



Title	Reconceptualizing Cross-Border Academic Mobility in the Interdisciplinary Research Agenda
Author(s)	Moinuddin, Mohammad; Kokado, Minori
Citation	
Version Type	VoR
URL	https://doi.org/10.18910/101334
rights	
Note	

The University of Osaka Institutional Knowledge Archive : OUKA

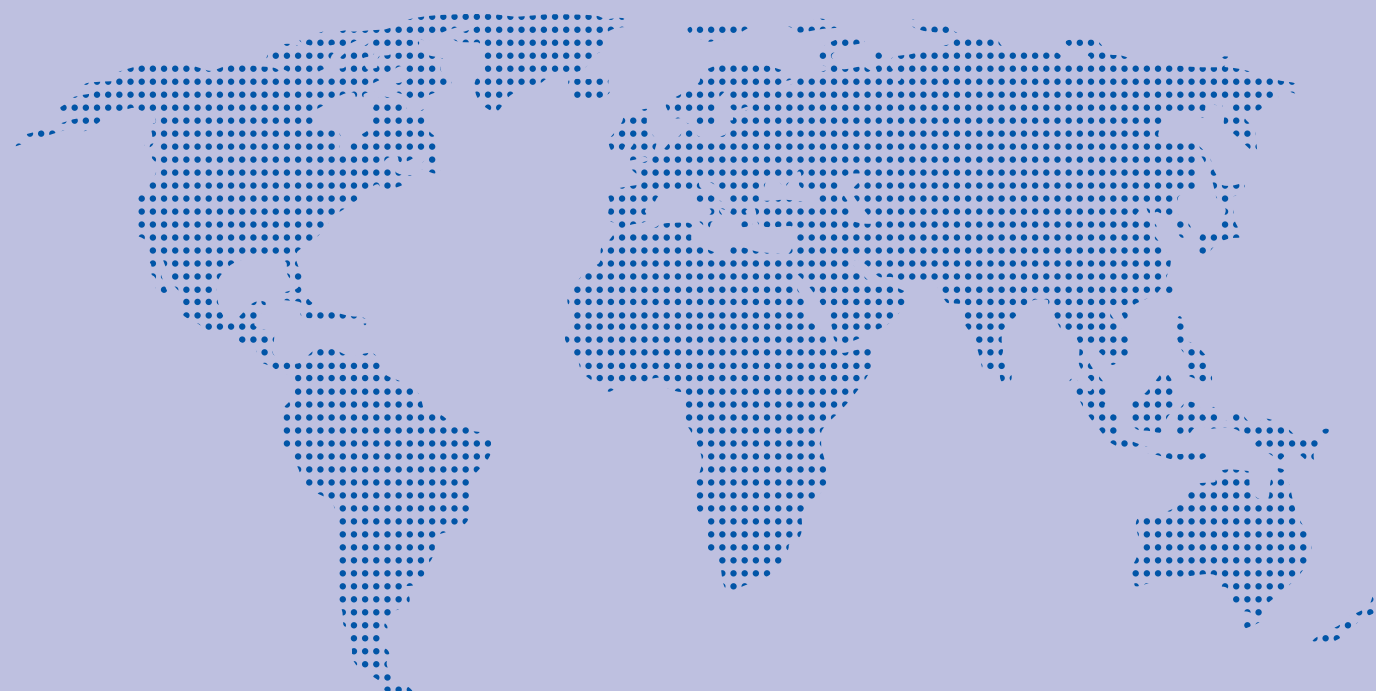
<https://ir.library.osaka-u.ac.jp/>

The University of Osaka

ISBN 978-4-908326-13-4



Reconceptualizing Cross-Border Academic Mobility in the Interdisciplinary Research Agenda



International Affairs Office
School of Letters/Graduate School of Humanities, The University of Osaka, Osaka, Japan

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Reconceptualizing Cross-Border Academic Mobility in the Interdisciplinary Research Agenda

International Affairs Office, School of Letters/Graduate School of Humanities, The University of Osaka

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ISBN 978-4-908326-13-4

First Published March, 2025

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Preface

In today's interconnected world, cross-border academic mobility has become a pivotal aspect of higher education and research collaboration. As students, scholars, and academic staff move across national boundaries for education, teaching, and research, the complexities surrounding these movements call for a deeper and more nuanced understanding. Traditional frameworks often focus on mobility as a linear process, but the evolving landscape of global education demands a broader, interdisciplinary approach.

Recognizing the rapid transformations occurring in international education and research, the theme of the sixth International seminar, held on October 30, 2024 was titled, "Reconceptualizing Cross-Border Academic Mobility in the Interdisciplinary Research Agenda". This seminar sought to reconceptualize cross-border academic mobility by integrating insights from various disciplines within the Humanities and Social Sciences. In doing so, we aimed to move beyond conventional perspectives and explore the social, cultural, economic, and political dimensions of academic mobility. An interdisciplinary lens enables us to better understand the challenges and opportunities inherent in these movements, ultimately fostering new ideas and innovative solutions for the future of global academia.

Through this collective scholarly monograph, we hope to contribute to ongoing discussions on academic mobility, offering fresh perspectives that will be valuable to researchers, policymakers, and academic leaders navigating the complexities of international education and collaboration.

It is significant to acknowledge the origin of this annual international seminar, which main purpose is to promote International Exchange and nurture the next generation of researchers, is centered in the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic. After a surge in COVID-19 cases, border restrictions and lockdowns were imposed around the world severely affecting the Study Abroad Programs. In order to search for some ways to maintain our students' interaction with overseas learners and to provide overseas exposure the International Affairs Office at the School of Letters/Graduate School of Humanities (then Graduate School of Letters) initiated a project to maintain interactions between students and overseas learners, while also providing international exposure. This project includes a semi-academic seminar (hybrid) and subsequent publication of proceedings. The international seminar comprises two sessions: special lecture(s) followed by open discussion, and research paper presentations with expert comments—all conducted in English without translation.

Until 2024 six such international seminars could be organized, each followed by the publication of the papers presented. The success of this project could be surmised by the department's decision to include it as one of the key initiatives in The University of Osaka's Master Plan 2027. Starting with the fourth international seminar, the process of selecting papers was revised to ensure the quality of the contributions. All papers now undergo a double-blind peer-

review process. Additionally, the revised version of the papers presented in the seminar must pass another round of peer review.

At the sixth international seminar, held on October 30, 2024, the number of submitted abstracts more than doubled compared to previous years. Due to limited slots, the organizing committee had to reject fifty percent of the submissions, ensuring that only the best was selected.

Until 2023, the papers presented in the seminar were published in the form of proceedings. However, due to the rigorous selection process and feedback from our international partners, it was decided to publish the revised papers in the form of a “Collective Scholarly Monograph”.

The opening remarks of the seminar were delivered by Professor KOKADO, Minori Chief of the Study Abroad Support Section, International Affairs Office/International Exchange Center, Graduate School of Humanities, The University of Osaka. Further, two special lectures were delivered by Professor HASHIMOTO, Yorimitsu, the Director of International Affairs Office/International Exchange Center, Graduate School of Humanities, The University of Osaka, Osaka, (Japan) and Professor TRIPATHI, Priyanka of the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Patna, Patna (India).

Professor Hashimoto talked about “Is Europe a Peninsula of Asia? Paul Valéry’s “Crisis of Mind”, which is included in this Monograph as a full research paper. Professor Tripathi’s lecture, “Globalizing Academia: Cross-Border Mobility and the Future of Interdisciplinary Research in Humanities” was closely connected to the seminar’s theme. She discussed the evolving landscape of cross-border academic mobility within the context of global knowledge economies, emphasizing its impact on interdisciplinary research in the humanities. Professor Tripathi highlighted how universities, primarily national institutions, have become key players in a competitive global education market, driven by economic, political, and technological forces. She explored key factors influencing international student mobility, including shifts in funding models, immigration policies, and trade liberalization, while also addressing challenges faced by humanities research, which often resists commodification. Her discussion extended to India’s positioning in global academia, tracing policy shifts and institutional efforts to foster international collaborations despite structural limitations.

Further, professor Tripathi emphasized the significance of cross-border mobility in enriching research through international collaboration, faculty exchanges, and knowledge-sharing networks. By situating humanities research within the broader context of creative economies and interdisciplinary inquiry, she called for a rethinking of academic mobility beyond mere economic imperatives. Ultimately, she advocated for equitable, globally conscious scholarship that bridges cultural and disciplinary divides, ensuring that the humanities remain relevant and impactful in an increasingly interconnected world.

The paper presentations at the seminar covered various fields of specialization, with all the papers included in this monograph representing revised versions of the papers presented during the seminar.

We deeply appreciate the speakers and all the participants for their support and insightful contributions. Our special thanks go to Professor TRIPATHI, Priyanka for her valuable time and significant contribution to the seminar. We also thank Professor MOCHIZUKI, Taro and other participants from Japan and overseas, as well as everyone who provided direct or indirect support. We express our sincere gratitude to Professors DŌYAMA, Eijirō, ITOU, Nobuhiro, IKEGAMI, Hiroko, YAMADA, Yuuzou, and MABUCHI, Eri for their cooperation in reviewing the papers despite their busy schedule. We must not forget to thank Mr. MINEKURA, Yutaka (Special Appointed Researcher, Graduate School of Humanities, The University of Osaka) for designing an excellent poster and Ms. HIROSAWA, Saki (Office staff, International Affairs Office) for extending logistic support. Lastly, we acknowledge with thanks the financial support from the International Affairs Office, School of Letters/Graduate School of Humanities, The University of Osaka.

MOINUDDIN, Mohammad, Ph.D.
March, 2025

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The Role of Academic Exchange in Addressing Global Social Issues: With Reference to Ethical and Regulatory Challenges of Reproductive Tourism

KOKADO, Minori, Ph.D.

As the Chief of the Study Abroad Support Section in the International Affairs Office / International Exchange Center, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for your participation in the international seminar "Reconceptualizing Cross Border Academic Mobility in the Interdisciplinary Research Agenda" organized by the International Affairs Office of the School of Letters/Graduate School of Humanities, the University of Osaka. This seminar aims to foster an environment for integrating cross-border and interdisciplinary research in the humanities and social sciences. By facilitating discussion from diverse perspectives and generating new ways of thinking, we aspire to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of various issues, ultimately leading to the development of innovative ideas. We are very pleased to provide young researchers with the opportunity to share their research findings with international scholars, receive valuable feedback, and refine their work further.

From my own research perspective, I strongly believe that actively creating opportunities for academic exchange across borders and engaging with issues beyond disciplinary boundaries is becoming increasingly crucial. My research interests lie at the intersection of science, technology and society, with a focus on the ethical and social challenges arising from advancements in reproductive medicine. Specifically, I examine the societal implications of the development and spread of reproductive technologies and the regulatory frameworks established to address these challenges.

In recent years, reproductive tourism has emerged as a significant issue in the field of reproductive medicine. Advances in reproductive technology have enabled individuals to conceive children through sperm or egg donation. While originally developed as a treatment for heterosexual couples facing infertility, these technologies now extend to individuals who were not traditionally considered as intended users, such as same-sex couples and single individuals. Consequently, the role of reproductive medicine has shifted from being solely a medical intervention to a means of family formation.

In response to these developments, different countries have established varying regulatory frameworks for reproductive medicine. Some countries restrict access exclusively to heterosexual couples, while others permit same-sex couples and single individuals to utilize these services. Such regulatory disparities have significant implications: they may either reinforce existing norms that conceptualize reproduction within the framework of heterosexual couples or, conversely, challenge these norms and contribute to the diversification of family structures.

More broadly, regulatory differences also arise concerning the rights and protections afforded to gamete donors, as well as the ethical considerations surrounding the commodification of human biological materials. While some countries prohibit financial compensation for sperm and egg donation, others permit it. Similarly, surrogacy is prohibited in many countries to protect the rights of women involved, whereas it is legally permitted in others. These regulatory inconsistencies create conditions where procedures banned in one country may be legally pursued elsewhere.

This situation has given rise to the phenomenon of reproductive tourism. For instance, since egg donation is rarely practiced in Japan, couples seeking this service often travel to countries where it is more readily available. Taiwan has become a popular destination due to its geographical proximity, lower travel costs, legal framework permitting egg donation, and the relative ease of finding donors who resemble Japanese individuals.

However, the full scope of reproductive tourism remains unclear, necessitating further investigation into various aspects of the phenomenon. Key questions include: What challenges do individuals who become parents through reproductive tourism encounter? What forms of support are needed for children born through these practices? What social and ethical concerns arise in countries that accommodate reproductive tourism due to an influx of foreign recipients and donors?

The expansion of reproductive tourism underscores the limitations of national regulations and highlights the need for international agreements to address these challenges effectively. Tackling such complex cross-border issues requires robust academic exchange and interdisciplinary collaboration. I firmly believe that fostering a platform for scholars to identify pressing issues, exchange knowledge, and develop solutions is of paramount importance.

Is Europe a Peninsula of Asia?: Paul Valéry's "The Crisis of the Mind"(1919) and Its Diffusion¹

HASHIMOTO, Yorimitsu, Ph.D.

Abstract: Paul Valéry's 1919 treatise "The Crisis of the Mind" warned that World War I signaled the decline of Europe's global leadership. Valéry called for a revival of Europe's intellectual and cultural spirit. He questioned the continent's future, implying two options: Europe could maintain its influence or become a mere "peninsula" of Asia. This metaphor became prominent after the Russo-Japanese War, underscoring Europe's geographic and historical entanglement with the larger Eurasian landmass, particularly in its conflicts with Asia. White supremacists in the United States, such as Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, appropriated this concept to support racial theories. Stoddard portrayed World War I as a "civil war" of the white race and advocated for immigration restrictions. In the 1930s, Japan also intensified its endeavors to assert dominance over Asia and the Eurasian continent. Japanese intellectuals influenced by Valéry's Committee for Intellectual Cooperation argued in favor of Japan assuming the task of shaping a new modernity to replace Europe. Valéry acknowledged Europe's crisis but simultaneously envisioned its potential to remain a leading intellectual force. This idea still resonates, as is reflected in French President Emmanuel Macron's 2024 speech on Europe's global role.

Introduction

Herodotus asserted that "the boundaries of Europe are quite unknown" (Rawlinson, 1859, p.38). Europe and Asia exist on the same continent. They are interconnected; therefore, it is still considerably challenging to determine the boundaries dividing the continents (Derrida, 1992). This demarcation difficulty is not merely geographical. It is also intricately associated with the definition of the very ideas and concepts originating in Europe. In other words, the European identity is inherently delineated by the ways in which its conceptual constructs are contrasted against representations of beliefs emanating from the Orient or Asia. Edward Said suggested in *Orientalism* (1978) that the Oriental has long been represented as non-European, whether or not this characterization is traced as far back as Aeschylus' *The Persians* (Said, 1994, p.21).

Herodotus rejected his predecessors' geographical construal of Europe, contending that Europe was a larger entity than Asia (Rawlinson, 1859, pp.33–34). He did not accept the world map proposed by Hecataeus of Miletus, which depicted

¹ This paper is based on two seminars supported by an Erasmus Mundus scholar grant, as well as the research conducted during these events. The first seminar occurred at the University of Udine on May 10 and the other was hosted at the University of Deusto on May 14 in 2024. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the faculty members and students who organized these seminars and delivered valuable observations.

a planet comprising the three roughly equal-sized regions of Europe, Asia, and Libya (Africa) (Figure 1, Bunbury, 1879, pp.148–149). Later Europeans “discovered” that Earth also encompassed the continent of America. Thus, they realized that in geographical terms, Europe was merely a peninsula of the vast Eurasian continent. However, Europe’s geographical smallness generated a complex mix of confidence and anxiety in Europeans. The subsequent rise of the American continent further destabilized the demarcation of Europe’s boundaries².

Shortly after World War I, Paul Valéry’s “The Crisis of the Mind” (1919) highlighted this European dilemma, terming it a historical crisis (Roger, 2005, pp.283–290). Before “La crise de l’esprit” (1919) was published in French, its contents were originally published in English in *The Athenaeum*, London, in two parts titled “The Spiritual Crisis” (April 11, 1919) and “The Intellectual Crisis” (May 2, 1919). Valéry expressed a profound concern in these articles, stating that World War I had precipitated Europe’s decline and had transformed what he deemed the pinnacle of civilization into a site of internal conflict and instability. He favoured a revival of Europe’s intellectual and cultural spirit, which he believed should counterbalance the forces of science, military power, and mass movements emerging internally or springing from Asia and America. In the process, Valéry questioned: would Europe decline as a mere peninsula of a massive continent, or could it wrest the initiative of becoming an intellectual centre? Valéry’s article was written in English; thus, it was unexpectedly repurposed in ways he had not anticipated, particularly in America and Asia, including Japan. This paper focuses on the metaphor of Europe as a peninsula of Asia to examine how Valéry’s question was received and appropriated over time.

Macron’s Updated Version of “The Crisis of the Mind”

French President Emmanuel Macron’s 2024 speech evidenced that geopolitically, Valéry’s question remains significantly and critically challenging. Macron issued a stark warning about Europe’s future in a speech titled “Europe: It Can Die,” delivered on April 25, 2024 (Macron, 2024). Notwithstanding whether he articulated a genuine concern or intended the speech as a strategic action to further his personal political prospects, Macron’s 2024 address surpassed his first Sorbonne

² This can be linked to 20th-century scholarly research and debates surrounding the historical causes of the rise or decline of the “West,” particularly in the context of America’s emergence as a global power. Europe’s characterization as a peninsula is often associated with fears of revolution and the potential for mass movements to disrupt its aristocratic cultural foundations. Since the late 20th century, and especially following Jared Diamond’s *Guns, Germs, and Steel* (1997), there has been a notable increase in studies investigating the origins of modern civilization in Europe and its subsequent global dominance. These studies, including Kenneth Pomeranz’s *The Great Divergence* (2000), have shifted focus toward structural and environmental explanations, moving away from interpretations based on race or religion. However, the metaphor of Europe as a peninsula remains influential, particularly in contemporary discussions surrounding immigration issues.

speech seven years ago in its urgency and lecture-like tone. Macron emphasized the “existential risk to our continent,” urging his audience to recognize the gravity of the situation and act decisively. He cited threats posed by Russia, China, and US protectionism and warned that Europe risked fading into irrelevance unless it made well-defined choices and prepared itself accordingly.

Notably, Macron referenced Europe’s crisis in terms reminiscent of Paul Valéry, as is illuminated by his words: “At the end of World War I, Paul Valéry remarked that we now know our civilizations are mortal. We must be clear about the fact that today, our Europe is mortal (. ...) It can die, and it all depends on our choices.” This passage apparently echoed from the first sentence in Valéry’s “The Spiritual Crisis,” “We civilizations now know that we are mortal” and France or England would be remembered like Nineveh in the future (Valéry, 1919a, p.182). Valéry, partly because he wrote in English, likened the situation in Europe to that of Hamlet and asked whether it is possible for Europe to hold its pre-eminence in all fields, posing a following question.

Will Europe become what she is in reality, that is, a little promontory of the continent of Asia? Or will Europe remain what she seems to be, that is, the precious part of the terrestrial universe, the pearl of the sphere, the brain of a vast body? (Valéry, 1919b, p.279).

Macron avoided the symbol of a promontory or peninsula, emphasizing its presence and potentiality. In Macron’s words, “Europe is not just a piece of the West, but a continent-world that thinks about its universality and the planet’s great balances.” Macron cleverly repurposed Valéry’s peninsula metaphor, emphasizing Europe’s importance as a still-relevant ideal and force of reason while carefully evading racial discourse. He simultaneously hinted at geopolitical concerns, stating, “Europe has begun to clearly reaffirm the existence of its borders. However, it has forgotten to take responsibility for and protect its external borders—not as impenetrable fortresses, but as boundaries between the inside and the outside.” In so doing, he also signalled that he was ready to address immigration-related issues.

Thus, while Macron did not explicitly use the term “peninsula,” he echoed and inherited the geopolitical crisis consciousness surrounding the concept since Valéry’s postulation. How did this once prevalent yet unfamiliar designation of Europe as a peninsula first gain traction?

Europe: a Continent or a Peninsula?

Europe has been portrayed as a distinct continent since Herodotus. For example, renowned medieval European maps, often rendered in the “T and O” shape, depicted the world as comprising three major regions: Europe, Asia, and Africa. These maps showcased Europe’s dominance and positioned it centrally while illustrating Asia and Africa as appendages. The concept of four continents emerged with the discovery of the Americas, and each landmass was then associated with a cardinal direction from the European perspective: Asia with the East, Africa with the South, Europe with the North, and America with the West. Allegories associated with the four continents had become widespread by the 16th century and appeared frequently in paintings, sculptures, and fountains that symbolized Europe’s

perceived global supremacy (Arizzoli & Horowitz, 2020). Europe was typically represented in this artistic tradition as a Greco-Roman goddess like figure. This embodiment of Europe was often accompanied by an owl, which signifies wisdom, and a horse, which denotes military strength. Conversely, allegorical depictions of Asia, Africa, and America frequently featured semi-nude male or female figures in subordinate roles offering exotic crops, spices, and animals, symbolizing their perceived functions of these regions as resource-rich lands serving Europe.

The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II (1865-77) in Milan showcases a striking example of such imagery (Figure 2). The gallery was built when European imperial dominance peaked in the 19th century, and its original iconography remains generally intact even though some details have been updated over time. The poses of the goddess like allegorical manifestations of the four continents are particularly revealing. The figures embodying America and Africa engage actively with their surroundings with one hand outstretched as if to direct their attendants. Thus, both representations resemble plantation overseers managing their labourers. Africa is associated with abundance and is depicted holding a cornucopia. America carries the Rod of Asclepius, a symbol of healing and medicine. Conversely, Asia is notably passive; she appears as a weary odalisque: her hands are lowered, and her gaze is averted, evoking an image of decline.

In stark contrast, the European goddess wields a sceptre, which denotes kingship. She also holds a book representing the law. Both objects serve as visual indicators of Europe's economic and legal dominance over Africa and America and, by extension, the world. The composition subtly reinforces a hegemony: Europe governs and organizes, while the other continents serve it as sources of its material wealth and labour. This imagery emphasizes stationery and diagrams, which symbolize knowledge, science, and civilization. Europe's global economic distribution network is also featured via a fertile corner overflowing with fruits sourced worldwide. The military power underpinning Europe's civilization is subtly integrated into the composition through a horse. The divergence in the skies presented in the four images is another striking detail: the paintings depicting Asia, Africa, and America exhibit hues suggesting sunrise or sunset; only Europe basks under clear, open skies. This visual contrast reinforces the idea that the other continents require the guiding light of European civilization, notwithstanding their perception as primitive or in decline.

