian organization Genyosha, and second, the post war urban development policy and examine the continuity and discontinuity and the ways in which the concept of 'Asia' had appeared in the local imaginary.

1. Introduction

Fukuoka is located 900km down south of Tokyo and serves as an entrance to one of the four main islands of Japan, Kyushu. It acted as an interface between mainland Japan and the Korean Peninsula for many centuries. The space of Fukuoka has been defined by its geographical proximity towards Asian neighbors through the historically constructed layers of relationships with Korea and China. The space can be conceived as a metaphor for both invasion and bridge between the people of Japan and its neighboring countries constructing an everyday reality that is distinct from other cities in Japan. For this reason, 'Asia' as a concept has been imagined in a particular way which gave rise to Pan-Asianism in the late 19th century and an implicit connection to the urban development policy in the post-war period which entailed the re-packaging of Asia. While the history of modern Japan in general was to negate Asia as the negative 'other' under the gaze of Orientalism by the West, the ways in which the local identity of Fukuoka had negotiated its space within the national discourse shows a somewhat different trajectory. The question of whether modern Japan was part of the

'West' or rather of 'Asia' was central to the Japanese discourse on national identity. (Oguma 2007: 200 212, Kan 2003: 064 100, Ishi 2000: 4 55, et al.) However, northern Kyushu being located far from the center of political power and yet globalized in its own way, had shaped its post-war local identity in a particular way.

This is a preliminary paper to explore the connection between the locality of Fukuoka and 'Asianism' through its imagining and appropriation of Asia. In order to do this, I will present two cases which are inter-connected over a time period of 100 years. First, the Genyosha, a political association established in late 19th century which propagated Pan-Asianism, and secondly the urban development policy of Fukuoka in late 20th century and examine the continuity and discontinuity and the ways in which the concept of 'Asia' had appeared in the local imaginary.

2. Pan-Asianism in modern Japan

The concept of 'Asia' has been established in relation to the West. Without the West there is no 'Asia.' (Takeuchi 1993: 20, 96, 97, Koschmann 1997: 83, Sakai 2001, Duus 1998: 23) Japanese intellectuals of 19th century had adopted this distinction and

developed various responses in how to situate Japan within the uneven space between the West and Asia. By doing this, they had followed the unilinear narrative of civilization and enlightenment that was prevalent in Europe, which regarded West as ‘universal’ and ‘progressive’, and the Rest as ‘particular’ and ‘backward.’¹

By mid-nineteenth century, Japan and China were forced to open up the countries. Due to the collapse of the Sinocentric tributary world system, Japan had to enter the new world system dominated by the Western imperial powers. The major concern of the Meiji government was to secure national independence from the encroachment of the West especially after the defeat of China in the First Opium War. During this modernization period, in dealing with the threat from the West, two approaches arose: the strengthening of Japan economically and military in order to join the Western system of international relations, and the aligning with other Asian nations in order to present a unified front. (Saaler 2007: 4)

The former approach was introduced by the Meiji government known as *fukoku kyōhei* (build a strong country and military), *shokusan kogyō* (increase production and promote industrialization), and intellectuals such as Fukuzawa Yukichi argued for a policy of “Datsu A” (casting off Asia) which advocated Japan to separate itself from the rest of Asia in order to join the Western system. Although Fukuzawa was not asserting for Datsu A from the beginning, it was after the failure of the coup d’état of the modernization faction of Korea in 1884 that made him change his position. In “Datsu A ron” Fukuzawa writes, “We should not wait for our neighbors to be enlightened in order to raise Asia, but we should depart from them and progress with the Western civilizations. We should not give special consideration in

how we treat China and Korea only because they are neighbors. We should treat them just like how the Westerners treat them.” (Fukuzawa 1981: 224) The idea of ‘casting off Asia’ does not only draw a distinct boundary between Japan and its Asian neighbors situating Japan outside of the imagined community (Anderson 1991) called Asia but also negates the neighboring countries in the East and warned Japan not to be lumped together with its ‘bad friends’ in the eyes of the West.

The latter approach arose as an antithesis to Meiji government’s policy on modernization conducted under the Western framework propagating solidarity and unity of Asia. Takeuchi Yoshimi argues that Pan-Asianism is a loose set of ideas rather than a coherent ideology which does not embody value in itself and thus manifest in adhesion to other ideologies. Within its complexity, Takeuchi gives a minimum definition to Pan-Asianism that it is oriented towards the solidarity of Asian nations whether by means of ‘aggression’ or not and adds that it may be difficult to distinguish between solidarity and aggression in concrete situations. (Takeuchi 1993: 287 294) The advocates of Pan-Asianism were hardly homogenous and it attracted intellectuals from various ideological backgrounds. Pan-Asian ideas encompassed from left to right, including people such as Ueki Emori, the leader of Freedom and Rights Movement, Ozaki Hotsumi, a communist who was executed on espionage charges, Tarui Tokichi who wrote “Daito Gappo Ron” (Argument for a Union of the Great East) which was widely read among the Pan-Asianist circles, Okakura Tenshin (Kakuzō) who became popular for his renowned phrase ‘Asia is one’, Toyama Mitsuru, the leader of Genyōsha (Black Ocean Society) and its offspring Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon Society) and its leader,

1 This does not mean to say that this view has been endorsed completely. See for example, Karatani Kojin (2000).

Uchida Ryohei.

As the history shows, Pan-Asianism which originally claimed for solidarity of Asia against the Western imperial powers, resulted as a tool to legitimize Japan's colonial expansion into its neighboring countries. In the end of the nineteenth century, the Japanese government had been cautious in dealing with early Pan-Asianist movements. It attempted to maintain a positive image of Japan, especially in light of Western fears of 'yellow peril'. However, since 1930s, it deployed the Pan-Asian rhetoric in the founding of Manchukuo in 1932, in declaring the New Order for East Asia in 1938 and announcing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere in 1940. (Saaler 2007: 5) Although calling for a Pan-Asian community uniting oneself against the Western imperialism, many Pan-Asianist including people such as Okakura embraced the uniqueness and superiority of Japan.² In the project of Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere, Japanese was the leading race of Asia and for the world and that was destined permanently. (Dower 1986) Therefore, "the East was to be an equal counterpart to the West. Yet this did not mean that all nations and peoples were necessary equal *within* Asia". (Koshmann 1997: 85)

The idea of Asia is ultimately empty and variously exploited according to its historical and political circumstances. (Koshmann 1997: 83) The two ideas of Datsu A and Pan-Asianism that situate Japan and Asia in modern Japanese discourse are not in fact, opposed against each other but rather two sides of the same coin. Both are confined within the ideas of civilization and enlightenment, trying to uplift Japan's position within the existing international world order, striving for independence and aspiring for a new order in East Asia. Moreover, both affirmed the uniqueness of Japan and

Japanese, which often led to the claim for superiority against its Asian neighbors.

3. Making the Locality of Kyushu

In the book entitled *Kyushu jin* [literary translated as the people of Kyushu] published in 1960 by the Mainichi Newspaper, it is written that the history of Kyushu has always been defined by its relationship with foreign countries. Numerous examples are given in how the people of Kyushu had interacted with the foreign countries thus developed a capacity in how to deal with the foreigners. (Kaneseke and Higaki 1960: 175) The description begins with the destruction of Mimana in the Korean Peninsular by Silla in the 7th century, when 25,000 troops on 170 ships crossed the Tsushima Straits lead by Azumino Hirafu, a powerful leader from Northern Kyushu. After the battle, the defense guard along the coastal line and islands of Kyushu was established. During peaceful periods, the diplomatic missions from Korea and China were entertained at a guest house, Korokan before they headed towards the political center. Since the 9th century, pirates from Korean Peninsular had attacked Kyushu several times, while *wako*, the pirates and smugglers mainly from Kyushu had attacked and engaged in illegal trade in Korean Peninsular, coastal lines of China, Philippines, Borneo and India. (Kaneseke and Higaki *ibid*: 137 151) The sea did not function as a boundary but rather mediated interactions between the people on both sides in peace and war situations.

Until the First Sino-Japanese War, there were only several major international conflicts between Japan and its neighboring countries, including the Mongol invasion in the 13th century and Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasion to Korea in the late 16th century, both of which involved the island of Kyushu. In the old Hakozaki Shrine of Fukuoka dat-

2 See for example, Okakura (1970).

ing back to 10th century, its main building faces the sea overlooking towards the Korean Peninsular carries a plate which reads “surrender of the enemy country”. This is said to be re-written in 1275 one year after the first invasion by Mongol in order to pray for the protection of the country. (Murata 1998: 7) At the first attack, Japanese army was defeated by the more advanced Mongol and Goryeo troops of 28,000 and the city was destructed. However, during the night the strong typhoon blew up the ships bringing an end to the battle. The defense wall was built along the coastal line of Hakata Bay in order to prepare for the second attack in 1281, which again was brought to an end by a strong wind. Oral tradition manifests the memory of the Mongolian invasion that when a baby cry the people will say “the ogre of Mukuri (Mongolia) and Kokuri (Korea) will come and get you” (Takeno 2000: 43 44) expressing the horror of women and men to be driven into slavery if conquered.