Asia's picturization incorporates a camel standing beside an aged Mandarin figure veiled by incense smoke. Meanwhile, the goddess figures in the panels representing Africa and America are attended exclusively by robust young men. The inclusion of the elderly Mandarin in the characterization of Asia probably insinuates a once-great civilization now past its prime. The contrast becomes immediately evident when one enters the Galleria from Milan's iconic landmark, the Piazza del Duomo. Asia is to the right, marked by despotism, as suggested by the Mandarin figure. Europe, radiant in the light of civilization, is positioned on the left. This juxtaposition renders the intended message unmistakable: Europe is the beacon of progress, opposing the supposedly stagnant or regressive East. The four allegorical panels embody the European civilizational and economic network. This

system collects resources available worldwide and transforms them into commodities showcased in a grand hall replete with symbols of modernity and progress: electricity, steel, and glass.

The prototype for this representational system can be traced to the first World's Fair in London. The Galleria is a prime example of this model of collecting and reorganizing objects from across the world, assigning differential labour values to their production, and displaying them for sale or admiration. Department stores and museums throughout Europe replicated this framework in later years. The paintings in the Galleria (Figure 3) subtly overlay the metaphorical "fire" of civilization onto the artificial glow of the Galleria's electric lighting, particularly in the images on the European panels, merging industrial progress with the ideological legacy of European supremacy. It is no coincidence that in the film *Wonka* (2023), the protagonist's dream of launching his chocolate shop was fulfilled by Galeries Gourmet, which was modelled after the Galleria, albeit the four allegorical paintings were removed.

Despite its stature as a global hub for gathering and trading goods, Europe's modest scale often surprises visitors from the previously designated three other "continents." Europe's diminutive size becomes strikingly apparent compared to America, India, China, and even Japan. American historian Boorstin cites the words of a well-known British novelist from an unknown source:

"For the American tourist," Aldous Huxley has shrewdly observed, "the greatest charm of foreign travel is the very high ratio of European history to European geography. Conversely, for the European, who has come to feel the oppressive weight of a doubtless splendid, but often fatal past, the greatest charm of travel in the New World is the high ratio of its geography to its history." (Boorstin, 1953, pp.30-31)

This observation underscores Europe's relatively limited physical presence. The fact that the language of an island off Europe's coast is now spoken worldwide further reinforces this point.

A discourse emerged as Europe's pre-eminence came under increasing scrutiny during the First World War, recasting Europe not as a continent but as a peninsula in the vast Eurasian landmass. The term "European peninsula" was already used during the early modern period. However, it served primarily as a geographical descriptor without attracting significant geopolitical attention. That Europe might be attacked and cornered by hostile horns instead of receiving a cornucopia from Asia, Africa, or even America essentially explains the anxiety underpinning Valéry's metaphor. Notably, these threats were first articulated by Halford Mackinder, the father of geopolitics. According to Halford Mackinder's Heartland theory, the demarcation between Europe and Asia on the Eurasian continent became focal for geopolitical deliberation. Mackinder proposed a tripolar world structure in which the Heartland, the central region of Eurasia, represented the pivotal element. He argued that control over this region would translate into dominance over Eurasia and, by extension, the entire world (Figure 4, Mackinder, 1904, p.435). He further contended that the two poles of Eurasia were counterbalanced by a confederation of maritime states, including the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia.

Mackinder employed the term “European peninsula” (Mackinder, 1904, p.427), but the core of his argumentation was grounded in his broader historical perspective that Europe and Asia have long been in opposition. This theme continues to shape global history. Notably, Mackinder formulated these ideas in 1904, the year that Japan went to war with Russia. That conflict instigated the coining of the term “yellow peril” to denote the perceived threat posed by Asian peoples to European civilization (Mackinder, 1904, p.437). However, at that time, Mackinder’s perspective did not attract widespread attention.

American zoologist Madison Grant was one of the earliest personalities of the English-speaking world to popularize the European peninsula metaphor as a geopolitical pivot (Grant, 1916, p.11, p.88). Grant argued in *The Passing of the Great Race; Or, The Racial Basis of European History* (1916) that the white race in Europe was a minority on the global stage from a biological—or, by contemporary standards, pseudo-biological—perspective. Thus, it was destined to be overwhelmed by the numerical majority of racial identities populating other regions. Understandably, his writings significantly influenced the movement to control immigration in the United States. Grant’s ideas were adopted from the work of the French eugenicist Georges Vacher de Lapouge, whose now-discredited work *The Aryan* (L’Aryen, 1899) attempted to define the white race as a distinct species (Spiro, 2009, pp.113-116). Paul Valéry did not overtly advocate white supremacy, but he was a known devotee of de Lapouge’s ideas. As a student at Montpellier, Valéry joined de Lapouge’s laboratory around 1891, assisting in the measurement of six hundred skulls from an old cemetery (Hecht, 2005, p.194). In this context, the reference in Valéry’s articles to Hamlet holding his friend’s skull acquires a different significance because Valéry implied that the present-day European Hamlet confronted the haunting presence of the war dead.

From an immense terrace of Elsinore which Extends from Basle to Cologne, and touches the sands of Nieuport, the marshes of the Somme, the chalk of Champagne, the granite of Alsace, the Hamlet of Europe now looks upon millions of ghosts. (Valéry, 1919a, p.184)

and

If he picks up a skull, it is a famous skull. Whose was it? This was Leonardo. He invented the flying man; but the flying man has not exactly served the intentions of the inventor. (...) And this second skull is Leibnitz, who dreamed of universal peace, And this was Kant, who begat Hegel, who begat Marx, who begat... (Valéry, 1919a, p.184).

This passage aligns with the genealogy of *memento mori* and *vanitas* that predated Hamlet. Simultaneously, Valéry implied cleverly that the white male skull, long credited with embodying and generating European intelligence from Leonardo to perhaps even Valéry himself, was imperilled. The final omission probably alludes to Lenin, reflecting contemporary perceptions of Russian communism as a monstrous hybrid of Oriental despotism combined with the European ideals that ignited the French Revolution. In light of the Russian Revolution, one could construe this extract to symbolize the beheading of past kings. In any event, Valéry and Grant were linked through their portrayal of the European peninsula. They probably never

met; however, both drew from the Aryan-supremacist rhetoric inherited from figures such as de Lapouge, and both depicted a European peninsula under threat from the continent of Asia.

Madison Grant's postulations in *The Passing of the Great Race* resonated globally with readers and scholars who felt threatened by the so-called "colored" peoples. In the United States, Grant's ideas strongly influenced the historian Stoddard, who authored *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy* (1921), a notorious white supremacist text that remains in circulation. Grant wrote the foreword to Stoddard's book, reiterating that Europe was nothing more than a peninsula that needed a breakwater to guard against tsunami-like hordes of coloured people (Stoddard, 1921, p.xi). This sentiment is depicted sensationally on the book's cover (Figure 5). It is unlikely that Grant envisioned Japan's Great Wave; nevertheless, the metaphor of a breakwater to protect civilization would become a recurring motif alongside the expression "European peninsula."

Interestingly, Stoddard's work cites Valéry's "Spiritual Crisis" as a justification for erecting a white racial bulwark to curb immigration (Stoddard, 1921, pp.193-195). Stoddard's familiarity with Valéry was limited: he quoted an article, summarizing only "The Spiritual Crisis" without mentioning the phrase "a little promontory of the continent of Asia," which suggests that Stoddard was unaware that Valéry had employed the same metaphor. Nonetheless, Valéry's sense of crisis resonated deeply with Stoddard. Stoddard quoted an extended extract from Valéry before drawing attention to the line, "The rolling of the ship has been so heavy that at the end the best-hung lamps have been upset" (Stoddard, 1921, p.195). In his statement, Valéry alluded to the Lusitania, which sank during the First World War. This reference would have appealed strongly to Stoddard. In his view, the First World War was essentially a civil war of the white race—a modern Peloponnesian conflict. Valéry warned that the world would progress "from Taylorization to Taylorization" as Europe struggled internally. He contended that "a perfect and final antheap" would emerge, ultimately leading to the European peninsula being overrun by a powerful and tyrannical megalopolis (Valéry, 1919a, p.184). Ironically, for both Stoddard and Grant, the term "antheap" derived from "Taylorization" evoked the image of skyscrapers then emerging in the United States. Valéry's analysis encompassed Asia as well as America as threats to the privileged status of the European spirit, which was traditionally considered the guardian of civilization, destined to support, control, and renew. Indeed, in his forward to *Reflections on the World Today* (Regards sur le Monde Actuel, 1931), Valéry noted both Japan's victory over China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, when Japan acquired European military technology, and the U.S.A.'s victory over Spain in the Spanish-American War of 1898, in which European science and technology played a similar role (Roger, 2005, p.148). From Valéry's perspective, both conflicts foreshadowed a European crisis. Incidentally, Macron's reference to China and the U.S.A. in the previously cited speech reinherited and updated Valéry's warnings.

Valéry's Miracle of Changing Water into Wine?

Noteworthy, Valéry's analysis of the diffusion of European civilization was marked by ambivalence. He warned that the European peninsula risked being overwhelmed by the vast continent of Asia, but he also believed that Europe could continue to discharge its erstwhile functions as the intellectual nucleus of Asia. This duality is exemplified by Valéry's participation during the 1930s in the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, an advisory body for the League of Nations. Given Valéry's ambivalence, it is worth quoting one of his most famous poetic works, "Lost Wine" (Le Vin Perdu, 1922):

Once on a day, in the open Sea
(Under what skies I cannot recall),
I threw, as oblation to vacancy,
More than a drop of precious wine....

Who decreed your waste, oh potion?
Did I perhaps obey some divine?
Or else the heart's anxiety,
Dreaming blood, spilling the wine?

Its habitual clarity
After a mist of rosiness
Returned as pure again to the sea....

The wine lost, drunken the waves !...
I saw leaping in the salt air

Shapes of the utmost profundity.... (Lawler, 1977, p.267)

The laws of physics mandate that any wine poured into the sea would vanish without a trace. This natural phenomenon is metaphorically analogous to the impending engulfment of the European peninsula by the turbulent waves of Asia. Miracles such as transforming the colour of the sea become conceivable in poetic or spiritual realms that are not governed by physical laws. Jesus is said to have turned water into wine at the wedding at Cana; similarly, Valéry's verse envisions the supernatural power of culture, language, and ideas.

The phenomenon of a globally influential yet diminutive European outpost was debated even after World War I as a manifestation of undercover Eurocentrism, and questions were asked about why and how Europe came to dominate in science, economy, and culture. Denis de Rougemont, a prominent French cultural historian in Switzerland, invoked another celebrated exemplar of European scientific excellence from his country of residence: Einstein's $E = mc^2$. According to de Rougemont, the formula may be inferred as an assertion that *Europe's culture* magnifies its *mass* despite the mediocrity of its scale (de Rougemont, 1965, p.54). The precise meaning of Einstein's original equation may be elusive, but de Rougemont's intentional echoing of Valéry's "Lost Wine" is evident: the soft power of European culture can transcend physical laws and trigger a global-scale chain reaction resembling an atomic superpower.

Yet, this phenomenon remains an illusion, as the poem elucidates. We can no longer stop the spread of European-generated science and its methodologies. That feat would amount to trying to put a genie back in the bottle. In many ways, the science that was once the hallmark of European innovation has turned against its creators. In his forward to *Reflections on the World Today* (1931), for example, Valéry specifically highlights two points: that “Europe founded science”, but “by its very nature science is essentially transmissible,” and, like the American continent, “Asia is about four times larger than Europe.” Accordingly, perhaps with the political rapprochement between Germany and Japan in mind, he expresses concern that the following is occurring:

Now, *local* European politics, dominating *general* European policy and making it absurd, has led rival Europeans to export the methods and the machines that made Europe supreme in the world. Europeans have competed for profit in awakening, instructing, and arming vast peoples who, before, were imprisoned in their traditions and asked nothing better than to remain so. (*italics original*, Valéry, 1989, p.17).

Valéry’s resignation in this extract appears to reaffirm the tragic vision of Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818.)

Twenty-first-century audiences, especially individuals born in this century, would find it difficult to fathom that science was once considered a localized pursuit. It was widely assumed in the nineteenth century that non-Europeans could imitate European science but could never independently develop the discipline. This sentiment is partially reflected in the design of euro banknotes (Figure 6), which feature fictional bridges and windows in accordance with the tradition of “capriccio.” Both Valéry and Macron championed the spiritual concept of Capriccio, which refers in the present context to architectural fantasy meticulously informed by research into ancient artistic styles. The images imprinted on the euro notes symbolize Europe’s capacity to both connect (bridges) and segregate (windows). In emphasizing the need to reaffirm borders, Macron urged people to remember that such windows could also function as gates. Noteworthy, the euros depict the evolution of bridges and windows from the Roman and Baroque eras to the modern, technologically advanced designs on 500-euro banknotes. In essence, modern science and technology have shifted considerably further from the European spiritual ideals that these images once symbolized.

The onset of modernity is often dated to the First World War. At that time, the war was perceived as a civil conflict in which the Europeans were pitted against the science they had created. The Great War was sometimes even regarded as a second Thirty Years’ War. One consequence of this perception was a movement to study and compare literature from across national boundaries as a unified European and world literature(s) as a countermeasure to rising jingoism. The seeds of what we now call European or global history were sown in such a context.

The Peloponnesian War was reinvented as a prototype of an ancient global conflict; similarly, the Persian Wars came to be interpreted as a precursor to a future world war. American historian Frederick John Teggart popularized this perspective. Teggart stressed the inseparable connections between Europe and Asia in *The*

Processes of History (1918) inspired by Mackinder's Heartland Theory, criticizing Eurocentric historical narratives. He argued that the Persian Wars, as chronicled by Herodotus, illustrated the enduring clash between the East and the West. He summarized *The Histories* of Herodotus, adding the following insight: "the epochs of European history were marked by alternating movements across the imaginary line that separates East and West" (Teggart, 1918, p.44). Interestingly, Andre Gunder Frank later mistakenly quoted this passage as "History is marked by alternating movements across the imaginary line that separates East from West in Eurasia" at the beginning of his *ReORIENT: Global Economy in the Asian Age* (1998) as Herodotus's words, even though Teggart issued the statement (Frank, 1998, p.vii). Nevertheless, Teggart's vision of a Eurasian history did not attain widespread recognition until the latter half of the twentieth century. His ideas underscored that the borders of the European peninsula were important to fend off stormy advances from Asia.

George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949) incorporates an example of this geopolitical metaphor. *Nineteen Eighty-Four* is considered one of the most influential novels in the English-speaking world. It envisions a future tripolar world in which Oceania, Eurasia, and Eastasia are locked in a perpetual stalemate. As indicated in a color-coded diagram from the Wikipedia article "Political geography of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*" explaining this novel, the "disputed territories" are marked in grey, a detail that alludes subtly to Mackinder's theories (Figure 7). Novelist Thomas Pynchon highlighted this connection in his introduction to the Penguin Modern Classics edition of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, noting that the world Orwell described was derived directly from Mackinder's ideas (Pynchon, 2003, p.xii, see Figure 4 too). A notable passage near the end of the novel encapsulates this sentiment: "He [Winston, the protagonist] looked up again at the portrait of Big Brother—the colossus that bestrode the world! The rock against which the hordes of Asia dashed themselves in vain!" (Orwell, 2003, p.342). The map of Orwell's dystopia evidences the constant conflict between Eurasia and Eastasia over the Eurasian Heartland, and their boundaries remain in constant flux. The text implies Oceania's tensions with Eurasia, but the metaphor of the rock against the hordes of Asia is reminiscent of the bulwark image found in Valéry's writings and suggests a more expansive dispute.

Indeed, neither Orwell nor Valéry could have predicted it, but Valéry's sense of spiritual crisis resonated in Japan during his own time, particularly as Japan sought to displace the European empire in Asia in the 1930s. In this context, Yonekura Hisahito's oil painting (Figure 8, Yonekura, 1937, pp.27-28) delivers a striking visual representation of how Valéry's crisis was received in Japan. Yonekura was one of the first Japanese artists to introduce surrealism centred on Salvador Dalí. His work titled "Crisis of Europe" was produced in 1936 in the period between the Manchurian Incident and the Sino-Japanese War. The title itself indicates indebtedness to Valéry's treatise, even though this connection has not been thoroughly examined. Yonekura employed a double image technique reminiscent of Dalí to superimpose an ancient world map (attributed to Hecataeus, see Figure 1) onto a human skull. Valéry observed that the skulls of great intellectuals spawned

subsequent generations of thinkers whose ideas eventually betrayed their original intent. Similarly, Yonekura suggested that no “horse” or “carriage” was being steered by the skull of Europe. Instead, some “ideas”—symbolized by Asia—had slipped away from the region’s grasp as the helpless figure remained tethered to the past. The apparently random machine parts emerging from the skull further evoke uncertainty about their potential for good or evil. The painting’s title implied that Europe could be crisis-seized, but the situation could differ elsewhere; it intimated that peninsula-thin Europe was losing its productive capacity, and Asia was poised to drive future change.

A counterargument in response to these transformative developments emerged in Japan in the 1940s: Japan would supplant Europe and usher in a new version of modernity. A seminar titled “Overcoming Modernity” was organized in 1942 by Kawakami Tetsutaro, a fervent admirer of Valéry. Kawakami claimed he had been inspired by the Committee for Intellectual Cooperation that Valéry had helped establish for the League of Nations³. In this sense, Valéry’s discourse on crisis was repurposed to justify Japan’s dominance in Asia and bolster the argument that Japan should transcend Europe’s spiritual malaise and forge a new civilization. In a manner of speaking, Valéry’s pouring of wine unexpectedly generated “Shapes of the utmost profundity” and tainted the seas around Japan.

Conclusion

In summary, explorations of Europe’s ambiguous boundaries, both physical and intellectual, reveal the long intertwining of the continent’s identity with its representation as a peninsula of Eurasia. The previous sections have demonstrated that European self-definition has always been shaped by its perceived relationship with Asia and the broader world, from Herodotus’ rejection of earlier world maps to Valéry’s poignant exposition on Europe’s “Spiritual” and “Intellectual Crisis.” The historical discourse is replete with metaphors of fragile boundaries, hostile forces, and the fleeting nature of cultural dominance. It evolved from early geographical descriptions into a complex critique of Eurocentrism.

This evolution also involved the contentious transfiguration of the peninsula metaphor to a tool of racial politics. Personalities such as Madison Grant and, subsequently, Stoddard appropriated the notion of Europe as a mere appendage, a vulnerable peninsula. This conception implied that Europe’s diminutive physical scale foretold its eventual demise because of pressures exerted by non-European populations. Stoddard’s white supremacist rhetoric warned that Europe needed a protective breakwater against the overwhelming “colored” hordes. Such expressions are emblematic of dangerous conflations of geographical metaphors with racial ideologies. Conversely, the warnings of Valéry and Stoddard were reinterpreted in Japan as an opportunity to articulate Japanese imperialism. This development best

³ The relationship between “Overcoming Modernity” and Valéry is explained in detail by Yamada (2001) and Calichman (2008).

demonstrates the ambivalence of Valéry's "The Crisis of the Mind" and the metaphor of the European peninsula.

Valéry's ambivalence was expressed in his "Lost Wine" and more expansive poetic meditations on Europe's destiny. It was repurposed over time, first by geopolitical thinkers such as Halford Mackinder and later by critics and political leaders such as Emmanuel Macron. Macron's 2024 speech echoed Valéry's concerns but reframed them to suit the contemporary context. It underscored the persistent anxiety that Europe risks being reduced to a mere peripheral entity unless it reasserts its intellectual and cultural agency. His call to action is intensively interlaced with symbolic imagery, for instance, the bridges and windows on the euro banknotes that evoke Europe's historical role of both connector and divider.

Ultimately, such dialectical double meanings embedded in historical and literary discourses serve as reminders that Europe's crisis has never solely concerned physical geography; the predicament equally relates to ideas. The tensions between Europe's modest physical presence and its global cultural influence have spurred debates on its future. These deliberations continue to shape conversations on the European identity, global migrations, and the evolving power balance in an increasingly interconnected world. Poetry and discourse command remarkable powers. They can disseminate ideas and legitimize even opposing ideologies and can thus challenge the natural decay of cultural certainty, just as precious wine diffusing into water can seemingly defy the inexorable march of entropy.

Figure. 1, "The World According to Hecataeus"



Figure. 2, the Galleria in Milan



Europe



America



Africa



Asia



Figure 3.



Left: Carlo Canella, "The New Gallery in Milan with night-time passers-by" (1870)
Right: Angelo Morbelli, "The Galleria Vittorio Emanuele in Milan" (1872)

Figure 4, “The Natural Seats of Power” (1904)

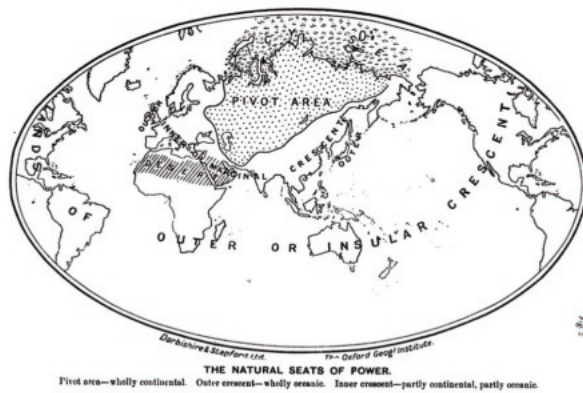


Figure 5, Cover Jacket of Stoddard's *Rising Tide of Color* (1918)

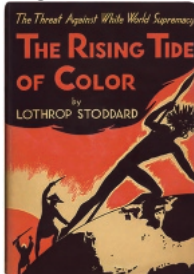


Figure 6, Euro Banknotes



Figure 7, Oceania (black), Eurasia (red) and Eastasia (yellow) per the Tripolar World Described in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (“Political geography of *Nineteen Eighty-Four*”)

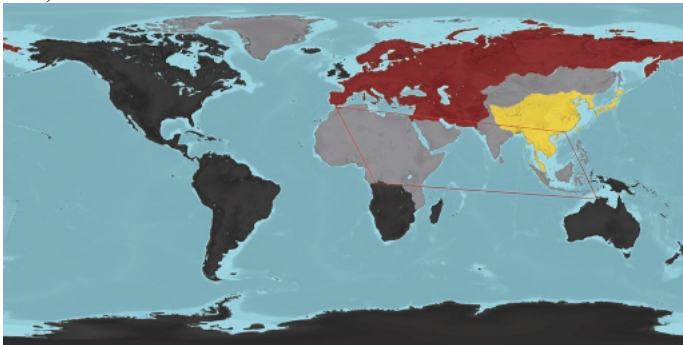


Figure 8, Yonekura Hisashito, “Crisis of Europe” (1936)



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Examining the New Perspectives on the History of Indo-Japan Exchange: The Unexplored Resources in *Hindustani*

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Abstract: This study explores the intellectual and cultural exchanges between Japan and India in the early 20th century, with a particular focus on Urdu-language sources, which have largely been overlooked in previous research. The study examines the contributions of Indian intellectuals, educators, and independence activists who engaged with Japan, particularly those who spent time in the country. Figures such as K. S. Sabharwal, Muhammad Badarul Islam Fazli, and Muhammad Noorul Hasan Barlas played pivotal roles in fostering Indo-Japanese literary and cultural interactions, yet their contributions remain underexplored. It underscores the need for further archival research in both Japan and South Asia to uncover additional primary sources, including newspaper articles, unpublished translations, and personal correspondences.