When Toyotomi Hideyoshi invaded Korea in 1592 and 1598, the castle was built in Karatsu and after the war many potters from Korea were conscripted to Kyushu where numerous kiln sites flourished. From the 19th century, Kyushu particularly the area of Chikuho became the large mining area that produced energy for modern capitalist development. In late 1930s and early 40s, due to shortage of man power, a large number of Koreans who were colonial subjects at that time, were conscripted to work in the coal mines under harsh conditions. (Yamada et al. 1991: 175 181, Weiner 1994, Kim 2004) At the end of the Asia Pacific War, nearly 1.4 million people were repatriated from Korea, Manchuria, China, Taiwan and the Philippines to the Fukuoka’s Hakata Port and, more than 500,000 Koreans,

Chinese and Taiwanese returned to their much awaited home country.

Kyushu has multiple layers of complex encounters and engagement with its neighboring countries. However, we should note here that some memories speak more vocally than others especially in times of crisis. The memories of foreign invasion has been told and re-told and seemed to have remained in the minds of the people in Kyushu.³

For example, in *Densetsu no Kyushu* [Legend of Kyushu] which was written by the editor of Fukuoka Nichinichi Newspaper and published in 1927, one chapter is devoted to the incident of burning of the Chinese ship in the 18th century. In early 18th century, the Chinese ships engaged in human trafficking abducting Japanese, often appeared in the coastal area of Kyushu so the Tokugawa Shogunate assigned the local domains, namely the Kuroda and Nabeshima for defense. When they found the foreign ship they fired a blank. But the Chinese ship knowing that they will not be fired live ammunition did not withdraw. Therefore, one night, a low class soldiers who can swim well sneaked close, burnt the ship and killed the Chinese sailors. This incident which happened during the peaceful Edo period became a popular narrative, performed in *kyogen* play and thus transmitted in details to the early 20th century. (Takeda 1927: 77 89)

The incident of Mongolian invasion gradually regained attention in late 18th century when Japan felt insecure in maintaining its national border due to foreign pressures. Especially after the arrival of the “Black Ships”, the American vessels with Commodore Mathew Perry asking Japan to open up the country in 1853, books were published, paintings were drawn and public lectures were delivered regarding the attack.

3 Some major domains like Satsuma and Choshu had changed their *joi ron* (expel the barbarians) after they fought with the British (Anglo-Satsuma war in 1863) and joint navel force of the British, France, Netherlands and United States (War of Shimonoseki in 1863 64) knowing the superiority of Western science and sending their leaders to observe the Western countries.

(Hatanaka 2007: 39-40) One of the advocates of the Mongolian incident was Yuji Takeo who was the chief of Fukuoka police. Yuji recalls the motivation to build the memorial of Mongolian invasion that it was an incident in August 1886 caused by the Chinese ships that put in at Nagasaki Port. Several thousand Chinese soldiers had massive conflict with the local residents, houses and police station were destroyed, resulting in the killing on both sides. This was interpreted by Yuji to be a 'national insult', and motivated him the necessity to develop the spirit for national defense. Although the Mongolian invasion took place in the local area of Fukuoka, it was interpreted as 'national crisis' recalling the nation to mobilize oneself for defense. (Hatanaka, *ibid*: 40) The narrative of Mongolian invasion was timely and adequate to mobilize the nationalism under the 'national crisis' with the fear of being conquered.

The geographical proximity towards foreign countries and constant interaction and negotiation with foreigners did not necessarily develop into a mutual understanding and friendship but rather into strong national consciousness.

4. Fukuoka and Pan Asianism of Genyosha

Genyosha was established in 1881 by Hakoda Rokusuke, Hiraoka Kotaro and Toyama Mitsuru in Fukuoka. Genyosha as well as Kokuryu-kai or Black Dragon Society, its offspring or sister organization are considered to be the origins of the right wing associations in Japan. Toyama became a legendary figure of the 'right wing' later being influential through his charismatic leadership and political power based on his wide networks with politicians and scholars like Inukai Tsuyoshi, Nakae Chomin who led the *jiyu minken undo* (freedom and people's rights movement) and Hirota Koki.

The principles of Genyosha were three

fold: 1) To respect the royal family, 2) To love and appreciate your country, and 3) To protect the right of the people. We should note that the political and ideological situation at that time were far more complex than the current dichotomous classification of the 'left' and 'right' so it is not accurate to say that Genyosha was founded as a 'right wing' organization. As stated in the third principle of Genyosha, it is not surprising that they supported the Freedom and People's Rights Movement at the initial stage calling for parliamentary system and national election claiming the participation of people in national politics.

However, it was in 1886 when they have heard the news of the Chinese ships stopping over in Nagasaki Port had raped the Japanese girls from good families and attacked the police station. This incident fueled the anger of Genyosha towards China taking it as a national insult and thus brought change in their opinion from *minken* to *kokken*; from prioritizing the rights of the people to building a strong nation based on militarization. "In those days, the ways in which the foreign countries treats us is like treating a child, especially the attitude of our neighboring old super power (*rotaikoku*) towards us is irreverent and disdain. We cannot bear this indignation. (...) The people (*kokumin*) who know this will raise their hostility towards China to the top." (quoted in Takeuchi *ibid*: 307) This incident was the turning point to bring their patriotism to ultra-nationalism (*kokusuishugi*). The distance of Fukuoka and Nagasaki is only 150 km so the latest news regarding the conflict with foreigners which often happened in the coastal area of Kyushu was no doubt far quickly and seriously recognized in Fukuoka than in the political center of Tokyo.

Interestingly, this incident that brought the turning point to Genyosha is the same

incident for Yuji to motivate him to retell the narrative of 13th century Mongolian invasion in mid 19th century and made him emphasize the importance to strengthen national defense. The same event provoked the similar nationalist responses for those living in Fukuoka, connecting the two events which took place in a very different context that happened over the period of six hundred years.

The memory of Mongolian invasion also speaks saliently to the people of Genyosha. In the historical account of Genyosha, it is described as follows: “This place of Chikushi⁴ had constant relationship with the outside and the perception of Korea and Manchuria has been passed down through the blood of the ancestors. The attack by the Mongolians has been remembered by every Japanese and especially deeply by the people of Chikushi because of their direct experience.... The perception towards foreign countries are best developed among the people of Chikushi as they have been subjected to negotiations.” (Genyosha shashi 1931: 3 4)

The interplay between the local space and memory can be also seen in phrases such as “Look at the map carefully. Read the history carefully. This Chikuzen was the defense fort to the outside continent as well as provided the bases for subjugation.” (Genyosha shashi *ibid*: 7)

We can see the explicit connection between the idea of local space and the memory of the past of both being invaded and invasion. The orientation of Genyosha had been shaped by the century old memories of selective remembering of multiple interactions with foreign countries. The history of interaction with its neighbors does not necessarily strengthen bonds or develop mutual understanding with Asian countries but the selective memories rather inspired the na-

tionalism and sense of superiority.

The first incident which made Genyosha famous was the attempted assassination of Okuma Shigenobu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs who was in charge of the negotiation to revise the unequal treaty between Japan and the West. The compromise by Okuma to allow foreigners as judges in high court was revealed in London Times which resulted in great opposition and anger from the general public in Japan. Kurushima Tsuneki, one of the Genyosha member ambushed Okuma in order to assassinate him to stop the negotiation as it was considered to be the national insult to approve the unequal treaty. Okuma did not die but lost his right leg and Kurushima killed himself on the spot. Kurushima who would be immediately labeled as terrorist in today’s term was much respected as hero because revision of the unequal treaty was considered as symbol for Japan to maintain its sovereignty.