Introduction

Since the late 19th century, Japan was not only modernizing by modeling itself after the West but also emerging as a significant cultural reference for various Asian nations, including pre-independent India. Japan's emergence as a successful and powerful Asian nation became a source of inspiration for Indian intellectuals and nationalists, who viewed Japan's rapid progress as a potential blueprint for their own struggle against British colonial rule. Numerous Indian intellectuals and writers developed an interest in Japan, forming networks of literary and cultural exchange. Examining the perspectives on Japanese literature and culture from India—a country that maintained a distinct distance from Japan both politically and culturally—offers a unique comparative framework distinct from Eurocentric or East Asian approaches to modern Japanese studies.

In pre-modern times, Japan-India literary and cultural exchanges were limited, mostly mediated through China. Even after the Meiji Restoration, this pattern remained unchanged, with Britain replacing China as the primary intermediary. However, significant changes took place in the 20th century. Understanding early 20th-century Japan-India exchanges is facilitated by distinguishing between two groups based on their political status:

1. Regions of India under direct British colonial rule
2. Regions that retained autonomy from colonial rule

This distinction is significant because the nature of Japan-India interactions varied depending on the political context. In British-controlled regions, Indo-Japanese exchanges were often influenced by anti-colonial sentiments, with many Indian independence activists seeking refuge in Japan or drawing inspiration from Japan's modernization. In contrast, autonomous regions such as Mysore and Hyderabad engaged with Japan primarily through educational and cultural

exchanges as seen in the missions of M. Visvesvaraya and Sayyid Ross Masood, who studied Japan's education system.

From the first category, many figures involved in the independence movement sought refuge in Japan, deepening the relationship between the two countries through political asylum and cultural exchange. Among them, K. R. Sabharwal (1894–1981) played a pivotal role in bridging Japanese and Indian literature. He maintained friendships with notable prewar Japanese writers such as Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965), Ibuse Masuji (1898–1993), and Satō Haruo (1892–1964), facilitating literary exchange between the two nations. I will try to further explore Sabharwal's contributions in the following chapter.

In the second category, the governments of Mysore and Hyderabad dispatched M. Visvesvaraya (1861–1962) and Sayyid Ross Masood (1889–1937), respectively, to Japan to study its educational system. Their findings were documented in *“Reconstructing India”* (1920) and *“Japan and its Educational System”* (1923), both of which recommended learning from Japan's education model. This illustrates the wide-ranging interest in Japan—from political to literary spheres—highlighting its unique significance in international literary reception and cultural history.

This article sheds light on the history of Indo-Japanese exchanges in the early 20th century, emphasizing the intellectual and cultural dialogues that formed between the two countries. It brings attention to Urdu-language resources, which have been largely overlooked in previous scholarship on Indo-Japanese relations. These materials—ranging from books, periodicals, and newspaper articles to translations and personal correspondences—offer invaluable insights into how Japan was perceived and discussed in South Asia. By incorporating these sources, this study aims to broaden the scope of Indo-Japanese historical research, offering a more multilingual and nuanced perspective on the intellectual and cultural networks that connected the two regions. It is expected that this article will provide a roadmap for future exploration of the history of Indo-Japan exchange.

1. Intellectual and Cultural Exchange: An Introduction to Untapped Resources in Urdu

Several KAKEN-funded research projects have significantly advanced our understanding of Japan-India intellectual and cultural exchanges. For instance, the project titled “Research on Japan-India Educational Exchange in the Modern Era—Focusing on the Establishment of the Indian Women's University” (KAKEN Project/Area Number: 05610229) explored educational collaborations between Tokyo's Japan Women's University and the Indian Women's University (in Pune). This project references documents on the founder of Japan Women's University, Naruse Jinzō, his relationship with Rabindranath Tagore, and his connections with Masao Asō, V. Thakarsī, and D.K. Karwe.

Another project, “A Comparative Study of the Yellow Peril and Japan's Pan-Asianism” (KAKEN Project/Area Number: 16K02601), examines how Asianist discourse was negotiated and adapted in both Japan and the UK. One key finding of this study concerns a misunderstanding by Okakura Tenshin and Rabindranath Tagore during their stay in India. According to Nivedita's letters, they mistakenly

believed that Letters from Chinese (1901) by Lowe Dickinson was an actual letter from a Qing dynasty official—an error that was not uncommon at the time. Additionally, the project uncovered the activities of H.P. Shastri, an agent who played a crucial role in compiling “The Pan-Asianism Movement”, a report written by Petrie. Shastri, who was reportedly a professor at Waseda University, sent detailed reports to the British government regarding key figures such as Taraknath Das, Sabharwal, and others.

The project “Transnational Aspects of the Indian Independence Movement: The Pursuit of ‘Purna Swaraj’ and Japan” (KAKEN Project/Area Number:16K02998) explores historical materials related to the *Ghadar* Movement, British intelligence operations on Indian independence activists, INA (Indian National Army)-Japan cooperation and the relationships between Indian intellectuals, artists, and the Indian independence movement during the Taishō and early Shōwa periods. However, the specific materials uncovered by this project remain unclear.

Additionally, an ongoing project “History of the Indian Independence Movement and Its Relationship with Japan” (KAKEN Project Number:22KF0130) aims to uncover materials related to individuals’ involvement in the Indian independence movement and their relationship with Japan. One key figure in this study is Mukul Chandra Dey, whose artistic journey has been a major focus. Dey was fascinated by Japan’s rich artistic traditions, particularly Japanese woodblock prints and the technique of Japanese ink painting. Based on research output currently available in the public domain, this project seems to primarily rely on materials in Bangli and sources related to Dey’s connection to Rabindranath Tagore.

It is, however, essential to assess whether these studies have thoroughly examined the wealth of materials available in *Hindustani* (Hindi - Urdu). Given that many primary sources related to Indo-Japanese interactions are preserved in Urdu script, their inclusion is crucial for a comprehensive analysis. Therefore, a meticulous review of these projects is warranted to determine the extent to which Urdu materials have been utilized. Such an evaluation will ensure a holistic understanding of the intellectual and cultural exchanges between Japan and India, and open new avenues for further research.

Suzuki Takeshi, in his 1984 study 『ウルドゥー語で書かれた日本』 (Japan written in Urdu), introduced various Urdu-language books related to Japan. However, his research was limited to publications from before 1940. In the conclusion, Suzuki noted that while his study focused solely on pre-1940 monographs, a large number of articles on Japan had also been published in Urdu-language magazines and newspapers, and efforts were ongoing to collect these materials. However, a review of available research suggests that no further studies expanding on this work have been made publicly accessible.

Urdu, being one of the most widely used languages in India at the time, played a crucial role in shaping perceptions of Japan in the subcontinent. Suzuki highlighted these early publications and argued that they were part of a broader effort to introduce Japan to Indian readers through the lens of a rapidly modernizing, militarily strong nation. However, as Suzuki noted, these early writings focused

primarily on Japan's military prowess and industrial strength, leaving little room for nuanced discussions of Japan's social and cultural dynamics.

As mentioned in the "Introduction", from the early 1900s onward, many prominent Indian intellectuals began to show interest in Japan's modernization and cultural development. One of the key figures in this exchange was Mahbub-ul-'Alam (1863–1933), an influential journalist and intellectual from India, who became deeply interested in Japan's modernization. In 1890, he published a book titled *Japan aur Japani* ("Japan and the Japanese") in Urdu. This was one of the first books written in Urdu that focused on Japan. Alam's work reflected a growing awareness of Japan's achievements, and it encouraged readers to look to Japan as an example of how an Asian nation could successfully modernize while maintaining its cultural identity.

Alam's book was significant in that it demonstrated how Japan's experience in modernization and industrialization could serve as an inspiration for India's own development. This book marked the beginning of a series of Urdu-language writings that aimed to inform Indian readers about Japan's success and challenges. In 1903, another notable Urdu writer, Muhammad Ibrahim Azmi, published a 70-page article titled "Japan" in the Urdu weekly *Watan*, further elaborating on Japan's rise as an Asian power.

Another avenue of interactions was the recruitment of *Hindustani* language instructors from India for Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Among these figures, Muhammad Badarul Islam Fazli and Muhammad Noorul Hasan Barlas played pivotal roles in shaping Japan's image in India. Fazli published *Haqiqat-e-Japan* ("The Reality of Japan") in Urdu in 1934, while Barlas wrote articles and translated Japanese folktales into Urdu. Examining these materials can provide valuable insights into the History of Indo-Japan Exchange.

2. The Scope of This Study for Future Research

To understand the significance of Urdu-language sources in Indo-Japanese exchanges, it is essential to consider the linguistic context of *Hindustani*, a widely spoken language in North India during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *Hindustani* functioned as a lingua franca in administration, education, and literature, facilitating communication across different regions and communities. Over time, *Hindustani* evolved into two standardized forms based on script and vocabulary: Urdu, written in the Perso-Arabic script, incorporated a rich literary tradition influenced by Persian and Arabic.

Hindi, written in the Devanagari script, developed with an increasing emphasis on Sanskrit-based vocabulary.

During the prewar period, Urdu was a widely used literary and intellectual medium in South Asia. Many scholars, writers, and educators writing about Japan used Urdu-script sources, including newspapers, literary works, and academic writings. Understanding how Japan was depicted in Urdu-language materials is therefore crucial for reconstructing a multilingual and comprehensive narrative of Japan-India intellectual interactions.

The study of Japan-India cultural and intellectual exchanges has largely been shaped by English and some by Bengali-language sources, leaving a crucial gap in our understanding of how Japan was perceived within Urdu-speaking communities. This is very significant to uncover and analyze overlooked Urdu language sources, particularly those produced by Indian intellectuals, educators, traders, and political exiles in Japan before World War II.

A significant number of Urdu-speaking scholars and activists played key roles in shaping Indo-Japanese relations in the early 20th century. Notably, Muhammad Badarul Islam Fazli and Muhammad Noorul Hasan Barlas, both educators at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, left behind important literary records of their experiences in Japan.

Another crucial source of information is the Indian independence activists who sought asylum in Japan. While some of the previously mentioned KAKEN projects have examined certain figures among these political exiles, many individuals remain unexplored. Among them, K. S. Sabharwal stands out as an important yet under-researched figure. Sabharwal also taught *Hindustani* at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies as a visiting lecturer. His contributions to shaping Indo-Japanese intellectual and cultural exchanges were significant, particularly in bridging Hindi-Urdu literature and Japanese literary circles.

One of Sabharwal's significant contributions was his translation of a short story by Munshi Premchand (1880–1936), titled “*Majinahr*”, which was published in *Kaizō*⁴. This translation marked one of the earliest introductions of Indian literature to Japanese readers. Sabharwal's translation efforts extended beyond mere literary interest, serving as a means to introduce Japanese audiences to Indian social issues and cultural contexts. However, research on Sabharwal and Premchand remains extremely limited, and the significance of *Kaizō*'s publication, as well as its reception in Japanese society, has yet to be thoroughly examined.

While it is well known that Sabharwal translated Premchand's works into Japanese, newly discovered materials during the writer's research at Premchand's Archives in India, indicate that Premchand himself was interested in Japan, regularly reading *The Japan Times* and exchanging letters with Sabharwal. In one such letter, Premchand suggested that an Indian writer should contribute to *The Japan Times* to foster amicable bilateral relations. While it remains unclear how Sabharwal responded, any influence of Japanese literature on Premchand would necessitate a major revision of our understanding of Hindi literary history.

In Japan, studies on Premchand have been conducted by scholars such as Doi Hisaya and Takahashi Akira, who have explored his literary characteristics and significance in Indian literature. However, their work rarely delves into Sabharwal's connection with Premchand and his translation activities. Furthermore, research from the perspective of Japan-India literary exchange remains underdeveloped.

⁴ *Kaizō*, Vol. 12, No. 4, April 1930

There is another mysterious side of Sabharwal, which has not yet gained much attention from the past scholars. He was expelled from Japan with an allegation of spy activities. This side of Sabharwal need through research taking account of both Japanese and foreign resources.

Despite Sabharwal's role as both a translator and educator at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, as well the allegation of spy activities, his influence remains largely absent from mainstream discussions on Indo-Japanese relations. Investigating his writings, Urdu-language sources, and his networks in Japan will provide valuable insights into the intellectual dimensions of Indo-Japanese exchanges beyond political narratives.

Conclusion

This study has sought to reassess Indo-Japanese intellectual and cultural exchanges in the early 20th century by foregrounding Urdu-language sources, which have remained largely overlooked in previous studies. While much of the existing research on Japan-India relations has focused on English and Bengali-language materials, this article highlights the importance of Urdu-script writings—including books, periodicals, and personal correspondences—that provide valuable insights into how Japan was perceived and discussed in South Asia.

Through an examination of Indian intellectuals, translators, and educators, including figures such as K. S. Sabharwal, Muhammad Badarul Islam Fazli, and Muhammad Noorul Hasan Barlas, this study has demonstrated that Urdu played a significant role in shaping Indo-Japanese literary and cultural interactions. The translation of Japanese texts into Urdu, as well as the direct experiences of Indian scholars who resided in Japan, contributed to a distinct intellectual network that extended beyond political narratives.

However, many aspects of Indo-Japanese exchanges remain underexplored. The alleged espionage activities of Sabharwal, the reception of his translations, and the broader influence of Urdu writings on Indo-Japanese discourse warrant further investigation. Additionally, archival research in both Japan and South Asia is needed to uncover new materials—particularly in Urdu-language periodicals and manuscripts—that could reshape our understanding of early 20th-century Indo-Japanese relations.

By integrating Urdu-language sources into Indo-Japanese studies, this research aims to broaden the historiographical framework and encourage a more multilingual and nuanced approach to the study of cultural exchanges. Future scholarship in this field should continue to explore new linguistic and archival dimensions, ensuring that the intellectual contributions of Urdu-speaking scholars and writers are fully recognized in the history of Indo-Japanese relations.

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Rethinking the Concept of the Public Sphere

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Abstract: This paper rethinks the concept of the “public sphere” through the lens of contemporary events. Specifically, it examines the Palestine Solidarity Movement, since October 7, 2024. The central argument is that this historical phenomenon necessitates a re-theorization of the concept of the “public sphere.” To support this claim, three key questions are explored across the chapters; (1) What is the public sphere? (2) How can the recent Palestine Solidarity Movement be characterized? (3) Why does this historical phenomenon demand re-theorization of the public sphere? The first question is addressed using Jürgen Habermas’s foundational theory, which initiated academic discussions on the concept. The second question outlines a chronological account of recent events. Together, these answers reveal the asymmetrical structure of the public sphere, which serves as a basis for addressing the final question.

Introduction

The concept of the “public sphere” has traditionally been theorized in relation to specific historical phenomena. Jürgen Habermas’s seminal work, “The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere” (1962), initiated this discourse by analyzing the formation and transformation of Western bourgeois society in the 18th century. In this work, Habermas derived the concept of the “public sphere” from tangible historical contexts, such as English coffee houses and French salons. Approximately 30 years later, Habermas significantly revised his original conceptualization of the public sphere in response to the “catch-up revolutions” in Central and Eastern Europe (Habermas, 1990a, p. 11). Another 30 years later, considering the pervasive influence of digital media, he reformulated the concept of the public sphere (cf. Habermas, 2022). This pattern demonstrates a recurring tendency to adapt public sphere theory to emerging social phenomena. Such adaptability is not unique to Habermas. This responsiveness underscores the critical relationship between theoretical development and practical realities.

Given this context, one may ask: What contemporary events will next compel a rethinking of the public sphere? This question does not imply a superficial conflation between theory and practice. Rather, as evidenced by the development of the concept, the theory of the public sphere has evolved precisely through its engagement with real-life challenges. Maintaining this connection to actual problems is crucial for advancing the theory.

This paper argues that the global solidarity movement with Palestine, which has gained significant momentum since October 7, 2023, represents a pivotal moment. This phenomenon, it is argued, provides a framework for re-theorizing the concept of the public sphere. To support this claim, this paper addresses the following three questions: (1) What is the public sphere? (2) How can the recent Palestine Solidarity Movement be characterized? (3) Why does this solidarity movement necessitate a theoretical evolution of the public sphere? Each chapter systematically explores these questions.

1. Concept of the “Public Sphere”

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate the concept of the “public sphere” (Öffentlichkeit in German). This German term is widely used in everyday language, but within academic discourse, it has acquired a distinctive interpretation. This chapter focuses on Habermas’ conceptualization of the public sphere. While the concept of the public sphere does not originate solely from it, his theories have significantly shaped contemporary understanding and ongoing academic discourse.¹ To develop this characterization, I primarily reference Habermas (2008).

The public sphere is a domain that holds a central position in democratic societies. In such societies, the public sphere functions as a space that “connects state and civil society as a sphere for the free formation of opinions and wills” (Habermas, 2008, p. 140).² In simpler terms, the public sphere represents a space where unrestricted discussion about political decisions takes place, bringing up the gap between the state and civil society. To fully understand the concept of the public sphere as a “sphere for the free formation of opinions and wills,” it is essential to address two key questions: (a) What are “state” and “civil society”? (b) How does the public sphere function as a bridge between the state and civil society?

(a) In answering this first question, it is essential to examine Habermas’ theory of democracy. His analysis of democratic society emphasized the role of communication as a fundamental mechanism. Habermas identifies three levels of communication in a democratic society (Habermas, 2008, pp. 163–164): “Institutionalized discourse³,” “Media-based mass communication,” and “Everyday communication.” These types of communication occur within distinct arenas. The first level, *institutionalized discourse*, takes place within *state* institutions such as the cabinet, parliament, and courts. These bodies are legally organized and operate according to established rules that determine who can engage in discourse. The second level, *media-based mass communication* occurs in the political *public sphere*, where public themes are presented primarily by the mass media, and public opinion emerges through public discussion. The third level, *everyday communication*, occurs within *civil society*. Here, communication involves ordinary citizens and takes diverse forms, ranging from formal events like symposia or debates to informal interactions such as casual conversations in corridors or pubs. In summary, the state, public sphere, and civil society constitute the three main components of a democratic society, each distinguished by its unique level of communication.

(b) The public sphere mediates between the state and civil society by functioning as both a *sounding board* and a *filter*. Habermas elaborates on this role:

¹ Prior to the theory of Habermas, there were no words in English that corresponded to his word “Öffentlichkeit” (cf. Fraser, 2009, p. 148).

² I translated Habermas (2008) into English by referring to the English translated book (Habermas, 2009).

³ In the discourse theory developed by Habermas, “discourse” refers to a specific form of communication (cf. Habermas, 1984, p. 130–131).

The deliberative model conceives of the public sphere as a *sounding board* for tracing problems which affect a society as a whole, and at the same time as a *discursive filter-bed* which sifts interest-generalizing and informative contributions to relevant topics out of the unregulated processes of opinion formation, broadcasts these “public opinions” back onto the dispersed public of citizens, and puts them on the formal agendas of the responsible bodies. (Habermas, 2008, p. 144, *emphasis added*)

To interpret this quote, I apply the three elements discussed above: the state, public sphere, and civil society. First, the public sphere functions as a *sounding board*, responding sensitively to the diverse issues that emerge within civil society. However, it is not merely a space where various opinions are scattered. Instead, the public sphere is characterized by a distinct centripetal force. In other words, it possesses the capacity to distill “public opinions” from transient and disparate views. This function is called as a *discursive filter bed*. The formation of public opinion is strongly influenced by individuals who can amplify their voices, such as journalists, politicians, entrepreneurs, civic activists, and intellectuals. As previously mentioned, the genesis of this “public opinion” lies in the issues confronting civil society. Once public opinions have been formed, they are reintroduced to the public through media and other channels, prompting further discussion among citizens. Through this interactive process, certain perspectives are again identified as public opinions. In this way, the cycle of opinion and will formation repeat within the public sphere, which is closely interlinked with communication in civil society. The relatively organized “public opinion” that emerges from this cycle eventually transitions into the institutionalized discourse at the state level. An illustrative example of this phenomenon is the influence of public opinion on policy proposals and legislation in parliament, which subsequently leads to political decisions.

This description provides a general overview of the public sphere concept. Above all, the public sphere is a domain in which opinions and wills can be formed freely. In a democratic society, in which people are sovereign, such a domain holds an indispensable position. This is because “public opinion” is crucial for reflecting people’s will in political decision-making. The public sphere serves as a platform for the formation of public opinion. Mass and digital media play a vital role in facilitating this process by narrowing down a broad range of topics to a limited number of themes suitable for public discussion. This selection process enables the crystallization of public opinion. It would be, however, improbable that a single, unified public opinion will emerge on a given subject. Public opinions can also surface with overt conflicts. These divergent opinions, on one hand, stimulate renewed discussion within civil society and, on the other, exert a tangible influence on political decision-making at the state level. Thus, the public sphere acts as a conduit, channeling the collective voices of the people into the political decision-making process.

2. Solidarity Movement with Palestine

This paper posits that the Palestine Solidarity Movement, which has been gaining momentum globally since October 7, 2023, represents a historical phenomenon

necessitating a reconsideration of the concept of the “public sphere.” The rationale for this proposition is explored in Chapter 3. This chapter provides a concise overview of recent developments in the Palestine Solidarity Movement. The discussion is structured as follows: (a) The historical events central to this study are presented chronologically. (b) These events will then be analyzed through the lens of the “public sphere” concept.

(a) The genesis of the recent Palestine Solidarity Movement took place on October 7, 2023.⁴ On this date, fighters led by the Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement) launched an assault targeting an Israeli military installation and a kibbutz (a rural self-governing community). This attack, which resulted in substantial casualties, prompted a “retaliatory” offensive by the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). Western media widely reported the October 7 attack as “a brutal act of terrorism.” Meanwhile, the intensifying war in the Gaza Strip was disseminated primarily through internet channels, demonstrating the severe impact on unarmed civilians. These events spurred global outrage, leading to widespread demonstrations in solidarity with Palestine and a surge in support for the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions movement.

Furthermore, a notable increase in academic engagement with the Palestinian issue has been observed. For instance, American philosopher Judith Butler, a longstanding advocate for Palestinian rights, issued a statement titled “The Compass of Mourning” (Butler, 2023) on October 13, calling for the immediate cessation of hostilities. On November 1, the open letter “Philosophy for Palestine” (Abbound et al., 2023), endorsed by over 400 scholars from North America, Latin America, and Europe, was released, amplifying calls for academic solidarity.

In contrast, state-level responses exhibit rigidity. For example, the Jordanian-proposed ceasefire resolution in the United Nations General Assembly on October 27 was challenged by opposition or abstention from G7 member states and their allies (cf. Al Jazeera, 2023). Meanwhile, military support for the IDF has persisted, notably from the United States and Germany, as of November 2024.