While influencing the national politics through terror, on the other hand, Genyosha had given support both physically and morally to many Asian freedom fighters, including Kim Okgyun of Korea, Sun Yat-sen of China, Rash Behari Bose of India and Emilio Aguinaldo and Artemio Ricarte of the Philippines. When Rash Behari Bose and his comrade Gupta were to be deported from Japan within five days which implied their execution by the British, it was Toyama’s decision to hide them. Toyama says “We have to support Bose’s spirit in order to bring independence to his home country. I have negotiated legally with the government but this did not bring any solution. I don’t care to take disgrace or to be jailed but I have decided to shelter them.” (Ashizu 1965: 131) Thus, the dramatic exodus from the Japanese police successfully provided the two Indian revolutionaries asylum.⁵ When the

4 Chikushi and Chikuzen are the former name of Northern Kyushu in which Fukuoka is located.

5 For detailed account on Rash Behari Bose, see Nakajima (2005).

police found out, Toyama said to the detectives who were severely blamed from their bosses, "You did a good thing (*kudoku*=charity). Even though you get fired, if it helps the Indian activists, it means we are helping the 300 million Indian people and that will contribute to the diplomatic relation between Japan and India. You did a great job." (Matsumoto 1996: 173)

Through Toyama's decision even staking his life to protect the Indian revolutionaries, Genyosha's patriotism and solidarity with Asia was well interwoven seemingly without much contradiction. When we consider that this Pan-Asianism striving for the independence of the Asian countries from the imperial domination of the West was shared by the socialists as well and the fact that Genyosha had incorporated the idea of Freedom and People's Rights movement, the line between the 'left' and 'right' become far more blurred. Although in retrospect, Genyosha was labeled as right wing, expansionist and ultra-nationalist, as Takeuchi Yoshimi says, it is a daunting task to clearly draw a line between solidarity and invasion in concrete situations.

Toyama obviously sympathized with the Asian revolutionaries so the support to the Asians were guaranteed insofar as it was not a threat to their patriotism. For the people of Genyosha, to build a strong Japan was necessary to liberate the Asian neighbors which were subjugated by the West. Toyama says: "Kulban Galief who came (to me) had started a school to teach Turkish and Arabic and is expecting to have the first batch of graduates next year. (...) He has a lot of trust in Japan. The Asian countries are being invaded by the West. Although they are not obeying (the West) by heart they are suppressed by sword so they had to surrender. But they are awakened by the Russo-Japanese War. (...) In Japan, we have patriotism." (Nakano 1936: 149 150) The

solidarity with Asia was addressed as far as it was confined to satisfy their national pride, superiority of Japanese and narcissism.

Japan had mimicked the modernization and colonial expansion of European powers. However, examining the characteristic of the Japanese colonialism in comparison to European colonialism, Japan had to colonize its nearby territories which was heavily populated with ancient kingdom whereas European colonial project in Africa took place with a thinly populated people who have little or no claims to nation-state territories. (Cumings 1984: 485 486) In addition, Japan was a late comer in the imperial project, thus in the position of 'half colony' restrained by its unequal treaty with the West and unable to become a full-fledged member of the imperial powers. Under these circumstances, Duus describes the characteristic of the Japanese empire to have a strong sense of being victimized. Due to its vulnerable position in the international community even in the 1930s, the Japanese leaders considered themselves not as an aggressive country attacking its Asian neighbors but rather a powerless nation-state surrounded by super powers. This sense of being victimized was effective in mobilizing people and building up its military. It also helped in sharing a sense of solidarity with the colonial subjects under the Western domination. (Duus: *ibid*: 16 23)

The shared feeling of defeat, humiliation and the strong sense of nationalism and independence not only brought the Asian revolutionaries to Genyosha but aspired Genyosha to send the ex-samurai's who have no role to play in the Meiji administration to China. Just like the equivocal character of Pan-Asianism, the evaluation of these people called *tairiku ronin* are not without contestation. They were largely considered as 'spy of the Japanese empire' or 'pioneer for invasion into China' but some including

Toyama are appreciated as constantly supportive to the revolution in China. (Zhao 1995: 62) According to *Toasenkakushishi retsuden* [Life of the pioneer patriots of East Asia] published by Kokuryukai in 1930 it has been estimated that those who went to China were around 1,000 among which 367 belonged to the Pan-Asianist organization including Genyosh and Kokuryukai. (quoted in Zhao ibid: 63 64)

The people of Genyosha did not care about money or fame and followed its own principle of self-determination⁶ against the political, economic and cultural domination of the West providing support to independence movements in Asia. They had a strong sense of fear of being subjugated through memories of foreign invasion and in response advocated for a strong nation-state based on militarism. Through the shared feeling of victimization caused by foreign domination, they had developed sympathy with Asian revolutionalists and rendered support. However, the solidarity with the Asian revolutionalists was not unconditional and was not conducted on the equal bases, thus connoted desire for colonial expansion. The sense of being victimized might have masked the nature of Pan-Asianism of Genyosha for themselves to see the real consequence of its acts. The equivocal character of Pan-Asianism has been rightly pointed out by a progressive intellectual and one of the founding member of the Chinese Communist Party, Li da zhao.

“Firstly, we have to be aware that Pan-Asianism is a secret language of annexation of China. The destiny of China depends on the balance of power between the super powers. If Japan want to monopolize China, they have to get rid of those powers. After much thought, they created this word which

on the surface they talk about friendship such as *dobundoshu* (the cultural unity and racial kinship) but on the back they alone have an intention to annex China. Secondly, we have to be aware that Pan-Asianism is another word for Pan-Japanism. In other words, Japanese presents Monroe Doctrine for Asia in order to reject the expansion of Western countries to Asia. They assert the various Asian ethnic groups to follow the order of Japanese, solve the problems of Asia, become the leader of Asia and make Asia as the stage for Japanese.”⁷ (quoted in Zhao ibid: 68)

It may not be a coincidence that the Pan-Asianism of Genyosha and its expansionism which led to the Japanese imperial domination over East Asia was far ahead of the government policy due to its memory of interactions with their neighbors. As Takeuchi argues, the Pan-Asianism of Genyosha did not conceal the invasion of Japan to Asia but it openly legitimized it ahead of the government’s claim of Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. (Takeuchi, ibid: 291) The Pan-Asianism which was developed in the discursive space between the national and transnational failed to materialize the unity and solidarity of Asia or East Asian Community as such. Rather, as we have seen in the case of Genyosha, the transnational concept of ‘Asia’ was exploited to strengthen the nationalistic cause.

5 . Post-Genyosha and Urban Development of Fukuoka

In 1946 after the Asia Pacific War, Genyosha was dismissed by the American occupation forces lead by the General Douglas MacArthur. The last president Shindo Kazuma was sentenced as a Class A war criminal. Shindo Kazuma was the son of

⁶ “A person who does not care about his life, fame and money is most difficult to deal with, but only these kinds of people can discuss about national concerns”. This was a word of Saigo Takamori who Toyama had a lot of respect. (Nakano, ibid: 9)

⁷ Li da zhao xuanji, Ren min chuban she.

Shindo Kiheita, a good friend of Toyama Mitsuru and who was one of the leading member of Genyosha and the 5th president. Growing up within the environment of Genyosha, Shindo Kazuma became the Mayor of Fukuoka City from 1972 to 1986. In his early years, just a year before he became a member of the parliament, Shindo writes: "The question of whether Asia is one has been raised recently. (...) On the surface, it is divided but fundamentally Asia is united. (...) Geographically and more significantly through its spiritual culture, Asia is one. We have to strengthen partnership with Asia for the Japanese economy to develop. Through successful economic co-operation, the underdeveloped countries of Asia will become an industrialized nation which will pave the way to Asian common market. The economic integration of Asia implies that Asia will speak as a single voice and influence the international political scenery. (...) Japan will progress only as a member of Asia." (Shindo 1957)

The idea of Pan-Asianism is clearly reminiscent in Shindo Kazuma's statement in a far more pragmatic manner. Emphasizing the commonality of spiritual tie within Asia and calling for 'One Asia' reminds us of another Pan-Asianist, Okakura Tenshin. However, although Shindo might have had an intention to materialize his orientation towards Asia, probably only two seeds were sown during his term. First was the inauguration of Fukuoka City Museum in 1979 which mounted the opening exhibition on "Asian Modern Art: India, China and Japan" with an intention to bridge between Asian art and local art. This Asian Modern Art exhibition was held regularly and finally resulted in the establishment of Fukuoka Asian Art Museum, which is the only museum on Asian contemporary art in Japan. Secondly, in the election of 1984, Shindo made a campaign promise to host the

Asia/Pacific Exposition in Fukuoka which finally took place in 1989 during his successor Kuwahara Keiichi's term. It was the benefit from this Asia/Pacific Expo which allowed Fukuoka city to develop various institutions committed to Asia.