(b) To organize these developments, I apply the three-dimensional framework of “civil society,” “public sphere,” and “state,” as outlined in Chapter 1. State responses, characterized by “institutionalized discourse,” have largely been inflexible. While certain governments, such as those of Jordan and South Africa, have treated the Palestinian issue as a priority, the Western nations primarily responsible for addressing the conflict demonstrated little adaptability. Consequently, efforts to resolve the crisis at the governmental level can be described as rigid. In contrast, civil society has exhibited dynamic engagement. Demonstrations and rallies organized by citizens have proliferated, and statements

⁴ However, it would be erroneous to situate the inception of the enduring dispute between Israel and Palestine on October 7. The arbitrary and problematic nature of the starting point for discussing the Palestinian issue has been a topic of considerable debate (cf., e.g., Pappé, 2023; Sunose, 2024). This paper establishes the date in question as the point of origin for the recent Palestine solidarity movement, which serves as the subject of our analysis.

from civil society organizations advocating for Palestine have gained significant visibility in the public sphere. Researchers and organizations regularly host colloquia and lectures on the Palestinian issue, further amplifying its prominence. The collective activities of civil society have transformed the Palestinian issue into a focal point of public discourse. Discussions have permeated diverse public forums, fostering the emergence of public opinion on the matter. These developments underscore the role of civil society in bringing the Palestinian issue to the forefront of the public sphere.

3. Rethinking the Concept of the “Public Sphere”

How can the concept of the “public sphere” be reconsidered through the lens of movements in solidarity with Palestine? First and foremost, this phenomenon underscores the essential characteristics of the public sphere as a domain rooted in civil society. The voices of citizens, often independent of national and economic interests, stimulate discussion within the public sphere and shape public opinion, which, in turn, exerts pressure on political decisions. This dynamic has been observed repeatedly in recent times. Such a phenomenon exemplifies the public sphere model anchored in civil society, a framework Habermas sought to construct since 1989 in response to successive revolutions (cf. Habermas, 1990). The renewed recognition of the public sphere’s influence is significant.

Nevertheless, merely examining the correspondence between the extant concept of the public sphere and actual phenomena fails to achieve a comprehensive reconsideration of the concept itself. In this chapter, I aim to *critically* rethink the “public sphere” in light of historical phenomena, focusing on how the Palestinian issue highlights the limitations and distortions of the public sphere.

To commence this critical examination, it is necessary to consider a crucial fact: it was not until the series of civic movements following October 7 that long-standing issues, originating as early as 1948 (or even earlier), suddenly became central to the public sphere. This development can be described as a success of these movements. However, it would be overly optimistic to interpret this solely in a positive light. The Palestinian issue has persisted for over 70 years, and it is only now that significant sacrifices have allowed these concerns to enter the public sphere. This demonstrates that the public sphere has been dysfunctional on this issue for decades.

Why has the public sphere failed to address this issue? I argue that this failure reveals a distorted structure within the public sphere, one that has only become active after the extraordinary events since October 7. To address this issue, I propose examining the “asymmetric structure” of the public sphere as a potential framework for re-theorizing its concept.

The public sphere is traditionally conceived as a space for deliberation, where opinions and wills are shaped. However, it is essential to note that such deliberations primarily occur through mediated communication rather than face-to-face interaction. The public sphere provides platforms for journalists, intellectuals, and other influential individuals to highlight critical issues and articulate their perspectives through public statements. These statements, in turn, stimulate further

debate, resulting in the formation of “public opinion,” a hallmark of the public sphere. Nevertheless, an *asymmetrical structure* is inevitably embedded within this process. The *actors* in the public sphere: politicians, journalists, and intellectuals—are endowed with the authority to speak, while the *public* often assumes a passive role, primarily as receivers of these messages. Habermas acknowledged this asymmetry, describing it as follows:

It is [...] the *asymmetrical structure* of mass communication that turns participants in deliberation, who must face questions and objections, into more or less passive spectators and consumers. Whereas deliberation requires reciprocity in assuming the roles of speaker and addressee, mass communication in the public sphere is best understood by analogy with a stage which does not permit an exchange of roles between the few *actors* and an anonymous watching *public*. (Habermas, 2008, p. 160, *emphasis added*)

While Habermas identifies *asymmetry* as a flaw in the public sphere, he reinterprets it as a necessary condition for the production of opinion.⁵ In this view, public opinion emerges through the actions of individuals who act as “*actors*” within the public sphere.

Although actors are indispensable to the public sphere, the asymmetry between speakers and their audience persists as a structural issue.⁶ The fact that the Palestinian issue only became a significant topic of discussion after the events of October 7 underscores the problematic nature of this asymmetry. It raises the question: how effectively were the voices of third-world governments, NGOs, local residents, and other storytellers heard prior to these events?

Habermas describes the public sphere as a “sounding board” through which society’s multifaceted challenges are articulated. However, can this sounding board resonate only with sensational events such as mass casualties? The delayed response to longstanding issues, catalyzed by such tragedies, highlights fundamental distortions in the public sphere. This raises further questions: Who qualifies as an actor? Whose voices are deemed worthy of being heard? And who constitutes the public? A comprehensive theory on the public sphere must address these questions.

Finally, I mention the asymmetry between the narrative and the narrated. This imbalance is distinct from the asymmetry between the speaker and listener; it concerns the relationship between the narrator and the object of the narrative. For instance, statements such as Israeli Defense Minister Galant’s characterization of Palestinians as “human animals” (cf. Zaiton, 2023) exemplify this asymmetry.⁷ In the public sphere, narrators possess distinctive voices; however, those who are the

⁵ Habermas asserted “Without these actors, a public sphere would not be possible in national societies” (p.161).

⁶ The advent of the Internet seems to have contributed to a reduction in this asymmetry. Nevertheless, the imbalance of voices in the public sphere persists. The dearth of attention devoted to the long-standing Palestinian issue, despite the pervasive reach of the Internet, serves as empirical evidence of this assessment.

⁷ For a detailed consideration of this statement, see Yasui (2024).

subjects of these narratives can only appear through the narratives of others. Their existence within the public sphere is contingent on the narrator's portrayal. This form of asymmetry, which gained prominence as a concern post-9/11, requires further examination.⁸

Conclusion

The historical phenomenon of October 7, 2023, compels us to rethink the concept of the public sphere. This reconsideration can be viewed in both positive and negative terms. The concept of the public sphere provides a framework for understanding the political significance of the solidarity movement with Palestine, which has gained momentum since October 7. The public sphere is an essential condition for democracy. However, the fact that the public sphere has become responsive to the Palestinian issue only after the significant sacrifices made since October 7 highlights the structural "asymmetry" inherent within it. The examination of asymmetry, as discussed in this paper, offers a pathway for critically reconstructing the concept of the public sphere.

I would like to extend my gratitude to all those who provided valuable comments at the international seminar. I am particularly thankful to Professor TRIPATHI, Priyanka for enabling me to move beyond a simplistic positive reconsideration of the concept and engage in a deeper critical examination. However, her observation regarding the inherent imbalance in language itself has been addressed only briefly in the final part of this paper. I intend to explore this dimension further in my future research.

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⁸ Habermas underscored the significance of media autonomy within the public sphere and make the following observation in reference to 9.11; "In view of the shock caused by that horrendous and heinous terrorist attack among the American population, the interpretation ["war against terrorism"] seemed to fit the event all too well. The remarkable thing was the absence of competing attempts to place the monstrous event in a different context, or to "frame" it differently" (Habermas, 2008, p. 181). The similarities between the phenomena noted here and those surrounding 10.7 would be obvious.

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Reconsideration of the Performative Effects of Assembly Discussed by Judith Butler from Three Perspectives

NARITA, Reona

Abstract: Recent years have witnessed global demonstrations and social movements against discrimination, inequality, and genocide, such as Black Lives Matter and Free Palestine. These movements gather diverse people from different circumstances to challenge discrimination and inequality. Judith Butler has emphasized the significance of these resistance modes, critiquing identity politics for their tendency to restrict political claims to a unified foundation and essentialize the identity. Instead, Butler advocates solidarity that preserves diversity, enabling individuals from disparate positions to work together in collective forms while maintaining their differences. In this context, Butler posits that performative resistance takes effect in assemblies formed when multiple individuals convene in “public spaces”, such as squares and streets. In other words, when individuals from diverse backgrounds assemble, there are performative oppositions to the status quo of discrimination and inequality. This paper examines and organizes the performative effects of assemblies from three perspectives, showing their potential to reduce discrimination and inequality.

Introduction

In recent years, global demonstrations and social movements such as Black Lives Matter and Free Palestine have mobilized diverse people to contest systemic discrimination, inequality, and genocide. Judith Butler has long analyzed these modes of resistance, beginning with their seminal work *Gender Trouble* (1990). Butler critiques identity politics for essentializing identity by using it as the foundation for political claims and movements, arguing that this approach imposes a restrictive framework based on shared qualities. In particular, Butler (1990) critiqued the essentialist feminist movement for uniting under the monolithic category of “women”, which excludes differences among women. Through the lens of Gender Performativity, Butler reconceptualized identity as performative, constructed through repeated social and cultural acts rather than being fixed or natural. This theory underscores the limitations of identity-based solidarity and introduces an alternative form of resistance that remains multiplicity and differences.

Butler (2015) developed the concept of solidarity, which brings together diverse individuals through the performative effects of assembly. As Butler described them, assemblies are physical gatherings where people from different positions come together across identities. When people gather in “public spaces”, such as squares and streets, they exercise performative effects that challenge inequality through the very act of gathering (Butler, 2015). The performative effects of assembly emphasize the profound impacts of collective action, particularly by oppressed people. However, these effects are analyzed through various lenses, including precarity, bodily performativity, and horizontality. Accordingly, this paper

reexamines the performative effects of assembly through these three perspectives to elucidate how it works in opposing inequality.

To explore this, this paper is structured into two sections. The first section reviews Butler's theory of gender performativity as introduced in *Gender Trouble*. The second section examines the three primary performative effects of assembly, as reconsidered through Butler's analysis. From this consideration, I argue that assembly, by bringing together individuals across diverse contexts, can serve as an effective resistance mode to combat discrimination and inequality.

1. Butler's Key Concept, Gender Performativity

The theory of gender performativity, introduced in *Gender Trouble* (1990), critiqued the essentialist feminist movement. However, Butler did not aim to dissolve feminist activism but rather advocated for alternative modes that avoid unifying women under a singular identity.

1.1. Butler's Critique of Identity Politics

Butler argued that grounding political claims and the feminist movement on the fixed identity of "women" presupposes "a generally shared conception of 'women'" (Butler, 1990, p. 7). Treating identity as a static category marginalizes those who do not conform to predefined standards, excluding diverse women from the category of "women." At the time, feminist discourse had already recognized that "gender intersects with racial, class, ethics, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities" (Butler, 1990, p. 6). Butler critiqued the insistence on the coherence and unity of the category of "women", asserting that it "has effectively refused the multiplicity of cultural, social, and political intersections in which the concrete array of 'women' are constructed" (Butler, 1990, pp. 19–20). In this framework, presuming a unified gender identity hinders solidarity by excluding women from different cultural and social contexts. Butler critiqued the concept of "unity" within solidarity and asked:

Does "unity" set up an exclusionary norm of solidarity at the level of identity that rules out the possibility of a set of actions which disrupt the very borders of identity concepts, or which seek to accomplish precisely that disruption as an explicit political aim? (Butler, 1990, p. 21).

This rhetorical question highlights Butler's concern that unity, as a normative principle, establishes rigid boundaries and excludes those who fail to conform. Solidarity based on "unity" therefore draws clear boundaries between inside and outside solidarity. Those who cannot be unified are excluded. Furthermore, demanding consistency in identity for unity fixes the identity on which solidarity is based and reinforces its normativity. In these respects, Butler harshly critiqued identity politics.

Butler also argued that when essentialist feminism aims for solidarity under the category of "women," gender identity is treated as an expression or derivation of "natural" sex (Butler, 1999). The term "gender" was originally introduced to distinguish it from "biological" sex by defining gender as culturally constructed (Butler, 1990, p. 9). In this view, gender should be considered culturally and socially

independent of sex, which is based on biological factors. Sex and gender are disconnected in this respect, and the sexed body can be seen as open to the possibility of acquiring cultural meaning through various genders, regardless of the body's biological sex (Butler, 1990, p. 10). However, gender was often constructed under the expectation that "it operates as an interior essence that might be disclosed" (Butler, 1999, p. xiv). In this respect, gender was considered "a natural manifestation of sex" (Butler, 1999, p. xx). This view misconstrues gender, which should be recognized as a cultural construct, as an inherent essence, thereby naturalizing it. Butler criticized this notion and sought to "denaturalize" gender (Butler, 1999, p. xx), using the theory of performativity to demonstrate how gender is culturally constructed.

1.2. Theory of Gender Performativity

Butler criticized the perspective that treated gender as an expression of an interior essence, arguing instead that gender is performative. The concept of performativity originated in the speech act theory proposed by J.L. Austin, a philosopher of language. Austin identified distinctions in language acts: "the locutionary act," which refers to "things we do in saying something" (Austin, 1962, p. 108); "the illocutionary act which has a certain *force* in saying something; the perlocutionary act which is *the achieving of certain effects* by saying something" (Austin, 1962, p. 120). For example, when a judge makes a defendant guilty in court, the speech act performatively renders the defendant guilty. Butler (1990) expanded upon the concept of performativity in speech acts, arguing that gender is constructed performatively as it is spoken: "In this sense, gender is always a doing" (Butler, 1990, p. 33). Butler further clarified this view, stating:

The view that gender is performative sought to show that what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body (Butler, 1999, p. xv).

Gender is produced through discourse and a series of acts influenced by gender norms. Thus, gender is not derived from any natural or intrinsic basis. Butler emphasized this point: "There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler, 1990, p. 33). In other words, gender is neither derived from an inner essence nor an expression of a foundational identity. Rather, identity is constructed in the very act of its manifestation.

How, then, is identity naturalized and fixed? Butler argued that "the action of gender requires a performance that is *repeated*" (Butler, 1990, p. 178). Through the repetition of gendered discourses and acts, traditional gender and gender norms are reproduced performatively. These repetitions, occurring daily and over time, give the impression of a fixed identity. However, Butler noted that because gender is constructed through repeated performance, it remains open to reinterpretation and disruption. Butler suggested that unconventional forms of repetition can fluidize and challenge established gender norms.

The abiding gendered self will then be shown to be structured by repeated acts that seek to approximate the ideal of a substantial ground of identity, but which,

in their occasional *discontinuity*, reveal the temporal and contingent groundlessness of this “ground” (Butler, 1990, p. 179).

Gender and identity, are often considered foundational for specific claims, actions, or self-conceptions. However, identities, while seemingly substantive and fixed, are performatively constructed through repeated acts. Through these repetitions, identity is idealized and normatively produced as performative. However, such acts are not always replicated in the same manner; variations in repetition reveal the possibility of disruption. These inconsistencies between gender norms and actions underscore the fact that gender lacks a fixed, inherent basis.

In summary, the theory of gender performativity challenges the notion of fixed gender and identity. It also critiques identity politics for its inability to examine the discourses and practices constructing identity or to recognize their potential for change. In this framework, gender, constructed through the repetition of gendered acts, is neither a naturalized interior essence nor an expression of a foundational identity. Essentialist feminism, grounded in its solidarity with fixed gender categories, inadvertently reinforced the perception of gender as immutable.

However, this does not imply that Butler dismissed the feasibility of feminist solidarity. On the contrary, Butler argued that “Perhaps a coalition needs to acknowledge its contradictions and take action with those contradictions intact” (Butler, 1990, p. 20). Butler criticized solidarity that seeks “unity,” as it often results in exclusion and division by attempting to resolve inherent contradictions. Instead, Butler proposed solidarity not based on identity but on “an emerging and unpredictable assemblage of positions” (Butler, 1990, p. 20) or an “open coalition” (Butler, 1990, p. 22). Such solidarity accommodates contradictions and gathers individuals from diverse positions, enabling political demands and objections. Butler further expanded on this idea by exploring the performative effects of assembly focusing on the performativity of bodily acts in resistance (Butler, 2015).

2. The Performative Effects of Assembly

When *Gender Trouble* was published, the pressing need was to find ways to resist discrimination against women without falling into the trap of identity politics or diminishing the power of resistance. Butler emphasized that identity is performatively constructed and thus susceptible to disturbance. Butler criticized identity-based solidarity, advocating instead for a form of solidarity that gathers people from diverse perspectives while maintaining their differences. This concept evolved into Butler’s exploration of the performative effects of assembly, particularly the resistant impact of bodies gathering in “public spaces”, such as squares and streets (Butler, 2015).

2.1. Body Performativity

In arguing that gender is performatively constructed, Butler emphasized that this construction arises as much from action as from discourse. Butler extended J.L. Austin’s concept of linguistic performativity to include bodily performativity. Butler asserted, “to say that gender is performative is to say that it is a certain kind of enactment” (Butler, 2015, p. 32). In other words, gender is not only established

through discourse, such as being named or categorized, but also through gestures, behavior, desires, and actions that align with socially recognized gender norms. These norms are reenacted, often unconsciously, by individuals and their communities (Butler, 2015, pp. 30–31). Through such repeated performances, gender and its associated norms are constructed and maintained. In Butler’s theory of gender performativity, it can be posited that bodily acts are considered to initiate further acts to be performed, to give rise to something, or to produce some effects. In addition, Butler examined bodily performativity and suggested that the very act of assembling in “public spaces” has the performative effects of resistance.

Butler considered people who congregate in squares and streets to challenge the prevailing order through the lens of the concept of precarity. Precarity refers to the “politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support more than others, and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death” (Butler, 2015, p. 33). Those subjected to precarity include women, racial minorities, the economically disadvantaged, and the stateless. Recognizing the diversity of individuals exposed to precarity, Butler argued that broad-based solidarity among people in this condition offers a powerful means to challenge discrimination and inequality.

When individuals under the precarity gather in public spaces, they challenge the discriminatory structures that marginalize them. Butler argued that such gatherings do not require unified political demands to be effective. Instead, the act of assembling itself communicates resistance, even before any explicit discursive claims are made. In this sense, gatherings in “public spaces” such as squares and streets become performative acts of resistance under their very occurrence (Butler, 2015).

2.2. Three Main Performative Effects of the Assembly¹

What kinds of performative effects of contestation can be generated by assemblies formed when several people gather in squares or on the streets? This section organizes these effects into three perspectives.

The first effect is that when people exposed to precarity have assembled, their bodies become visible. At the same time, this visibility performatively produces resistance effects against precarity. People facing precarity are marginalized and deprived of institutional protection and redress. Consequently, when such individuals gather in squares and streets, their exposure to precarity becomes visible. In this respect, Butler argues that the mere act of assembling communicates its condition before any discursive claims or demands are made (Butler, 2015, p. 25). Thus, the assembly itself, composed of individuals exposed to precarity, performatively challenges precarity by making their condition visible. Even when participants raise differing arguments, their collective presence underscores the

¹ Solidarity and the right to appear by people exposed to precarity was one of the subjects of an oral presentation at the 2024 Congress of the Kansai Society for Ethics (2024/11/09).

urgency of addressing precarity. This form of solidarity enables individuals from diverse positions to collaborate without relying on a shared identity or unified claim. Butler points out performative resistance in this solidarity, emphasizing that it arises from the intersection of differences and overlapping political goals among those exposed to precarity.

The second effect is that assemblies can performatively generate and exercise previously unapproved rights in the immediate context of the act. This concept can be better understood through a concrete example. Consider undocumented individuals assembling to advocate for residence permits². These individuals, lacking legal rights to make political statements, nonetheless form assemblies in “public spaces”. According to Butler, these assemblies are not invalid; rather, they exemplify the performative exercise of unapproved rights, particularly the right to appear (Butler, 2015, p. 11).

Butler’s concept of the right to appear draws on Hannah Arendt’s analysis of the political/public sphere.³ According to Butler, Arendt posits that the political realm is not confined to physical locations but emerges by the appearance of one other against another. Expanding on this, Butler defines the right to appear as the right to appear in relation to others. Butler argued that when individuals exposed to precarity assemble, they exercise the right to appear performatively (Butler, 2015, pp. 24–25). This perspective challenges the notion that individuals lacking codified legal rights are incapable of assembling, making political demands, or raising objections. Instead, it demonstrates that people exposed to precarity can effectively resist the status quo within their circumstances.

According to Butler, the act of plural bodies assembling in squares or on streets carries performative effects of contestation. These gatherings convey political demands, even before articulating them discursively through declarations or formal claims. Such solidarity does not require a uniform purpose and can gather diverse individuals facing precarity. Butler explains:

No one is ever asked to produce an identity card before gaining access to such a demonstration. If you appear as a body on the street, you help to make the claim that emerges from that plural set of bodies, amassing and persisting there (Butler, 2015, p. 58).

This statement underscores that individuals assembling in “public spaces” need neither prove a specific identity nor possess codified rights to engage in such acts. Butler emphasized that assemblies formed without recognized legal rights remain valid and the right to appear is performatively exercised in the very action.

² Butler (2015) analyzed the demonstrations held by undocumented workers in Los Angeles in 2006. At this demonstration, undocumented Mexican workers assembled and sang the American anthem in Spanish. Butler argued that “they laid claim to that right in and by the vocalization itself” (Butler, 2015, p. 49).

³ Butler referred here to Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

Third, the assembly of diverse individuals exposed to precarity can embody, in performative manners, horizontal relations and equitable situations among people. Such solidarity demonstrates, through its very act, the possibility of individuals working together across multiple identities precisely by assembling. In other words, it embodies transversality, enabling people from varied backgrounds who might not initially perceive commonalities to assemble and act collectively, thus linking people equally with their differences.

This phenomenon is exemplified in Butler's (2015) analysis of the revolutionary demonstrations in Tahrir Square during the 2011 Egyptian revolution of the Arab Spring. In Tahrir Square, demonstrators gathered continuously, engaging in the essential tasks required to sustain life, such as eating, cleaning, and acquiring places to rest. According to Butler, these tasks were often shared among participants or performed in shifts, which disrupted traditional gendered divisions of labor (Butler, 2015, p. 89). Butler notes that in these instances, "what some would call 'horizontal relations' among the protestors formed easily and methodically" (Butler, 2015, p. 89).⁴

In this context, the solidarity of individuals who demand equality can be said to performatively embody equality in their solidarity. The gathering of people from diverse positions and under the precarity performatively manifests horizontality and equality as they demand such details, but it also communicates that this equality is not only achievable but also essential in the way it materializes through their actions. Thus, the assembly has the performative effect of communicating that equality is both possible and necessary in its embodied form.

Conclusion

This paper has organized and presented Butler's arguments regarding the performative effects of assemblies composed of multiple bodies gathered in "public spaces" such as squares and streets, examining these effects from three perspectives. It began by introducing Butler's foundational concept of gender performativity. Butler critiqued the perception of gender as an expression of interior essence, emphasizing that gender is culturally constructed by discursive practices and repeated actions. Through this lens, Butler pointed out the potential for these repeated acts to deviate from convention, destabilizing traditional gender identities. This perspective challenges the notion of identity as fixed or natural and critiques identity politics that rely on static identities as the basis for political actions. Instead, Butler advocated for solidarity that does not seek unity but rather enables diverse individuals to resist collectively, focusing on bodily performativity.

⁴ In these revolutionary movements, the gathering of women in Tahrir Square had the aspect of facilitating the subsequent appearance of women in the public sphere, and although Butler here emphasizes the positive aspect of the resistance effect of the gathering of women, in reality, it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that the women were more exposed to violence and sexual victimization occurred. (e.g., Human Rights Watch, 2011; Razek, 2012).

Butler stated that when diverse individuals gather in “public spaces” such as squares and streets, their gatherings can generate resistance through three performative effects. While these effects are various, they can be organized as follows: (1) The assembly marks visible the precarity and risk faced by those gathered, performatively opposing precarity. (2) Rights, often unrecognized before the act of assembly, are exercised in the immediate moment of coming together. (3) The solidarity formed among diverse individuals exposed to precarity performatively embodies horizontal and egalitarian relations.

Butler’s exploration of the performative effects of such assemblies is significant as it emphasizes the potential of collective resistance among those marginalized and exposed to oppression. By highlighting the constructive impacts of such movements, this perspective repudiates the notion of invalidating the efforts of marginalized groups exposed to precarity. Instead, it promotes the realization of equality and the elimination of discrimination in contemporary society.

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From Moral Philosophy to Reflective Judgment: Rawls as a Successor to Kant

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Abstract: This study discusses the connection between John Rawls's conception of justice and Immanuel Kant's philosophy. In Rawls's first work on justice, *A Theory of Justice*, he mentions the subject's ability to have a sense of justice to demonstrate the sustainability of a well-ordered society. Rawls's discussion of this ability exhibits an affinity between his theory and Kant's moral philosophy. However, as we observe this affinity, we also see that the sustainability of a well-ordered society depends on the reduction of all its citizens to a single-minded subject, oriented toward moral autonomy and final ends. Thus, a well-ordered society is itself a Kantian intellectual world that is unrealistic for those living in real society. Rawls, after recognizing the unacceptable consequences of his affinity to Kant, reconstructs his conception of justice in another major work, *Political Liberalism*. I argue that while Rawls himself does not state this explicitly, his reconstructed conception of justice can also be interpreted through the lens of a Kantian theory of reflective judgment. Judgment provides Rawls with a new source of validity and plays an integral role in the key ideas of his theory.

Introduction

A close affinity can be observed between John Rawls's political philosophy and Immanuel Kant's philosophy. For the former, the entire justice system is inspired by the latter's social contract theory. Rawls also places great importance on Hegel's criticism of Kant's philosophy and recognizes that the categorical imperative, which is purely formal, cannot directly guide real public life. We must give content to this imperative to apply it to society. In *A Theory of Justice (TJ)*, published in 1971, Rawls attempts to find his own way of embodying the moral law with material contents. He is mainly interested in the following question: because we are all born in some community or another and could benefit from social cooperation, how should we establish society so that everyone can benefit fairly? Rawls starts with the basic construction of society and further delves into many aspects of real society to state his response. However, in his 1993 work *Political Liberalism (PL)*, one of his central works in political philosophy, Rawls denies the third part of *TJ* precisely because it cannot surmount the transcendental background of Kant's moral philosophy. In the wake of this self-criticism, Rawls in *PL* transformed his theory from a Kantian moral philosophy to a political theory.

Despite this dramatic change, *PL* also shows that Rawls and Kant are connected. This study argues that, in place of Kant's moral philosophy, Rawls's revised conception of justice in *PL* can be read through the perspective of Kant's theory of reflective judgment, which allows Rawls to avoid the criticism of practical solipsism and ground his conception on the plurality of subjects. Section 1.1

examines *TJ* to reconstruct Rawls's demonstration of the sustainability of a well-ordered society. In section 1.2, I trace Rawls's self-criticism to clarify why Part III of *TJ* is considered to presuppose Kant's moral philosophy. Section 2 focuses on a change in Rawls's thought, which is indeed a transition from the solipsistic idea of the subject, adopted in Kant's moral philosophy, to the idea of the subject with plurality and diversity, which is a precondition of Kant's theory of reflective judgment (section 2.1). I illustrate three essential ideas to explain how reflective judgment provides a new source of validity for Rawls's conception of justice (section 2.2).

1. The Unrealistic Idea of a Well-Ordered Society

In the introduction to *PL*, Rawls acknowledges where *TJ* was deficient: "To explain: the serious problem I have in mind concerns the unrealistic idea of a well-ordered society as it appears in *Theory*. An essential feature of a well-ordered society associated with justice as fairness is that all its citizens endorse this conception on the basis of what I now call a comprehensive philosophical doctrine" (Rawls, 2005, p. XVI). In sum, because Part III of *TJ* is based on Kant's moral philosophy, its idea of a well-ordered society is unrealistic. Basing on Kant's moral philosophy also identifies a contradiction between the third and the first two parts of *TJ*. Let us examine Rawls's argument more closely..

1.1 The Sustainability of a Well-Ordered Society

Broadly, Part I of *TJ* constructs the principles of justice and Part II aims to apply such principles to the real society in a way that establishes a constitution and ordinary laws. Here, a society ruled by the principles of justice is called "a well-ordered society." Meanwhile, Part III demonstrates the stability of these principles of justice by showing that a well-ordered society is sustainable, the former being a *condition sine qua non* for the latter. Rawls believes that the stability of the principles of justice depends on "a balance of motives" of the members of a society (Rawls, 1999, p. 398). That is, although motives based on unjust principles would sometimes overwhelm those arising from the principles of justice, a well-ordered society is nevertheless sustainable as long as just motives are allowed to become dominant over the long term. Therefore, the key point is to reflect on whether and how principles of justice can effectively motivate the citizens of a well-ordered society.

Rawls's demonstration follows two steps. The first shows that the citizens of a well-ordered society possess a sense of justice and consider it to be goodness. Consistent with Rawls's conceptions, citizens are initially willing to participate in social cooperation because it will promote their own happiness. If their conduct in accordance with the principles of justice constitutes happiness or goodness for citizens, such principles can effectively motivate them. One's desire to act according to the principles of justice is referred to as their sense of justice. As to how citizens acquire this sense, Rawls examines two kinds of moral learning theory, which are derived from empiricism and rationalism. Here, I focus on the rationalist perspective, an exponent of which is Kant. This viewpoint maintains that moral

education in society can lead citizens' rational abilities toward maturity and develop the moral qualities implied in that nature, eventually becoming the source of the sense of justice.

Rawls introduces two premises that connect the rationalist moral learning theory with his conception of justice. The first is that the ability to obtain a sense of justice and the ability to have a conception of the good are natural attributes shared by members of a well-ordered society and entitle them to equal justice (Cf. Rawls, 1999, p. 442). Simply put, the presocial ability to have a sense of justice is a condition that allows citizens to benefit from the equal treatment of a just society. Citizens are considered equal through their natural characteristics even before any social contract is concluded. As a result, the parties, as representatives of citizens in real life in the original position, which is a hypothetical stage before the construction of a well-ordered society, must choose the principles that would treat citizens as equal. Since such a well-ordered society is ruled by principles, citizens must be treated equally with reference to their natural attributes.

Second, the members of a well-ordered society are assumed to comply with the Aristotelian principle, which posits that "other things being equal, human beings enjoy the exercise of the capacity they realized (their innate or trained abilities), and this enjoyment increases the more the capacity is realized, or the greater its complexity" (Rawls, 1999, p. 374). According to this principle, citizens experience greater enjoyment when they exercise their innate abilities more. As discussed, one's sense of justice is identical to one's desire to act according to the principles of justice. Put another way, the stronger one's desire to act justly, the greater their enjoyment. These two principles allow Rawls to explain why the sense of justice can be considered goodness by the citizens of a well-ordered society.

However, goodness is prior to rightness because the principles of justice function based on citizens' specific conception of goodness and subjective sensation. As a proponent of Kantianism, Rawls cannot tolerate this. The second step of his demonstration is observed here. He argues that parties who are in the original position and select the criterion of rightness also regard the sense of justice as goodness. If the parties consider the sense of justice to be good, they must choose principles that promote or realize such goodness—that is, goodness must be recognized and reflected in the criterion of rightness. Consequently, goodness is necessarily in harmony with rightness, solving the problem of priority.

To clarify why a sense of justice is good for the parties in the original position, we must recall the first premise in the previous step. The parties are adequately well informed that citizens have a natural attribute of the ability to possess a sense of justice. Citizens enter the original position and entrust to the parties, who are hypothetical personalities, the duty to choose the proper principles of justice because they all want to participate in the selection of principles as equal and free beings. A sufficient condition for citizens' equality is the natural attribute of the ability to have a sense of justice. Thus, the parties themselves also consider the sense of justice as goodness and must identify the principles that can facilitate it. This second step marks the end of Rawls's demonstration, in which goodness is created in accordance with rightness.

1.2 Practical Solipsism

The reconstruction of Rawls's demonstration exposes the affinity between the idea of the subject in *TJ* Part III and the subject in Kant's moral philosophy. The emerging sense of justice is considered goodness both in the original position and in real social life. As a consequence of their natural attributes, citizens in a well-ordered society tend to value the desire to conduct themselves justly and view the institutions that support and promote such desire as worth pursuing. "Thus human beings have in fact shared final ends and they value their common institutions and activities as good in themselves" (Rawls, 1999, p. 458). However, when final ends are settled, other ends that citizens have initially held lose their importance. Acting from principles of justice and constructing a constitution based on these principles show an absolute primacy over individuals' private ends. In this sense, morally autonomous citizens in a well-ordered society are reduced to one single-minded subject that acts only in relation to final ends. Simply put, citizens' plurality is canceled by the domination of such ends. In Rawls's theory of justice, the idea of the subject ultimately falls into the practically solipsistic subject emerging from Kant's moral philosophy.

Along with the idea of the subject as something that collapses into the only kind aiming at final ends, the agreement between goodness and rightness is identified with the highest good that Kant elaborated in *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788).

The concept of "highest" contains an ambiguity that, if not attended to, can occasion unnecessary disputes. The "highest" can mean the "supreme (*supremum*)" or the "perfect (*consummatum*)."¹ . . . Inasmuch as virtue and happiness together constitute the possession of the highest good for one person, and happiness in exact proportion to morality (as the worth of a person and his worthiness to be happy) constitutes that of a possible world, the perfect good. (V 110)¹

As a perfect whole, the highest good demands that happiness be distributed in proportion to the subject's morality. This way, the single-minded subject is entitled to enjoy a realization of justice and morality through the development of their capacity for moral personality and morally autonomous conduct. In any possible world, the harmony that arises between goodness and rightness itself is the highest good. In a 1981 lecture, Rawls expresses his satisfaction with the affinity between his conception and Kant's moral philosophy. "Rather, the role and exercise of these powers (in the appropriate instances) is a condition of good. . . . In particular, their just and honorable (and fully autonomous) conduct renders them, as Kant would say,

¹ This study's citations of Kant's works are located by volume and page number of the Akademie edition: *Kants gesammelte Schriften*, herausgegeben von der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Walter de Gruyter, 1900). For translation of *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*: Kant, I. (1993). *Critique of Practical Reason*. Beck, L.W. (trans.). Macmillan Inc.

worthy of happiness; it makes their accomplishments wholly admirable and their pleasures completely good” (Rawls, 1982, p. 49).

As expounded in the previous two parts of *TJ*, this solipsistic idea of the subject is in conflict with Rawls’s thought. In the sixth section of Part I, Rawls compares his conception of justice to classical utilitarianism, one of the main positions that he objects to: “A second contrast is that whereas the utilitarian extends to society the principle of choice for one man, justice as fairness, being a contract view, assumes that the principles of social choice, and so the principles of justice, are themselves the object of an original agreement” (Rawls, 1999, p. 25). Classical utilitarianism posits that individuals would choose the principle that maximizes the number of values to give order to all such values. When this individual way of thinking is broadly applied to society as a whole, the appropriate principle for regulating society is the one that maximizes the total amount of value in it. However, “to do this is not to take seriously the plurality and distinctness of individuals” (Rawls, 1999, p. 26). Classic utilitarianism introduces a nonpersonal perspective that views individuals less favorably. Based on this viewpoint, individuals are no more than vessels of values that can be calculated collectively, and their diversity is therefore ignored.

In contrast, the conception of justice assumes that “the plurality of distinct persons with separate systems of ends is an essential feature of human societies” (Rawls, 1999, p. 25). While classic utilitarianism posits that inefficient values can be sacrificed to maximize the entire value set, a conception of justice necessarily grants equal status to the value of all ends and acknowledges the plural nature of individuals and their differences. When we understand how Rawls opposes classic utilitarianism here, we should also be aware of why Part III of *TJ* is incompatible with the previous parts. In a real lifeworld, we certainly cannot expect all citizens to voluntarily reduce themselves to being no more than the solipsistic subject of Kant’s moral philosophy on practical issues. Instead, their plural and diverse existence is a plain fact and a starting point for *TJ*. Because Part III of *TJ* relies on an idea of the subject derived from Kant’s moral philosophy, the idea of a well-ordered society is unrealistic and puts Rawls in conflict with himself.

2. Justice Grounded in Reflective Judgment

After Rawls realized in the 1980s that incorporating the idea of the subject in Kant’s moral philosophy would lead to inconsistency within his theory of justice, he abandoned Kant’s comprehensive doctrine and sought new sources for validity in justice. This section argues that, although Rawls himself does not directly resort to the Kantian paradigm of reflective judgment, it could offer validity for the theory of justice that he reconstructs in *PL*.

2.1 Intersubjectivity of Reflective Judgment

First, I highlight certain reflective judgment characteristics as understood in Kant's works and in Hannah Arendt's (1982) interpretation of them in political philosophy.² In *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790), Kant argues that reflective judgment is to be distinguished from determining judgment in that in the latter, the universal is given, and the task of the power of judgment is to subsume the particulars under the universal, while in the former, universal laws or categories are not given in advance. Hence, the power of judgment takes on the task of finding possible universal laws through a reflection on the particular. Kant believes that, whereas individual subjects' judgments are definitely subjective, they may also include some universal elements. The key point here is to reveal the mechanism underlying these nonsubjective elements.

In section 40 of *Critique of the Power of Judgment*, Kant derives three ways of thinking through the idea of the *sensus communis* as follows:

The following maxims of the common human understanding do not belong here, to be sure, as parts of the critique of taste, but can nevertheless serve to elucidate its fundamental principles. They are the following: 1. To think for oneself; 2. To think in the position of everyone else; 3. Always to think in accord with oneself. The first is the maxim of the **unprejudiced** way of thinking, the second of the **broad-minded** way, the third that of the **consistent** way. (V 294, emphasis in the original)³

The approach prompts the subject to withdraw from every prejudice or authority and think using only their own reason. When we are overwhelmed by prejudices, we would have no space for reflection. Hence, the second way of thinking, the most important one for reflective judgment, is not introduced until the first has been acquired. The approach to thinking encourages subjects to broaden their minds so that they can think from everyone else's position. However, as long as others' judgments have yet to be reflected on, accepting them as they are merely means "to exchange their prejudices for the prejudices proper to my own station" (Arendt,

² The first part of *Critique of the Power of Judgment* addresses reflective judgment in the aesthetics context. Kant explains the kind of objects that can be called beautiful or sublime using the function of reflective judgment. Subjects who form reflective judgments are unaffected by the concept of the object and therefore do not desire its existence or realization. Thus, Kant believes that reflective judgment as elaborated in the context of aesthetics is irrelevant to practice insofar as it does not motivate our actions. Hannah Arendt (1982) offers a bold and innovative interpretation of Kant's theory of reflective judgment, applying reflective judgment to the political and practical fields and guiding actions using regulative ideas implicit in reflective judgment. Drawing on her interpretation, this study explores the possibility of applying reflective judgment to political philosophy. In this sense, I resort not to Kant but rather to a Kantian theory of reflective judgment.

³ For translation, I use Kant I. (2000). *Critique of the Power of Judgment*. Guyer, P. & Matthews, E. (trans.). Cambridge University Press.

1982, p. 43). Instead, subjects must reflect on others' actual judgments and remove the contingent elements attached to those judgments. This purification process allows possible positions from others to be represented. Subjects can then reflect on their initial thoughts to convince others in different positions of their new judgment. Third, thinking must take a consistent approach to lead to a final thought that ensures no contradiction within the self. This outcome of reflective judgment is called common sense, which is assumed to be generally communicable to others.

After going through all three ways of thinking—especially the second—the result of reflective judgment acquires a special universality between pure subjectivity and an objective universality of supersensible laws. While this indeed begins from purely subjective judgment, the subjectivity is stripped away during reflection; it does not rely on the objective universality provided by supersensible sources such as moral law and final ends. “The nonsubjective element in the nonobjective senses is intersubjectivity” (Arendt, 1982, p. 67). The scope of the intersubjectivity of reflective judgment is limited to the scale of others who are expected to agree with the judgment's result. The subject must seek the possible consent of others with whom they share a reality. The greater the number of those who agree, the wider the scope of intersubjectivity. The validity of reflective judgment presupposes the existence of others who embody plurality and diversity. By its nature, the Kantian theory of reflective judgment can overcome practical solipsism and become a new source of validity.

2.2 Reflective Judgment in *PL*

I turn to *PL* to illustrate how reflective judgment facilitates Rawls's reconstruction of his theory of justice. Many scholars have observed the role played by (wide) reflective judgment in *PL*, and most of their arguments concentrate on Rawls's methodology of (wide) reflective equilibrium (Cf. Thiebaut, 2008; Okochi, 2019). This method demands us to move back and forth between particular judgments and general principles to revise each in light of the other. It considers both particular judgments and general principles to be fallible; that is, the principles applied in Rawls's conception of justice hold no objective universality. Instead, the power of reflective judgment must be used to develop the principles so that they can get closer to the universal. I fully approve of the relation between reflective equilibrium and Kantian reflective judgment, and this study may be viewed as a supplement to such a relation. I will illustrate this link by examining three ideas essential to *PL*: the idea of the reasonable, the idea of public reason, and the idea of overlapping consensus.

In *PL*, Rawls's starting point is the modern democratic society. He believes that the basic ideas of individuals and of society are implicit in the political culture of such a society and constitute the cornerstone of the theory of justice (Cf. Rawls, 2005, pp. 13–14). We first encounter the application of reflective judgment although this does not appear within the theory. That is, the application takes place not on the level of the parties and the original position or that of citizens and the living world but on the level of Rawls and the reader. Rawls does not justify his introduction of these ideas; instead, they are in fact the result of his own reflection

on political culture assuming that they can successfully convey his argument to his readers. Rawls believes that these ideas are sufficiently intersubjective to be publicly shared by the members of a modern democratic society (including Rawls and us readers).

Regarding the content of these ideas, as described in section 1, it is the practically solipsistic idea of the subject that causes *TJ* to contradict itself. Therefore, I will focus on the idea of the subject here. Rawls argues that subjects in a modern democratic society must be equal and free individuals because only such individuals have the need and capacity for social cooperation. Again, for individuals to be as such, they must acquire the ability to have a sense of justice and the ability to have a conception of the good. However, unlike the case of *TJ*, these two abilities are now combined with the idea of the reasonable and the idea of the rational.

The ability to possess a conception of the good refers to rationality and exhibiting the subject's isolated aspect. Put another way, through rational consideration, subjects themselves can determine what ends to pursue through rational consideration, ignoring what others might think. Conversely, the ability to possess a sense of justice is a reasonable one that exhibits the social aspect of the subject's interconnection with others. This reasonable aspect involves two elements, one of which is related to the concept of the burden of judgment, which posits that even if everyone makes a determination on certain public issues using all available wisdom and honesty, not everyone will arrive at the same conclusion as the grounds of judgments are so different across persons. However, this does not necessarily mean that some grounds are unreasonable; on the contrary, the burden of judgment leads subjects to realize that there are many others who are of a different mind but are as reasonable. The concept reveals to the subject reasonable pluralism, which is a fundamental aspect of modern democratic society. Subjects are reasonable to the extent they are aware of and bear the burden of judgment.

Rawls explains the other element as follows:

Persons are reasonable in one basic aspect when, among equals say, they are ready to propose principles and standards as fair terms of cooperation and to abide by them willingly, given the assurance that others will likewise do so. Those norms they view as reasonable for everyone to accept and therefore as justifiable to them; and they are ready to discuss the fair terms that others propose. (Rawls, 2005, p. 49)

When subjects propose any principle they consider applicable to social life, they must assume that it could be justified to others and everyone could have the will to act according to it. "It is by the reasonable that we enter the public world of others and stand ready to propose, or accept, as the case may be, reasonable principles to specify fair terms of cooperation" (Rawls, 2005, p. 53). In such a public world, the motivating function of the principles of justice depends on whether these principles can be assumed valid on an intersubjective basis. Consequently, the reasonable ability to possess a sense of justice concerns not only the subject's natural attribute but also displaying a reasonable attitude in relation to others. Such an ability is actually one that adopts broad-minded thinking and examines whether the universality (which is the principles of justice in Rawls's case) would be acceptable

to others. Therefore, in *PL*, the power of reflective judgment plays an essential role again.

This ability to construct reflective judgments is closely linked to two other important features of *PL*: the idea of public reason and the idea of an overlapping consensus. As previously discussed, in *PL*, the subjects are citizens of a modern democratic society that features plurality and diversity. When citizens with such different minds discourse on fundamental public issues, any agreement is impossible to reach if each individual adheres to grounds that are valid only for themselves. To guide society in a way that is fair and acceptable to all free and equal citizens, each must comply with the constraints of the regulative idea of public reason in the political field. “The point of the ideal of public reason is that citizens are to conduct their fundamental discussions within the framework of what each regards as a political conception of justice based on values that the other can reasonably be expected to endorse and each is, in good faith, prepared to defend that conception so understood” (Rawls, 2005, p. 226). Simply put, citizens should debate on grounds that make sense for others.⁴ Consequently, private beliefs that are only valid for an individual must be precluded from all public discussions and decisions about political affairs. Again, we must withdraw from practical solipsism and use the power of reflective judgment to think from others’ positions. “The chapter on public reason is one of the sections of *Political Liberalism* in which the presence of a newly developing judgment-oriented understanding of the operation of reason . . . is most visible” (Ferrara, 1999, p. 25).

Restricted by public reason, intersubjective principles, constitutions, and ordinary laws as the result of citizens’ public debate can constitute the core of an overlapping consensus of many doctrines and beliefs. On the one hand, the subjects’ plurality and diversity are preserved in this case, and they can continue to believe in their own doctrines or religions. On the other hand, the political sphere is independent of private doctrines and beliefs. Principles, laws, and institutional arrangements that have passed the reflective judgment test are considered acceptable to everyone in this sphere. Regardless of their private beliefs, people are assumed to endorse one set of principles, constitutions, and institutional arrangements in the political field as long as they are reasonable beings. Thus, doctrines and beliefs that are disparate or even hostile to each other could reach consensus to the degree they are restrained in the political sphere. The idea of an overlapping consensus presents the possibility that various doctrines and beliefs and the citizens who believe in them can coexist in one society. To reach a consensus, citizens must use the power of reflective judgment to think from the positions of others.