In 1987, the concept of 'Asia' appeared for the first time in the city's urban development policy. The map that locates Fukuoka in the center, drawing a circle of 500km, 1,000km and 2,000km often appears in local government documents indicating how close Fukuoka is to Asia. Pusan is only three hours by ship from the Hakata Port so the people go and come back in the same day. In the 500km circle Seoul and Osaka are located. In the 1,000km circle Tokyo, Dalian, Qingdao and Shaing Hai are included. Within 2,000km circle, there are more than 30 cities in China which has the population of over one million. The map effectively visualize the proximity of Fukuoka to its Asian neighbors.

Initiated by the local government, since the 1990s, Fukuoka Asia Award, Asia Month, Fukuoka Asian Film Festival, Asia Pacific City Summit, and Fukuoka Asian Art Museum was established and became part of the landscape of the city legitimizing its claim that "Fukuoka is a gateway to Asia." Not only the cultural institutions that were developed, it was tied to the economic interest of the local business community to have trade, investment and tourists from Korea and China and the economic development of Asia provided a good rational to make the shift possible.

The urban space of Fukuoka was aiming not to become 'mini Tokyo' but the center of Asia using its location as a comparative advantage. Yamazaki Kotaro, who was born in Korea and became the Mayor of Fukuoka City after Kuwahara, argues that Tokyo is an international city which has to follow the government's diplomatic policy always

looking towards the West. Therefore, according to Yamazaki, the city of Tokyo is not in a position to complement the national policy but rather has to act within the national framework. On the other hand, Fukuoka, which is oriented towards Asia has the capabilities to establish itself as an international city with great hospitality that cannot be replicated by Tokyo. (Yamazaki 1986: 120 157)

Under the local government's initiative of re-packaging Asia, advertising companies played an active role in displaying Asia and Asia-ness inviting exotic spectacle to the cultural landscape of Fukuoka. The city has been investing in developing various institutions to familiarize and incorporate 'Asia' as part of the local identity which is distinct from other cities in Japan. Every year, 'Asia Month' accompanied by film festival, performances, international symposiums and cultural exchanges related to Asia has been held under the initiative of the local government in cooperation with the local citizens groups.

Asia is now showcased and became commodified as festivals, performances and cuisine to satisfy the desire of the urban residents and tourists. Discourses on Asia in the public sphere had effectively shifted from Genyosha's Pan-Asianism, harsh experiences of the war followed by overseas Japanese repatriation from Korea, China and Manchuria, and conflicting lives at coal mines in Chikuho, to the commodification and de-politicization of Asia. The negative association with Asia remained outside of the public realm as if Fukuoka always had a positive relationship with its neighbors despite of the often misguided national politics. Just like the discourse on 'multi-culturalism' which speaks of the future eloquently but conceals the colonial past, current discourse on Asianism of Fukuoka conceals the contested layers of history and memory which

took place in the locality. Asianism continues to remain equivocal and the challenge remains whether to situate Fukuoka as part of Asia based on its sensitive interpretations of history and memory of the past.

6 . Conclusion

Pan-Asianism of Genyosha and the urban development policy of Fukuoka appropriate Asia to establish its own *raison d'être* in a different way. In the former case, the century old memory of Kyushu being invaded was provoked and re-contextualized when Japan was defining its position in the new world order of imperial powers. The ideology of Genyosha was shaped by the strong national consciousness together with the shared feeling of being victimized, thus motivated them to render support to Asian revolutionaries. The transnational concept of 'Asia' did not lead to build the Pan-Asian solidarity, but rather it was exploited to strengthen the nationalist expansion. In the latter case, since late 1980s to early 1990s, various institutions related to Asia were established, naturalizing the claim that because Fukuoka is geographically so close to Asia, 'Fukuoka is the gateway to Asia'. Asia became commodified and de-politicized to serve the desire of the urban residents as well as the tourists and business interests.

In both cases, the space of Fukuoka worked as a metaphor in establishing their claim of 'Asianism'. The locality of Fukuoka has been associated with the all encompassing terrain called 'Asia' which is naturalized due to its geographical proximity. The concept of 'Asia' is narrated through primordial associations rather than constructions shaped by larger discourses. The representation of Asia has been essentialized, homogenized and projected as a harmonious entity and the diversity and contestation with and within Asia is not taken into account. Asia is needed for Fukuoka, in a way Tokyo

doesn't, in order to differentiate itself from the center to enhance its local identity and uniqueness. The aspiration of Genyosha for self-determination by Asians are now articulated and animated under the globalization and are now part of the local identity of Fukuoka today, which is actively participating in the larger debate on regionalism.

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