⁴ Because of the burden of judgment, citizens still find it difficult to reach the same judgment even with the idea of public reason, which only relieves such a challenge and does not eliminate it. Nevertheless, we must respect the idea as regulative and work toward realizing it in society.

Conclusion

To prevent the potential self-contradiction arising from the solipsistic subject, Rawls reconstructs the idea of the subject in *PL*. Subjects' reasonable aspect allows them to both realize the existence of others who have different minds and use their reflective judgment power to propose intersubjective principles of justice through thinking in others' positions. The intersubjectivity of the principles of justice is itself the source of its motivating function, constituting the first reason why a society consisting of citizens capable of reflective judgment is sustainable.

Furthermore, once intersubjectivity derived from reflective judgment becomes a new validity criterion, all purely subjective ways of thinking and the grounds resulting from them must be excluded from the political field. Political arrangements can be fair to all free and equal citizens only when the public use of reason is regulated by the idea of public reason. Within such a constraint, various beliefs and doctrines may reach an overlapping consensus in the public sphere. This overlapping consensus is the second reason why a society composed of citizens with such different minds can endure over the long term.

In the three basic elements—the subject, the validity of the principles of justice, and the sustainability of society—Kantian reflective judgment plays an indispensable role. In this sense, Rawls's work continues to be a successor to Kantian theory.

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From Bengal to Japan: The Impact of Mukul Chandra Dey on Indo-Japanese Art Interactions

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Abstract: Mukul Chandra Dey (1895-1985), a pioneering Indian artist, played a crucial role in this transnational cultural exchange. Dey, one of the first Indian artists to study in Japan, deeply engaged with traditional Japanese woodcut printing techniques, incorporating them into his own artistic practices. His work represents a unique synthesis of Japanese aesthetics and Indian sensibilities, contributing to the evolution of modern Indian art. Despite his significant contributions, Dey's role in this cultural interaction has been largely overlooked in both Indian and Japanese art history. This research seeks to address the underrepresentation of Mukul Dey's contributions by re-examining his work within the context of Indo-Japanese cultural relations. By focusing on Dey's engagement with Japanese art and its influence on his oeuvre, this study fills a critical gap in the scholarship, offering new insights into the artistic exchanges that shaped modern cultural landscapes in both India and Japan. Dey's work stands as a testament to the deep and enduring connection between the two nations.

Introduction

Mukul Chandra Dey's artistic journey, particularly his experiences in Japan, is an intriguing tale of cultural discovery and exchange. His book, “আমার কথা ও জাপান” (Aamar Katha O Japan), serves as a window into this transformative period of his life, shedding light on the personal and artistic growth he experienced through his time in Japan and his collaboration with Rabindranath Tagore. Dey's work in Japan is not just a record of his artistic journey, but also an exploration of how the two nations—India and Japan—interacted through the medium of art during a time of heightened cultural exchange.

Dey was fascinated by Japan's rich artistic traditions, particularly the art of **ukiyo-e**¹ (Japanese woodblock prints) and the technique of **sumi-e**² (Japanese ink painting). This influence was pivotal for Dey, who sought to integrate Japanese aesthetic techniques into his own practice. He became deeply engrossed in woodblock printing, a technique that was at the heart of Japanese art and culture, and he spent time learning from Japanese masters in Tokyo and Kyoto. He was also

¹ Refers to Japanese woodblock prints, flourishing during the Edo period (1603–1868). Mukul Chandra Dey was deeply influenced by this art form, which emphasized everyday life, nature, and simplicity.

² A traditional Japanese ink painting technique rooted in Zen Buddhism. Dey's exposure to this style shaped his approach to minimalism and spirituality in art.

introduced to Japanese calligraphy, which complemented his interest in the visual arts.

Dey's exposure to Japanese art and philosophy transformed his style. It was in Japan that Dey's approach to printmaking matured, and he learned to embrace the spiritual aspects of Japanese art, focusing on nature and simplicity³, which resonated deeply with his own cultural and philosophical upbringing in India. The fusion of Indian and Japanese artistic sensibilities that he explored would later influence his work, and he was one of the first Indian artists to adopt and adapt these techniques in a distinctive way.

Mukul Dey's connection to Rabindranath Tagore⁴ is another crucial element in understanding his time in Japan. Tagore, a towering figure in Indian literature and philosophy, had a deep respect for Japan and its culture. He visited Japan in 1916 and developed a strong bond with its people and traditions. Tagore's works were deeply influenced by his experiences in the country, and his appreciation for Japanese aesthetics can be seen in his poems, paintings, and other creative pursuits.

Dey, being close to Tagore, was deeply influenced by his philosophy and worldview. Tagore saw art as a bridge between nations, and he emphasized the importance of cultural exchanges in fostering mutual understanding and peace. Through his association with Tagore, Dey was encouraged to engage more deeply with Japanese culture. The two shared an intellectual and artistic kinship, which extended to their mutual admiration for Japan's artistic practices.

Tagore and Dey together explored the possibility of cross-cultural dialogue between India and Japan. They believed in the power of art to transcend national boundaries, and their shared vision contributed to the fostering of a broader, more inclusive artistic community. Dey's book "Aamar Katha O Japan" reflects this idea, highlighting how his time in Japan, alongside his intellectual and artistic exchanges with Tagore, shaped his creative output.

In "Aamar Katha O Japan", Dey recounts not only his personal experiences in Japan but also reflects on the broader cultural dialogue that took place between India and Japan during the early 20th century. The book includes his thoughts on the importance of cross-cultural interactions, and it offers insights into how these exchanges were influential in the development of modern Indian art. Through anecdotes, reflections, and artistic observations, Dey paints a vivid picture of a time when India and Japan were engaging in profound cultural exchanges that had lasting impacts on their respective artistic communities.

Dey's exploration of Japanese art is not simply a story of artistic influence; it is also a narrative of intellectual and philosophical exchange. Through his writings and artwork, Dey emphasizes the shared values between Indian and Japanese culture, such as an appreciation for nature, spirituality, and simplicity. His time in

³ Core principles in both Japanese and Indian art traditions, reflected in Dey's works and his integration of spiritual themes.

⁴ Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), a Bengali polymath, was the first Asian Nobel laureate in Literature (1913) and a key figure in fostering cultural dialogues between India and Japan.

Japan allowed him to see how art could be a universal language, one that transcended borders and connected people across the world.

Dey's book is more than just an account of his travels; it is an intellectual meditation on the role of art in society, the importance of cultural collaboration, and the unique ways in which different cultures can learn from one another. The bond between Dey, Tagore, and Japan is a symbol of the broader effort to create a global artistic community, one that transcends political boundaries and embraces cultural diversity.

Mukul Chandra Dey's time in Japan, and his collaboration with Rabindranath Tagore, left a lasting legacy on the Indian art scene. Dey became an important figure in the promotion of printmaking in India, and his work continues to inspire generations of artists. The cultural exchanges that Dey participated in between India and Japan helped to establish stronger ties between the two nations, particularly in the fields of art and culture. Dey's engagement with Japanese art introduced new techniques and ideas that reshaped Indian visual culture, and his personal experiences offered a deep understanding of how art can foster international goodwill.

Through "Aamar Katha O Japan", Mukul Dey shares a part of this profound journey, revealing how his time in Japan and his collaboration with Tagore contributed to the growth of modern art in India, and how the cultural bridges built between India and Japan continue to resonate today.

Mukul Chandra Dey: A Legacy of Cross-Cultural Artistry

Mukul Chandra Dey's journey as an artist reflects a profound blend of Indian tradition and modern influences, shaped by the rich cultural exchanges between India and Japan. Born in Dhaka in 1895, Dey was introduced to art at an early age. His training under Abanindranath Tagore⁵ was foundational in shaping his artistic vision. Abanindranath's emphasis on reviving Indian traditional art through a modern lens had a lasting impact on Dey's development as an artist. This early exposure to the ideals of the Bengal School, which sought to blend Indian classical art with modern Western techniques, inspired Dey to explore both the traditional and the contemporary in his own work.

Dey's early works demonstrated his adeptness in a variety of mediums, but it was his unique style of merging Indian themes with modern aesthetics that caught the attention of art connoisseurs. Maharaja Bijaychand Mohatab⁶, recognizing Dey's talent, purchased several of his paintings, thus providing the young artist with critical recognition. This patronage allowed him to continue his artistic journey and explore new horizons.

⁵ The pioneer of the Bengal School of Art, known for his efforts to revive Indian traditional art and for inspiring a generation of Indian artists, including Mukul Chandra Dey.

⁶ A patron of the arts who supported Mukul Chandra Dey by purchasing his works, enabling him to pursue his artistic endeavors.

A significant turning point in Dey's life came in 1916, when Rabindranath Tagore, recognizing his potential, invited him to accompany him on a trip to Japan. This journey would prove to be transformative, shaping Dey's artistic career in profound ways. At the time, Japan was a center of vibrant artistic innovation, and Dey found himself immersed in the world of Nihonga—a traditional style of Japanese painting that emphasized the use of natural materials, brushwork, and an intimate connection with nature. This encounter with the Nihonga movement, particularly the works of Taikan Yokoyama and Kanzan Shimomura, opened new avenues for Dey's artistic expression.

Taikan Yokoyama, a leading figure in the Nihonga movement, was known for his blending of traditional Japanese techniques with modern elements. Similarly, Kanzan Shimomura⁷ was renowned for his ability to infuse spirituality and nature into his paintings, capturing the essence of the Japanese landscape through minimalistic brushstrokes. These influences resonated deeply with Dey, who began incorporating elements of Japanese ink painting, calligraphy, and brush techniques into his own work. The spiritual connection between art and nature that Dey observed in Japanese art profoundly affected his creative process. The minimalist aesthetics of Japanese painting, with its emphasis on simplicity, harmony, and the beauty of the natural world, became central to Dey's artistic vision.

Dey's time in Japan was not just a period of personal artistic growth, but also a crucial phase in the broader cultural exchange between India and Japan. As a close disciple of Rabindranath Tagore, who was already forging deep ties with Japan through his intellectual and artistic endeavors, Dey became an important link in the growing cultural dialogue between the two nations. Tagore's admiration for Japanese art, particularly the work of Okakura Tenshin, had already set the stage for an intellectual and artistic collaboration between the two countries. Dey's firsthand experience in Japan, paired with his ability to absorb and adapt Japanese techniques, allowed him to bring a unique perspective back to India, further strengthening the artistic connections between the two cultures.

Upon returning to India, Dey's work began to reflect this fusion of influences. He incorporated Japanese ink techniques with Indian themes, creating works that were both deeply rooted in Indian tradition and informed by his experiences in Japan. His art began to incorporate the spiritual and natural elements he had encountered in Japan, while also celebrating the rich cultural heritage of India. Dey's work became a symbol of the cross-cultural exchange that was taking place between the two countries in the early 20th century.

One of the key aspects of Dey's art was his mastery of woodblock printing, a technique he had explored during his time in Japan. Japanese woodblock printing, or ukiyo-e, was known for its delicate and intricate designs, often depicting nature, landscapes, and daily life. Dey adopted and adapted this technique, blending it with Indian themes to create works that bridged the gap between Japanese and Indian

⁷ A renowned Nihonga artist known for infusing spirituality and nature into his paintings, whose work resonated with Dey's artistic vision.

artistic traditions. This fusion of Indian and Japanese elements allowed Dey to contribute to the growing movement of modern Indian art, which was increasingly shaped by international influences.

Dey's artistic contributions were not limited to his paintings and prints. His role in the cultural exchange between India and Japan was also significant in the realm of education. He shared his knowledge of Japanese art techniques with other artists, particularly those at Santiniketan, the art school founded by Rabindranath Tagore. Many of the students at Santiniketan, such as Nandalal Bose and Asit Kumar Haldar, were influenced by Dey's work and his exposure to Japanese art. Through his teaching and personal example, Dey played a pivotal role in fostering a broader understanding of Japanese aesthetics in India.

Mukul Chandra Dey's legacy as an artist and cultural ambassador extends beyond his individual works. His life and career are emblematic of the vibrant cultural exchange that defined the early 20th century, particularly between India and Japan. Through his work, Dey helped to shape the future of modern Indian art while celebrating the deep spiritual and aesthetic connections between the two countries. His artistic journey—shaped by his early mentorship under Abanindranath Tagore, his transformative trip to Japan, and his continued influence in India—stands as a testament to the power of cross-cultural exchange and the enduring impact of artistic collaboration.

Today, Mukul Chandra Dey is remembered not only for his technical mastery and creative vision but also for his role in deepening the artistic and intellectual bond between India and Japan. His work remains a significant part of the artistic heritage of both nations, embodying the rich legacy of the artistic dialogue he helped foster.

Bridging Cultures: The Artistic and Intellectual Exchange Between India and Japan through Tagore and Okakura Tenshin

The historic meeting between Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin in 1902 not only marked a personal connection between two towering figures but also became a symbol of the intellectual and cultural synergy between India and Japan. This meeting was pivotal in fostering cross-cultural exchanges that had profound long-term impacts on both countries' artistic and educational landscapes. The dialogue that began between Tagore and Okakura transcended diplomacy and laid the groundwork for a series of collaborations that deeply influenced modern Indian art and the educational vision of Santiniketan.

Tagore's Admiration for Japanese Art

Rabindranath Tagore's admiration for Japanese art was both philosophical and aesthetic. He was particularly inspired by the Japanese artist Taikan Yokoyama and the painter Shunso Hishida⁸, both of whom were central to the Nihonga (Japanese traditional painting) movement, which blended Western techniques with traditional

⁸ Another prominent Nihonga painter, known for his innovative use of color and light to infuse traditional Japanese art with modern sensibilities.

Japanese styles. Tagore appreciated how these artists brought a modern sensibility to the traditional, intertwining spirituality and nature in their work. This deeply resonated with Tagore's own vision of art as a means of spiritual expression and human connection.

Tagore's understanding of Japanese art influenced his vision for Santiniketan, the cultural and educational institution he founded in 1901. Tagore wanted to create a space where Eastern and Western philosophies could converge, emphasizing the importance of nature, simplicity, and spirituality, all core tenets of Japanese art. He was inspired by Japan's deep integration of art and nature, a principle that he sought to infuse into the curriculum at Santiniketan. In this regard, Japan's aesthetic emphasis on simplicity and nature's spiritual significance resonated with Tagore's own ideals for an education that connected individuals to the natural world and to deeper, more holistic understandings of human existence.

Santiniketan: A hub for cultural exchange

Santiniketan quickly became a beacon of cultural exchange, particularly with Japan. It was here that Tagore's vision for integrating Eastern and Western philosophies began to take shape. Many Japanese intellectuals, artists, and scholars visited Santiniketan, contributing to the cross-cultural dialogue. Arai Kanpo renowned Japanese artist, invited to work on replicating the ancient Ajanta murals in Santiniketan. Their work added a new dimension to Santiniketan's artistic endeavors, introducing Japanese methods and aesthetic principles.

Among the many figures deeply impacted by this cross-cultural exchange was Nandalal Bose, a close disciple of Tagore and one of the foremost modern Indian artists. Bose, known for his pioneering contributions to Indian art, was profoundly influenced by Japanese aesthetics, particularly the Japanese ink techniques and calligraphy. His time in Japan helped him refine his understanding of Japanese artistic practices, which he then incorporated into his own work. As a key figure in the Kala Bhavan (Art Department) at Santiniketan, Bose played a crucial role in introducing Japanese art techniques to his students, including the use of Japanese ink and brushwork.

Bose's exposure to Japan contributed to his signature style, which blended elements of Indian tradition with modern techniques. His teachings at Santiniketan created a fertile ground for further artistic exploration, where the integration of Japanese techniques and Indian traditions became a hallmark of modern Indian art.

Mukul Chandra Dey: A key contributor

Mukul Chandra Dey, a prominent artist in Bengal, became one of the most significant figures in this cultural exchange. Like his contemporaries Nandalal Bose and Asit Kumar Haldar⁹, Dey was deeply influenced by Japanese art, particularly the technique of woodblock printing. Under Tagore's guidance, Dey was

⁹ Prominent Indian artists and contemporaries of Mukul Chandra Dey, who were similarly influenced by Japanese art and contributed to the development of modern Indian art.

introduced to the techniques and philosophies of Japanese art, which led him to adopt and adapt these methods into his own artistic practice.

Dey's exposure to Japanese art, particularly ukiyo-e (woodblock prints), was an essential part of his artistic evolution. He studied the intricate methods of Japanese printmaking, which emphasized the use of vibrant colors, flat forms, and symbolic depictions of nature and human life. These elements were incorporated into Dey's work, and he became one of the first Indian artists to integrate woodblock printing techniques into modern Indian art. Dey's personal account of this cultural immersion is encapsulated in his book "Aamar Katha O Japan", where he reflects on his time in Japan and the impact it had on his artistic journey. The book offers valuable insight into his experiences in Japan and highlights how his work became a bridge between two cultures.

The cultural exchange between India and Japan in the early 20th century had far-reaching effects on both countries. In India, it helped shape the development of modern Indian art, introducing new techniques and philosophies that enriched the artistic landscape. It also played a key role in the educational reforms introduced by Tagore at Santiniketan, where the emphasis on nature, simplicity, and spirituality found resonance in Japanese practices. This exchange also paved the way for future generations of Indian artists to engage with Japanese art and philosophy, creating a legacy of cross-cultural collaboration.

For Japan, the exchange with India helped broaden the understanding of Indian culture and art. Japanese artists, intellectuals, and scholars who interacted with Tagore and his disciples gained a deeper appreciation for the rich cultural heritage of India, which influenced their work and thinking. The idea of integrating spirituality, nature, and modernity—central to both Indian and Japanese philosophies—became a shared theme in the art of both countries.

The meeting between Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin in 1902 marked the beginning of a dynamic cultural exchange that transcended national borders, fostering deep intellectual and artistic collaborations. Figures like Nandalal Bose, and Mukul Chandra Dey played central roles in the artistic dialogue between India and Japan, integrating Japanese techniques with Indian traditions and contributing to the development of modern Indian art. Santiniketan, under Tagore's vision, became a central hub for this exchange, where ideas and artistic practices from both India and Japan flourished. This historical connection between the two countries continues to resonate in the ongoing cultural collaborations between India and Japan today.

Cultural Immersion and Artistic Mentorship: Mukul Dey's Transformative Journey in Japan

Upon arriving in Japan, Rabindranath Tagore and Mukul Chandra Dey were met with an outpouring of hospitality. Their arrival in Kobe was marked by a grand welcoming ceremony, signaling the start of their cultural exchange. One of the most memorable experiences was being invited to a traditional tea ceremony hosted by the Osaka Asahi Shinbun, a gesture reflecting the mutual admiration and respect between the two cultures. This event, along with other receptions and gatherings,

offered both men a rare opportunity to immerse themselves in Japanese culture on a personal level. Through these interactions with local artists, intellectuals, and dignitaries, Tagore and Dey were able to witness firsthand the subtle nuances of Japanese art, philosophy, and social customs, deepening their understanding of Japan's rich cultural heritage.

For Mukul Dey, a particularly transformative moment during the visit was his encounter with Taikan Yokoyama, a leading figure in the Nihonga painting tradition. Recognizing Dey's potential, Yokoyama encouraged him to explore his own artistic expression with greater depth and focus. Under Yokoyama's mentorship, Dey was introduced to the traditional Japanese painting techniques that were central to the Nihonga movement, such as ink painting, brushwork, and the minimalist aesthetics that emphasized the connection between art and nature. This guidance had a profound influence on Dey's work, helping him refine his style and incorporating these techniques into his own creations. The spiritual and philosophical dimensions of Japanese painting, which emphasized a deep harmony with nature, would later become an integral part of Dey's artistic vision, shaping his work upon his return to India.

Observations on Japanese Art

Mukul Chandra Dey's encounter with Japanese art profoundly altered his artistic trajectory, offering him a new lens through which to view the world of visual expression. Coming from a background shaped by Indian and Western artistic traditions, Dey found himself captivated by the distinctive qualities of Japanese art, which emphasized fluidity, grace, and a harmonious relationship with nature.¹⁰ The Japanese style, particularly within the Nihonga tradition, was characterized by its emphasis on minimalism, expressive brushstrokes, and a focus on capturing the inner spirit of the subject, rather than just a faithful representation. This was in stark contrast to the highly detailed, perspective-driven works of Western art, which often prioritized technical precision and realism. In Japanese art, the process of creation was considered just as important as the finished product, with a strong focus on the emotional resonance and spiritual energy imbued in the work.

For Dey, this approach to art was both refreshing and deeply inspiring. He was drawn to the spirituality embedded in Japanese art, where the use of ink, brush, and paper was seen as a meditative practice, linking the artist with the natural world and the rhythms of life itself. The minimalist style of Japanese painting¹¹, where every stroke of the brush held significance, encouraged Dey to explore his own emotions through his art in a more personal and introspective way. The ability of Japanese artists to convey profound depth and complexity through a limited palette and simple lines resonated with Dey, as it mirrored the Indian tradition of using

¹⁰ Key characteristics of Japanese art that captivated Dey and contrasted with the technical precision of Western art.

¹¹ Refers to the art form's ability to convey profound meaning through simplicity, influencing Dey's exploration of introspective and symbolic expression.

symbolic gestures to express broader philosophical or spiritual truths. This exposure to Japanese techniques—including ink wash, delicate brushwork, and asymmetrical compositions—encouraged Dey to integrate these elements into his own style. By blending the intricate detailing of Western art with the subtle beauty and spirituality of Japanese aesthetics, Dey was able to develop a unique voice that transcended the boundaries of conventional artistic expression.

Influence of Arai Kampo

Another figure who played a pivotal role in Dey's artistic journey was Arai Kampo, a respected Japanese artist known for his dedication to replicating the Ajanta murals¹². Kampo had been invited to India by Rabindranath Tagore to study and reproduce these ancient Indian murals, which are famed for their historical and cultural richness. When Dey and Kampo met in Ajanta, their collaboration transcended mere artistic exchange.¹³ Dey, already an accomplished artist, was eager to learn from Kampo's meticulous technique and his understanding of both Indian and Japanese art forms. Kampo's efforts in replicating the murals were not just about reproducing the images but about understanding the spiritual essence and cultural significance behind them. Kampo's approach to art emphasized precision, discipline, and the deep philosophical reflection that accompanied the creation of each piece. Dey found inspiration in this method, which encouraged him to adopt a more refined and considered approach to his own work.

Their collaboration was especially important because it marked a fusion of two distinct cultural traditions: the intricacy and boldness of Indian art, as represented by the Ajanta murals, and the subtlety and refinement of Japanese techniques. Through his interactions with Kampo, Dey gained a deeper understanding of how to merge Indian thematic content with Japanese aesthetic techniques. Kampo's attention to detail, his brushwork, and his exploration of color and texture deeply influenced Dey, helping him develop a unique style that bridged the gap between the Indian and Japanese artistic worlds. This artistic exchange also contributed to the broader Indo-Japanesecultural dialogue, helping to foster a mutual respect and admiration between the two nations' art communities.

Mukul Dey's Legacy

Mukul Chandra Dey's legacy is one of cultural synthesis and artistic innovation. His work stands as a testament to the power of cross-cultural exchange and the deep impact that such encounters can have on an artist's development. Dey's efforts to replicate the Ajanta murals, one of India's most significant cultural treasures, underscored his dedication to preserving the rich historical and spiritual heritage of

¹² Refers to Kampo's efforts to study and reproduce these ancient Indian paintings, significant for their historical and artistic value, often seen as a fusion of spirituality and artistry.

¹³ Indicates that the partnership between Dey and Kampo was not only about sharing techniques but also about deeper cultural and philosophical insights.

India. However, it was his transformative experience in Japan that truly shaped the trajectory of his art. Dey was one of the few Indian artists of his time to fully integrate the subtlety and minimalist aesthetics of Japanese art with the boldness and symbolic depth of Indian art.

The influence of Japanese brush techniques, ink painting, and the spirituality inherent in Japanese art allowed Dey to deepen his creative exploration, blending the best of both worlds. His ability to combine these influences was not only reflected in his own work but also in his contributions to Santiniketan, where he shared his knowledge with other artists. His interactions with Rabindranath Tagore, Arai Kampo, and Taikan Yokoyama were instrumental in shaping his understanding of how art could transcend cultural boundaries and express universal truths. By bridging the gap between Indian and Japanese traditions, Dey played a crucial role in the development of modern Indian art, encouraging future generations of artists to embrace international influences while remaining grounded in their cultural roots.

Dey's legacy continues to resonate today, not only for his technical mastery but for his role in fostering an artistic dialogue that spanned continents and cultures. His work remains a powerful example of how cross-cultural exchange can lead to the creation of new artistic paradigms, enriching the cultural landscapes of both countries. By melding the best aspects of Indian and Japanese art, Dey helped create a shared artistic vision that continues to inspire artists around the world. His life and work stand as a lasting tribute to the unifying power of art and its ability to transcend national and cultural boundaries.

Conclusion

Mukul Chandra Dey's journey to Japan was not just an artistic pilgrimage, but a transformative cultural exchange that significantly influenced both his personal artistic development and the broader relationship between India and Japan. His time in Japan, under the guidance of prominent figures like Taikan Yokoyama and Arai Kampo, allowed Dey to absorb and incorporate elements of Japanese aesthetics, particularly the emphasis on simplicity, spiritual depth, and a harmonious relationship with nature. This encounter not only reshaped Dey's own artistic practice but also fostered deeper intellectual and cultural ties between the two nations. The bond between India and Japan, initially kindled by the historic meeting of Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin, was solidified through the artistic endeavors of figures like Dey. His work became a symbol of the creative possibilities that arose from the intersection of Indian and Japanese traditions, promoting a shared appreciation of both cultures.

Dey's artistic contributions went beyond technical innovation. His ability to blend Indian themes with Japanese techniques, such as minimalist brushwork, ink wash, and the integration of nature and spirituality into his paintings, not only enriched his individual body of work but also influenced other artists and intellectuals of his time. By synthesizing these distinct cultural elements, Dey helped shape a new artistic identity that transcended the boundaries of both nations. His influence extended into Santiniketan, where he shared his knowledge and

experience with other artists, continuing the tradition of cultural exchange that Rabindranath Tagore had established.

The significance of Dey's experiences in Japan and his contributions to the Indo-Japanese cultural dialogue cannot be overstated. He played a key role in the early 20th century in creating lasting links between the two nations through art, helping foster a mutual understanding that was based not just on diplomacy, but on creative collaboration. His artistic fusion of Indian and Japanese elements was not only a reflection of his personal journey but also a symbol of the broader cultural cooperation between India and Japan during that period. Dey's efforts were integral in bridging the gap between the two cultures, laying the foundation for future exchanges.

There is an undeniable need for further exploration of Mukul Dey's life and work, as his contributions offer invaluable insights into the cross-cultural interactions of the early 20th century. The study of his artistic journey and the exchange of ideas between India and Japan provide important lessons in how art can foster mutual respect and understanding among nations. Dey's legacy highlights the role that artistic diplomacy and cultural exchange play in building long-lasting international relationships. His work remains relevant today, serving as a reminder of the power of art to transcend national boundaries, bring people together, and create lasting bonds between disparate cultures. By revisiting his journey, we gain a deeper understanding of the impact of cultural exchange on shaping the artistic and intellectual landscape of the time, as well as the continuing importance of such exchanges in today's interconnected world.

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Open and Retain: The Disposal of the Imperial Tomb's Forest in Late Qing and Early Republican China

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Abstract: Northeastern China is rich in forest resources, which were protected throughout the Qing period. After the 1911 Revolution, the Qing Dynasty fell, and the Republic was established. In the midst of the political turmoil, the question of how to manage and develop the northeast forest whose property rights were unclear, became an urgent problem for the Beiyang government. Recent years have witnessed a dedicated exploration of the policies governing the northeast forest's, with forests being variously defined as "State forests" or "Private forests." However, the problem of "the forest of the imperial tomb," which had long been managed by the former Qing government, requires further research. The Qing government had demarcated a large area of land, the Yongling *fengjindi* (永陵封禁地), around the Yongling and prohibited people from entering it. This paper explores how forests within the *Yongling fengjindi*, especially those on the resource-rich Songzi Guanshan(松子官山), were opened, rented out, and disposed of by the Republican provincial government, with some portions retained as property of the former Qing emperor. It demonstrates how political structures in Northeast China was shaped by the disposal of the *fengjindi* throughout the modern Chinese history.

Introduction

At the end of the Qing period, the imperial government attempted to reshape itself into a constitutional monarchy. In this process, it was hardly clear how to explicitly define the "imperial property." Elites at that time believed that if the country wanted to make the imperial finances independent, steady financial resources and property were essential. Thus, they decided to set up an "imperial fiefdom." Specifically, they tried to develop the land and forest of the northeast of China. Unfortunately, this attempt ended in failure (Xiong, 2020, pp. 163–174).

After the 1911 revolution, and the fall of the Qing dynasty, the Republic was established. To ensure smooth transition of political power, the new government drew up an agreement with the Qing court called the *Articles of Favorable Treatment* (清室優待条件). This document set out several protections for the emperor and his family, such as maintenance, in perpetuity, of the imperial family's temples and tombs. In addition, after the Qing emperor's abdication, his "original private property" was also placed under special protection by the Republican government. However, this agreement did not specify the exact area of land that was to be considered as the "original private property" of the imperial family or the entity of management and utility. Therefore, heated conflicts arose between multiple local agencies in the northeast over this issue.

In contrast, with the enactment of the Northeastern China's Forest Disposal Law (東三省国有林發放規則) in 1912, forests were officially distinguished into two categories: "State forests" and "Private forests" for the first time. In recent years, there has been considerable historical exploration of such policies related to the

northeast forest's disposition. Existing studies primarily focused on the identification and evolution of forest rights related to state-owned and private forests, as well as shifts in forest development concepts.

However, the vast forest surrounding the Qing imperial tomb, or Yongling (清永陵), in Liaoning Province (formerly called Fengtian Province, 1907–1928), created other issues for the Republic. This tomb complex houses the ancestors of Nurhaci (1559–1626), whose descendants founded the Qing dynasty. The forest surrounding it had long been forbidden to outsiders and managed by the former Qing government but could not be easily defined as state or civil forest.

The problems caused by “the forest of the imperial tomb” remain underexplored. A study by Chi Xiang (2020) discusses how, due to uncertainty regarding the status of the forest, the Republic's government responded by seizing ownership of the forest and forming a company to control it. As a result, the Banner Office (*qishu*, 旗署)—an institution that handled the affairs of the privileged class—which should have been dismantled by the Republic, was effectively restored (pp. 178–180). The paper of Shoko Oide had focused on the disputed forests in Fuling (福陵) and Zhaoling (昭陵), discussing how the transfer of the Japanese imperial property system failed during the Manchukuo period (1932–1945) (Oide, 2024, pp. 61–75).

However, these studies cannot explain the following questions. First, which portion of the imperial tomb's forest was designated as belonging to the past emperor, and how was it defined as “imperial property” during the Beiyang government period (1913–1928)? Second, who was exactly responsible for managing that area, and how should it be developed?

This paper will therefore focus on the very process of the disposal of the forests surrounding Yongling, with a focus on the area of Songzi Guanshan, 松子官山, during early Republican China. This will be accomplished by an analysis of the documents kept in the Liaoning Provincial Archives. These documents will be used to illustrate how the forest around Yongling was opened, rented, and disposed of by the Republican provincial government, with some portions being retained as property of the former Qing emperor. The author tries will also discuss how modern political structures in northeastern China was shaped by the disposal of this forest.

The Closing of Songzi Guanshan

The Qing Dynasty was the last “feudal” dynasty of China and originated in the northeastern of China. To protect the dynasty's birthplace, the early Qing government strictly prohibited immigration into and exploitation of the area and its rich forest resources. The protection of the forests surrounding the imperial tombs was a top priority, and the Qing government undertook multiple measures to this end. One of them was creating a *fengjindi* (封禁地, lit., “forbidden area”), in which the presence of persons unrelated to the imperial family was considered taboo. This practice was implemented to protect the *fengshui* (風水) of imperial tombs and the important resources used for preparing offerings for the imperial ancestors.

There are three Qing burial sites in northeastern China, which nowadays are called the “*sanlin* (三陵).” Yongling is the earliest of these sites and was placed in

Nurhaci's former capital of *Hetu Ala* or Xingjing (興京) in the region now known as Liaoning Province. The Qing government demarcated a large area of land as belonging to the site and prohibited unrelated people from entering, thus creating the Yongling *fengjindi*. Within the Yongling *fengjindi*, Songzi Guanshan was well known for its namesake pine nuts, which were used in the rituals of imperial tombs. Songzi Guanshan is a branch of the Changbai Mountains, which host coniferous and broadleaf forests. The *hongsong* (紅松, *Pinus koraiensis*) is the dominant tree species on Songzi Guanshan.¹ The pine nuts of this tree are important ingredients for the offerings made during rituals at the Yongling, including those commemorating the winter solstice and the end of the year. Pine nuts were also an important staple in the daily diet of the imperial family (Li, 2016, p. 61). Wood was another important resource offered by the mountain. Along with the wood of the *hongsong* there are many other types of wood found on Songzi Guanshan, and these have a wide range of uses.²

The pine nuts produced on Songzi Guanshan were not only for Yongling, but also to meet the needs of the other nearby imperial tombs, such as Fuling and Zhaoling in Fengtian (also called Shengjing, 盛京), and the Xiaoling (孝陵) and Tailing (泰陵) in Beijing. According to the archives of the Shengjing Sanling Ritual Office (盛京三陵禮股檔房), which oversaw imperial mausoleum rituals during the Qing Dynasty, approximately 22.5 tons of pine nuts from Songzi Guanshan were collected every year. Regarding specific data, Xiaoling and Tailing in Beijing required more than 21.2 tons pine nuts altogether, and the Yongling, Fuling, and Zhaoling in Fengtian required about 1.1 tons pine nuts altogether.³

Songzi Guanshan is also not a singular cohesive area. Its official designation was changed several times during Qing dynasty. At first, it was designated as the eastern part of Xingjing Old Town (*Hetu Ala*), specifically in areas between the Juliu River (巨流河) and the Jing'er gou (井爾溝). However, the problem of banditry became so severe that the area was burned to the ground, with no trees left standing. Therefore, in 1821, Songzi Guanshan was redesignated as the area around Dashu River (大束河) and Xiaoshu River (小束河)'s basins.⁴

Songzi Guanshan is not a single mountain, but rather a collective name of scattered locations. From the late Qing dynasty, the locations in which *hongsong* could not be cut down were clearly established. In 1836, wooden plaques (*mupai*, 木牌) were set up in 91 sites to indicate places where it was forbidden by the Qing government to cut down trees. However, by 1907, only about 40 of these sites remained.⁵

¹ Liao Xunju, & Li Shifang (1915) "Diaocha Fengtian Xingjing Senlin Baogao", *Zhonghua Shiyeye*, p.2.

² Ibid.

³ JC011-02-012163-000032, 1912, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

⁴ JC011-02-012163-000020, 1912, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

⁵ Ibid.

Guidelines by the Fengtian Civil Office

After the establishment of the Republic of China, the survey of the Yongling *fengjindi* was completed in December 1912. The Fengtian civil office (an institution responsible for managing public affairs) then drafted a plan for its disposal. The paragraph below outlines the main guidelines for handling the disposal of Songzi Guanshan in this plan.

The forests of Songzi Guanshan are prolific, and many would have high development value if they were used for lumber. However, due to the special nature of the area as a place to prepare offerings for the imperial tombs, it should [only] be partially opened (JC045-01-007704-000043, 1912, Liaoning Provincial Archives. Translation mine).

According to this entry, the development value of Songzi Guanshan was extremely high, so it should have no longer remained under prohibition but should have instead been opened up. However, due to its special relation to the imperial tombs, its disposal was needed to be handled on a case-by-case basis, with a portion reserved for supplying the imperial tombs. First, the Fengtian civil office would select areas that produced large quantities of pine nuts to maintain the prohibition on cutting. In particular, Linzitou Gou (林子頭溝) and Huangdaizi Gou (黃帶子溝) were set aside for growing *hongsong*. Second, the Fengtian civil office would cut down the remaining trees and then transport and sell their lumber. To prevent deforestation by merchants in areas other than the two designated ones, a temporary department called *zhangfangju* (丈放局) would be established to totally manage these affairs by Fengtian civil office. Finally, it was stipulated that the *zhangfangju* should regularly appraise the value of Songzi Guanshan's trees and permit merchants to purchase trees. After *zhangfangju*'s work was complete, it would be abolished and a new department called *caimuju* (采木局) would be established to continue work of overseeing the disposal of Songzi Guanshan's forests.⁶ However, despite this rule, the Fengtian civil office also did not clearly specify whether these trees were considered imperial property at that time.

The practical implementation of these guidelines faced several challenges. First, the approaching winter posed an issue, as the river roads used to transport timber would soon freeze over. In order to sell the timber to Fengtian within the year, it needed to be cut and transported quickly.⁷ However, based on the archived documents, as the situation unfolded, it became clear that the timber could not be processed before the end of 1912.

According to the treatment that was submitted, there are two approaches of managing the forests: through government-run industry, and government-supervised and merchant-managed industry [*guandu shangban*, 官督商弁].

According to the current survey conducted by the *caizhengju* [財政局, the

⁶ JC045-01-007704-000043, 1912, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

⁷ JC045-01-007704-000059, 1912, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

financial bureau under Fengtian civil office], it is difficult to secure funds for the government-run industry, which is slow in generating profits. Therefore, the government-supervised, merchant-managed industry is considered as the best option. In this way, first, the number of trees on Songzi Guanshan must be determined and assessed. Then, we need to estimate their value and convene merchants. Furthermore, merchants form companies, and we can require those companies to pay for logging rights. The companies will be allowed to handle all logging, transportation, sales, and so on. The government's role will be limited to supervising the companies and protecting the forest, without being involved in any other activities. In this way, our office does not need to provide capital but can still generate a significant amount of revenue quickly. This approach is possibly more efficient, potentially eliminating the need to establish a *caimuju* (JC045-01-007704-000085, 1913, Liaoning Provincial Archives. Translation mine).

According to this document, in March 1913, Fengtian civil office opposed the establishment of the *caimuju* due to the financial difficulties presented by the cost of logging, running the office, and paying the salaries of its employees. The opinion of the Fengtian civil office was that government-supervised and merchant-managed industry was the best solution. For this underfunded public institution like the Fengtian civil office, the government-supervised and merchant-managed industry was not only more profitable than a purely government-run industry, but it also did not require any further fundraising; this made it unnecessary to establish a new department like *caimuju*. Fengtian civil office also proposed that after investigating and clarifying the exact number of trees on Songzi Guanshan, they would be able to estimate their exact value and convene merchants to establish companies. Furthermore, they suggested that the established company would have to purchase the development rights for Songzi Guanshan. In other words, the Fengtian civil office's expectation was that the company would have full control over logging, transportation, and sales, while the Fengtian civil office and its subordinate agencies would supervise and retain its protection rights over the area.

However, the analysis of the history of personnel changes in the local government reveals that the *caimuju* was eventually established. In April 1913, Jin Liang (金梁), the head of the Xingjing *zhangfangju*, resigned on the pretext of illness, with the intention of entrusting the disposal of the Xingjing *zhangfangju* to the Xingjing civil office.⁸ This was due to the numerous administrative tasks remained and they could not complete them. However, the Xingjing civil office refused, citing their own busy schedule.⁹ Therefore, the abolition of the *zhangfangju* was postponed. In August of the same year, Shi Fu (世福), a member of the *zhangfangju*, took over the *zhangfangju*'s work as the director. But in May 1915, Shi Fu was dismissed for misusing the money collected from land disposals and

⁸ JC045-01-007704-000082, 1913, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

⁹ JC045-01-007704-000109, 1913, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

failing to fulfill his duties.¹⁰ Subsequently, Yang Guodong (楊国棟) succeeded Shi Fu as the director of the Xingjing *zhangfangju*, while also taking on the responsibilities of the general comprador of the newly established *caimuju*.¹¹ In other words, although there is no specific date of its establishment, Yang Guodong's assumption of the director position for both the Xingjing *zhangfangju* and *caimuju* suggests that the *caimuju* had indeed been eventually set up.

The Changxin firm and the Fengtian Banner Office of *Sanling*

In August 1915, the Agricultural Association of Xingjing County (興京県農会) submitted a motion to suspend the harvesting of pine nuts.¹² However, the Fengtian banner office of *sanling* (奉天三陵衙門) opposed this and tried to seek a more balanced approach. Invoking the Articles of Favorable Treatment in response, the Fengtian banner office of *sanling* (奉天三陵衙門) declared two places around the Yongling *fengjindi* that must be maintained for use completely in imperial rituals, which means that these places were considered “imperial private property.” The use of “completely in imperial rituals [完全皇室祭産]” is noteworthy here.¹³ As mentioned above, in 1912 the Fengtian civil office had not explicitly clarified whether these forests were “imperial property” or not. Nevertheless, this time, the Fengtian banner office unequivocally declared the areas as imperial property, asserting that they, as representatives of the past-imperial family, held full rights of management over these places for the first time.

Meanwhile, in 1915, the exploitation of Songzi Guanshan officially came under the jurisdiction of a government-supervised, merchant-managed industry. Control over the timber was transferred from the *caimuju* (采木局) to the Changxin Firm (昌新会社). The Changxin Firm was a stock company founded by Gao Erdeng (高爾登) from Zhejiang. This company secured the rights to log trees over Songzi Guanshan in May 1915.¹⁴ Subsequently, in March 1916, the Changxin Firm sent a letter to the Fengtian banner office, informing them that they had acquired the logging rights for the entire forest.¹⁵

The banner office disagreed with this arrangement, asserting that certain areas within Songzi Guanshan should be maintained under the scope of the “imperial property.” However, because the exploitation of Songzi Guanshan's forest was considered beneficial to regional development, the Banner Office offered to rent these areas to the Changxin Firm for a rent.¹⁶¹⁴ After a number of negotiations

¹⁰ JC011-02-017408-000018, 1913, Liaoning Provincial Archives, JC011-02-002230-000029, 1915, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

¹¹ JC010-01-007638-000001, 1915, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

¹² JC045-01-011291-000025, 1915, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

¹³ JC045-01-011291-000032, 1915, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

¹⁴ JC045-01-010011-000023, 1916, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

¹⁵ JC010-01-011450-000001, 1916, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

¹⁶ JC010-01-011450-000002, 1916, Liaoning Provincial Archives.

regarding the price, the Changxin Firm eventually agreed to pay the fees to lease the logging rights of the areas deemed “imperial property.” However, these rights remained limited. For example, the Changxin Firm had lease rights of only 20 years, and the Firm had no right to sublease or mortgage these areas.

While the Changxin Firm successfully rented these “imperial property” and paid the rent from 1916 to 1919, but to protect the imperial property, the banner office suddenly withdrawn the logging rights from Changxin firm in 1920. The following is the opinion of the banner office at that time.

According to our research, Songzi Guanshan is associated with the imperial tombs, and there are tens of thousands of pine trees on entire mountain [to be used] as offering. However, the Changxing [Changxin] Firm has only paid an annual rent of 500 *yuan* for these trees and yet they have been cutting and sold at will for the past three years. The Changxin Firm is a deceitful and self-serving merchant [group] that profits greatly, cheats the government, and reaps enormous gains. Their actions are deeply reprehensible. To protect the “imperial property,” they should be clamped down. Now, we are going to dispatch two officials, Xian Jingshan [見敬山] and Li Zhenduo [李振鐸], to conduct an investigation and seal off the area. [...] The trees that have not been cut down by the Changxing (Changxin) Firm are prohibited from being cut down are now to be allowed to grow naturally. The trees that have already been cut but not sold will be strictly confiscated, prohibited from being sold; they will be preserved and used in the repair of the imperial tombs. Therefore, it is crucial that we immediately revoke the contract with the firm (JC010-01-011450-000017, 1920, Liaoning Provincial Archives. Translation mine).

Based on this document, we can see that the banner office believed that Songzi Guanshan was closely associated with the Imperial Tombs. And there were tens of thousands of trees, which means Songzi Guanshan was extremely valuable. Therefore, they regarded the activities of the Changxin Firm as an abuse of the forest resources associated with the imperial tombs. Furthermore, the banner office clearly considered that direct exploitation and resource utilization by themselves would be a more appropriate approach. As a result, the banner office decided to prohibit the felling of any remaining trees and ordered the confiscation of the trees that had already been cut down, to be used in the repair of the imperial tombs.

By then, the banner office thus had ultimately regained full control of the forest, which was considered “imperial property.”

Conclusion

This paper focused on Yongling as a case study and analyzed the management of the imperial tombs' forests in early Republican China, an aspect that has been overlooked in the previous research.

At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the failure to establish a clear system for imperial finances left the private property of the imperial family undefined. The subsequent inability to clearly define the scope of rights within the *Articles of Favorable Treatment* engendered a series of ensuing problems. During the Beiyang government period, there were still no explicit laws or decrees regarding the

recognition of “imperial property.” As a result, the actions of various agencies played a significant role in determining the final recognition of “imperial property.” Over time, the regulations and rules enacted by local government agencies gradually delineated the scope of forests that was considered a part of the “imperial property” and more clearly defined associated rights, such as the right to manage these forests.

The main question raised by this paper was how the forests surrounding the imperial tombs were defined as “imperial property” during the Beiyang government period. As this paper has demonstrated, the definition of “imperial property” was directly related to the movements of local politics. Additionally, this study examined who was responsible for managing these areas and deciding how they would be developed. As shown herein, the management activities of the Songzi Guanshan were jointly overseen by the Fengtian civil Office and the Fengtian banner office of *sanling*. And the banner office, which had long been responsible for overseeing imperial tombs’ management since the Qing Dynasty, maintained that it held the authority to administer the forest, which was recognized as “imperial property.”

Considering the unique nature of Songzi Guanshan, the Fengtian civil office selected two areas rich in pine nuts to maintain the ban on logging. The management of forests within the Yongling *fengjingdi* was also separated from the management of the rest of the mountain. The managements of the Fengtian civil office and the banner office ran in parallel. By invoking the name of *Articles of Favorable Treatment*, the banner office was able to retain control over parts of the forests of Songzi Guanshan within the Yongling *fengjingdi* as “imperial property.” Despite conflicts with other actors such as the Changxin Firm until 1920, the Banner office fully enforced its rights over the forest areas recognized as “imperial property.”

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An Ethnomusicological Study of Maithili and Japanese Folk Songs

RAJ, Yash

Abstract: Folk songs are the soul of a nation as they allow one to peep through the region's culture and facilitate the emotional understanding of a state. Folk songs are found in the rural areas in their authentic form, and the rural folk of the nation primarily fosters seasonal folk songs. This paper attempts an ethnomusicological study of seasonal folk songs of Maithili and Japanese language and finds the themes and metaphors that enrich the fabric of folk songs. Mithila, a region in the Indian state of Bihar, is renowned for its rich heritage of folk songs that the natives sing during different seasons. The tradition includes "*chaumasa*," which represents songs from the four major months. Similarly, Japan boasts a celebrated tradition of folk songs, which are classified into various categories, including those characteristics of the seasons, such as the "*Shiki no Uta*" or songs of the four seasons. This paper attempts to analyse the seasonal motifs and beliefs of the two distinct cultures from an ethnomusicological perspective. A few selected seasonal folk songs from both languages will be compared to bring out possible differences and similarities between the two geographically distained regions.

Introduction

Folklore, as the name suggests, narrates the lore or stories of the people of an ethnic group. These stories comprise folktales, myths, legends, etc. The lore associated with these ethnic groups recounts their oral traditions. These oral traditions provide insights into the lore regarding their way of life and the perspective that shapes their worldview, usually reflected in their idioms, proverbs, music, songs, etc. Thereby, one can infer that folklore also comprises oral literature and resources that express the emotions and thoughts of the folks. Songs, one of the strong mediums to express one's feelings, are a significant part of people's lives. However, the style of songs and their subject matters differ based on various factors such as society, ethnicity, culture, etc. Yet, songs seem to disseminate in the company of human emotions. The bond between human emotions and songs is also expressed through folk songs that, needless to say, originate from humans and are passed down through generations. In other words, folk songs deal with matters associated with the daily socio-cultural and religious life of the same people who created it. The presence of century-old folk songs in any society establishes their relevance and timeless appeal to the common mass, whether preserved in their original form or augmented with contemporary events and themes with time. Folk songs give a vivid picture of the society in which they flourish and unveil the soul of their people.

Nevertheless, the soul of a nation dwells chiefly in its villages, which remain relatively untouched and unscratched from the clutches of urbanisation that takes away the simple way of life of the rural people. These folk songs act as a shield that preserves rural people's raw and natural way of life because the lyrics are close to one's mother tongue, and the background of these folk songs reminds one of their native places. In the standard dictionary of folklore, mythology and legends, folk songs encompass the poetry and songs of a particular society or group whose

literature is upheld not in a written or printed form but rather via generations of passing down such rich culture through oral tradition. (Leach & Jerome, 1972). In India, the Hindi word *Lokgeet* is often translated as folk songs in English. *Lokgeet* comprises two words, *lok* and *geet*, in which the word *lok* refers to people, and *geet* denotes songs. Defining the word *Lok*, Upadhyay (1957) writes that the unlettered, unsophisticated group of people, bound by their traditional values, living away from the modern civilisation in their natural surroundings, can be termed as *Lok*. However, *geet* refers to the word song; therefore, the Hindi word *Lokgeet* seems synonymous with folk songs.

On the other hand, *Min'yō* (民謡) or folk song is a common term for Japanese scholars and people. The word *Min'yō* is taken from the Sung dynasty literature of China. The literal meaning of the kanji “*min*” (民) is “people,” and “*yō*” (謡) is “chanting,” especially *Nō* (能) chanting. However, Hughes (2008) has translated the kanji *yō* as “song”, yet in both translations, it is evident that folk songs are born and inhabited in the lives of common people. The concept and definition of the word *Min'yō* differ significantly as per the timeline and ideological background of the era. Before the 1890s, *Min'yō* was known by other names such as *Hinaburi*, *Hinata*, *Inaka-Uta*, *Kuniburi*, and *Kunibushi*, which were popular among the rural populace of Japan. Since folk songs are songs of rural people, they named them conveniently according to their understanding of traditional songs. Hence, folk songs were called *Inaka Uta* (country songs) in one region and *Hina Uta* in another area of Japan. Therefore, it can be concluded that the regional, traditional idea around folk songs shaped the contemporary concept of *Min'yō*. Moreover, Machida and Asano (1964) discuss the history of the folk songs of Japan, emphasising that the word *Min'yō* was first used during the Edo period (1603-1868) by Confucius scholars to denote the countryside traditional songs. Until the middle of the Meiji period (1868-1912), *Fūzoku* (風俗), *Uta* (歌), *Zoku* (俗), *Zokuyō* (俗謡), etc., were popular words to represent traditional rural songs of Japan. The connotation of all these words revolves around customs, manners and songs as seen in their kanji, such as 俗, 歌 and 謡. Therefore, it can be inferred that the word *Min'yō* carries a scholarly connotation, and Japanese folk songs strongly connect with the customs and rituals of ancient Japan. Lomax (2017), on the other hand, argues that orally transmitted lyrical verses such as folk songs are a part of the cultural heritage that might contain crucial information and principles of the previous generation. He emphasises that texts of folk songs can be analysed from the perspective of culture. In other words, the study of folk songs can be a tool to measure the culture of a particular region, group, or ethnicity.

Ethnomusicology and Folk Songs

The current paper deals with the seasonal folk songs of Maithili and Japanese language. During the preliminary literature review, similar motifs were found in the text of these seasonal folk songs, leading the way towards a comparative method. Therefore, the current paper is a comparative, cross-cultural study where analysis is based on the selected seasonal folk songs of Maithili and the Japanese language.

Since the study investigates the music of two ethnic regions, i.e., Bihar (in India) and Japan, the study falls under the area of ethnomusicology.

Nettl (1973) explains that the study of ethnomusicology was formerly known as comparative musicology, as it dealt with music and folk music from non-European and Western cultures. Ethnomusicology is a study that examines the traditional music of various civilisations from a socio-cultural viewpoint and provides scope for the descriptive and analytical approach, which is problem-oriented and comparative. However, around 1950, Jaap Kunst coined the word “ethnomusicology” to indicate the unsatisfactory nature of the comparative orientation in folk music. However, later scholars such as Merriam (1964) discuss it from a dual point of view, anthropological and musicological. The anthropological view touches on the cultural aspect of folk music, whereas the musicological view deals with more technical sound-music and tone analysis. Therefore, the current research seems closer to Merriam’s interpretation of folk music from an anthropological point of view that attempts to seek cultural connections as they exist in the seasonal folk songs of Maithili and the Japanese language. Since text analysis forms the primary method of current research to explore seasonal folk songs, observation based on this text analysis will complement the current study to create a structure centred on the idea described by Merriam (1964), who investigates the process of researching folk songs as follows:

- Collection of data (songs) from the available text or through fieldwork of recording,
- Categorisation of data (songs) into themes or subjects for analysis of motivating force and reflections of informal or formal practices,
- Analysis of data referring to the research questions and seeking a rationale behind the obtained result.

The field of ethnomusicology supports researchers to investigate traditional music or songs in the context of culture. Regarding the definition of ethnomusicology, Merriam (1964) also notes it as “*the study of music in culture*”. Considering cultural connections between seasonal folk songs of Maithili and the Japanese language, the current paper mainly focuses on the role of folk songs in the familiarisation of any culture. It also shows how shared socio-cultural practices are reflected in the text of these seasonal folk songs. This argument is further reinforced by Lomax (1968), who emphasises, “*In theory, song texts ought to be heavily loaded with normative cultural indicators*”. Therefore, adopting a similar approach, the current paper also analyses the text of selected seasonal folk songs found in the Mithila region of Bihar in India and Japan to seek “cultural indicators” that reflect culture in these songs.

Seasons in India and Japan

India and Japan both celebrate the beauty and uniqueness of their seasons, and each season shapes their cultural traditions. In India, including Bihar, the cycle is more nuanced with six seasons: *Vasanta Ritū* (Spring), *Griṣma Ritū* (Summer), *Varṣā Ritū* (Monsoon), *Sharada Ritū* (Autumn), *Hemaṁta Ritū* (Early Winter), and *Shishira Ritū* (Winter). On the contrary, seasons in Japan are mainly divided into

four: *Haru* (春) or Spring; *Natsu* (夏) or Summer; *Aki* (秋) or Autumn; *Fuyu* (冬) or Winter. In both regions, each season brings its festivals. For example, people in Bihar celebrate *Holi* and *Vasant Panchmi* during *Vasanta Ritū* (Spring) and *Chath Puja* during *Sharada Ritū* (Autumn). On the contrary, in Japan, *Hanami* (花見) or cherry blossom viewing, is enjoyed in spring, and *Momijimi* (紅葉見) or maple leaves-watching, is observed in autumn. In both regions, seasons highlight its unique relationship with the climate, festivals, cultural practices, and the daily life of its people. Therefore, it is imperative to mention here that folk songs make references to these festival's cultural and farming activities. For example, in Mithila region of Bihar, the farming community sings the following line:

बरसो हो इन्दर देव बरसो हो, की खेतवा में जोत लागल हो

Baraso ho indar deva baraso ho, kī khetavā meṅ jot lāgal ho

The farming community has a close connection with nature and season. In ancient times, the farmers depended on natural resources for good-quality crops. The folk saying mentioned above describes the life of earlier times when farmers used to pray to *Indra Deva*, the king of heaven who was also revered as the rain god in Hindu mythology to shower rain. Before the propagation of modern agricultural equipment, wastage of crops was inevitable due to droughts or floods. However, in modern times, the development in science that has led to the proliferation of scientific farming equipment, besides various government policies, have all helped the peasants to adopt a scientific method of agriculture, which is why perhaps such songs are losing their popularity and significance among people in contemporary times.

A Maithili Seasonal Folk Song

माघ हे सखि मेघ लागल, पिया चलल परदेश यो

māgha hē sakhi mēgha lāgala, piyā calala paradēśa yō

अपनो वयस ओतहि बितओला, हमर कोन अपराध यो

apanō vayasa ōtahi bita'ōtā, hamara kōna aparādha yō

फागुन हे सखि आम मजरल, कोइली बाजे घमसान यो

phāguna hē sakhi āma majarala, kō'ilī bājē ghamasāna yō

कोइली शब्द सुनि हिय मोर सालय, नयना नीर बहि गेल यो

kō'ilī śabda suni hiya mōra sālaya, nayanā nīra bahi gēla yō

चैत हे सखि पर्व लगईछई, सब सखी गंगा स्नान यो

caita hē sakhi parva laga'īcha'ī, saba sakhi gaṅgā snāna yō

सब सखी पहिरे पियरी पीताम्बर, हमरा के देव दुःख देल यो

saba sakhi pahirē piyarī pītāmbara, hamarā kē dēva duḥkha dēla yō

बैसाख हे सखि उसम ज्वाला, घाम सं भीजल देह यो

baisākha hē sakhi usama jvālā, ghāma saṁ bhījala dēha yō

रगिरि चन्दन अंग लेपित हूँ, जो गृह रहितथि कन्त यो

ragari candana aṅga lēpita hūṁ, jōm gr̥ha rahitathi kanta yō (Rakesh, 2012)

The song mentioned above is being sung from the perspective of a newly-wed wife who sings to lament that in the month of *Magh* (a month of the Hindu

calendar), her husband has left for another city and has been spending his days happily. However, when the weather is cloudy and romantic, she alone is forced to bear the pain of separation as she longs for her husband. She further sings that in the month of *Phaguna*, when the mangoes have blossomed, hearing the nightingale sing ardently pierces her heart, and tears flow from her eyes. She further continues that in the month of *Chaitra*, the festival season has arrived, and all her friends have gone for a dip in the holy river *Gaṅgā* wearing yellow garments, while she is left to bear this loneliness. She concludes the song by mentioning the month of *Baisakha* when the heat is scorching, her body is drenched in sweat, and she applies sandalwood paste to her skin, longing that her beloved was here at home.

The above-mentioned Maithili seasonal folk song displays the theme of nature. The song revolves around four prominent seasons of India, including Bihar and several representatives of nature found in this folk song's lyrics, which serve as "cultural indicators and shall be discussed at length in the analysis of the current paper. This song also successfully contains cues of socio-cultural practice, such as migration, that has a strong connotation with the history of the society of Bihar. This seasonal folk song depicts the emotional anguish of a newly-wedded bride whose husband has migrated to another city for employment. It is essential to highlight that migration has been a socio-cultural phenomenon in Bihar even since the pre-independence era of India. The relevance of this socio-cultural phenomenon can be understood by the single vivid fact that migration dominates the content and subject matter of most of the folk songs of Bihar.

A Japanese Seasonal Folk Song

春来れば 田堰小堰さ 水コア出る 泥鰌コ鰍コアセア 喜んで喜んで海さ入
ったと思うベアネ(コリャコーリャ)

Haru kureba taseki koseki sa mizu ko~a deru dojō ko kajika ko~a se ~a yorokonde yorokonde umi-sa haittado omou be ~a ne (korya kōrya)

夏来れば 田堰小堰コア 温くなる 泥鰌コ鰍コアセア 喜んで喜んで 湯コさ
入ったと思うベアネ

Natsu kureba taseki koseki ko~a nukukunaru dojō ko kajika ko~a se ~a yorokonde yorokonde yu ko-sa haittado omou be ~a ne

秋来れば 野山小山は 赤くなる 泥鰌コ鰍コアセア 鰓出して鰓出して 山コ
ア火事だと思うベアネ

Aki kureba noyama koyama wa akakunaru dojō ko kajika ko~a se ~a kubi dashite kubi dashite yama ko~a kuwaji dado omou be ~a ne

冬来れば 田堰小堰さ 薄氷張る 泥鰌コ鰍コセア かげでかげで 天井コ
ア張ったど 思うベアネ

Fuyu kureba taseki koseki sa sugama haru dojō ko kajika ko se ~a kagede kagede tenjō ko~a hattado omou be ~a ne (Machida & Asano 1960)

The above Japanese folk song depicts that scene of paddy weirs in different months of the year. The song explains that paddy weirs are drained when spring arrives, and loaches and sculpins (two distinct types of fish species) happily enter the water. However, in the summer season, when the paddy weir gets warmed up,

loaches and sculpins are delighted, thinking to have entered warm water. Furthermore, when hills and dales turn red in autumn, loaches and sculpins stick their heads out of the water, assuming there is a mountain fire. Finally, when winter arrives, paddy weirs are covered with thin ice, loaches, and sculpins swim under the water, wondering if there is a ceiling under the shade.

The song mentioned above is a famous folk song from Aomori prefecture in the Tohoku region of Japan, sung during rice plantation. Initially, this song was a Heike Biwa folklore song for the Tsugaru clan. As Machida and Asano (2008) mention, Mr. Tateyama collected this song in the Nishi Tsugaru district; this song became popular in Japan and was sung in various dialects. This folk song has a natural theme in which the singer talks about the four seasons and their influence on the rice field. Therefore, the song mentioned above also displays cultural indicators in its text that are peculiar to the Japanese sense of season.

A Comparative Analysis of Seasonal Folk Songs of Maithili and Japanese Language

Since folk songs originate within society, the socio-cultural practices of that ethnic group or society highly influence the lyrics of the folk songs. Folk songs also contain text and rhythm that may provide historical accounts, legends and myths associated with the past. In this way, folk songs are a valuable channel to understand society, beliefs, cultural approaches, hobbies, interests, and values that a culture possesses. The abundance of peripheral elements in folk songs is a challenge for scholars since the same folk song can be studied from various aspects. In the context of folk songs, as Burne (1914) explains, “*Song is so many-sided and so all-pervading a form of human expression that it is hard to say from what point of view it may best be approached*”. There are various ways of researching folk songs, such as from a linguistic standpoint, musicological perspective, folkloristic perspective, etc. However, the current research follows Merriam’s method of examining folk songs, which includes data collection, categorisation, and analysis. To analyse the data, Lomax (1968) emphasised analysing the text of the folk song to recognise the “cultural indicators”. Therefore, this paper has applied a similar method to categorise both folk songs under two themes after analysing the text of the selected Maithili and Japanese seasonal folk songs to identify “cultural indicators.” For example, the selected seasonal folk songs of Maithili and Japanese language are associated with the specific months of the year, however, it also reflects the food culture, and ritualistic prayer services etc., during special occasions.

Nevertheless, the selected seasonal folk songs of Maithili and the Japanese language explained in the current paper broadly display the following two major themes:

- i) Nature and Rural Imagery
- ii) Cultural Symbolism

They shall be further discussed in detail from the ethnomusicological perspective.

i) Nature and Rural Imagery

Nature and music have a deep connection with the emotions of human beings. These are two phenomena that promptly touch the human mind emotionally. As one gazes at the countless aspects of nature or listens to music or songs, the tendency of the human mind is to first feel it, even before thinking about it. Emotions that originate in the human mind while sitting in the lap of the Himalayas or Mt. Fuji, or while paying homage to the holy river *Gaṅgā* or during the pilgrimage of *Kumano Kodō* are pure forms of human emotions. Perhaps, in earlier times, poetry, or folk songs with the theme of nature must have emerged when early humans tried to give perceptible shape to those feelings that developed just after witnessing significant features of their surrounding nature.

In the context of selected seasonal folk songs of Maithili and Japanese language, nature and rural imagery emerged as a prominent common theme in both folk songs. In the Maithili language, seasonal folk songs are dedicated to various seasons of the year. Folk songs dedicated to specific months include *Barahmāsā*, *Chemāsā* and *Chaumāsā*, in which *Barahmāsā* refers to twelve months of the year, *Chemāsā* refers to six months of the year, and *Chaumāsā* refers to four significant months of the year. The selected Maithili seasonal folk song is a famous *Chaumāsā* that also signifies *Virah* (separation) and the reunion of the lovers and couple in connotation with the months of the year. *Virahinī*, a female lover suffering from the pain of separation, expresses her feelings through folk songs concerning unique characteristics associated with each month of the year.

As we compare the two seasonal folk songs of Maithili and Japanese language, it is observed that both the songs display the cyclical nature of the seasons and portray human emotion and transition of life. The seasonal folk song of Maithili language follows the cycle of the seasons through the *Magha*, *Phaguna*, *Chaita*, and *Baisakha* (names of the month according to the Hindu calendar). It highlights nature and rural imagery, such as blossoming mango trees, singing *koel* or nightingale, and the spiritual ritual of taking a dip inside the holy river *Gaṅgā*. The elements of nature express deep personal emotions, especially that of longing and sorrowfulness of the newly wedded lady (the singer) originating in her husband's absence. In the selected Maithili folk song, each season conveys a new emotion, from the anticipation of the lively lifestyle of her husband in another city to the intense yearning of the wife in his absence, showing how the season transcends its meaning to reflect the psyche and pain of separation. In other words, it can be said that in Maithili seasonal folk songs, nature, and its rural imagery, such as trees and birds, are tied to seasons and express human emotions. Similarly, the Japanese folk song follows the transition of seasons through *Haru*, *Natsu*, *Aki*, and *Fuyu* and displays symbols of rural imagery. For instance, it uses *dojō* (泥鰌) and *kajika* (鰯), i.e., the fishes, loaches, and sculpins; *noyama* (野山), i.e., fields and mountains, to reflect the cyclical stages of life. In the selected Japanese folk song, seasons also signify a detailed agricultural task that a farmer performs and his emotion towards nature. This emotion has been portrayed using loaches and sculpins in the lyrics of the folk song, as these fishes also form a part of the Japanese food culture of rural Japan for, they are famous delicacies enjoyed throughout Japan. In other words, the selected

Japanese seasonal folk song amalgamates references to Japanese seasons, nature, food culture and rural life.

ii) Cultural Symbolism

Early humans started their lives in the lap of nature, and this nature was present in their lives in the form of boons and banes. For example, the same river that quenched their thirst could also abolish every souvenir of their existence. Possibly, this is the reason that early humans gave the status of deities to countless elements of nature. For example, whether it is *Helios* (the sun god in Greek mythology), *Amaterasu* (the sun goddess in Japanese mythology), or *Sūryadeva* (the sun god in Hindu mythology), since primitive times, the sun is a prime element of nature in every civilisation and has been given the status of deity. With the advancement in society, deities, customs, beliefs, rituals, and cultures associated with nature have come into vogue. The sun and other elements of nature, such as trees, rivers, and mountains, form an integral allegory found in the mythologies and have been accorded a godly status. In selected Maithili seasonal folk song, taking a bath in the holy river of *Gaṅgā* is mentioned. This is when the singer sings “*chaita hē sakhi parva lagaīchaī, sab sakhi gaṅgā snāna yō*” or in the month of *Chaita* (April-March) when festivals are approaching, and her friends are going to take a bath in the holy river *Gaṅgā*. It is imperative to mention here that the sacred river *Gaṅgā* is part of the traditional belief of the Hindu community as it is believed that taking a bath in the holy river of *Gaṅgā* purifies the soul of a person and liberates one from all sins. In this context, folk songs represent and propagate traditional beliefs and rituals. Moreover, in the selected Maithili folk song, a *koel* or nightingale has been referenced twice when the singer sings *phāguna hē sakhi āma majarala, kō'ilī bājē ghamasāna yō* and *kō'ilī śabda suni hiya mōra sālāya, nayanā nīra bahi gēla yō*. In the former reference, she introduces *koel* singing in the month of *Phāguna* and in the second reference she says that listening to the *koel*'s voice, gives her unbearable pain that makes her cry as her husband is not near her. In India *koel* is symbolic of romantic relations and is used as a simile to describe the characteristics of loved ones which is why the reference to *koel* or nightingale was found not only in the above Maithili folk song but also other contemporary songs and poetry.

On the other hand, Japanese seasonal folk songs carry the underlying theme of the Japanese rural ecosystem and food culture apart from apparent themes of nature and seasons. If one closely observes, it is not a secret that rice-fish farming is an underlying theme of the song. However, it is fascinating to observe that Japanese folk songs with the theme of seasons and nature have the underlying theme of food culture. Moreover, it is well-known that fish is a significant part of Japanese food culture. In the Japanese seasonal folk song, the mention of *dojō* (泥鰌) or pond loach and *kajika* (鯪) or sculpin signifies not only the rural food culture but also part of religious ceremonies and festivals of Japan as they are offered and eaten during spiritual ceremonies and released to ward off evil spirits or as a memorial service. In ancient times, these fishes were referred to as *hitoaji chigatta sakana* (ひと味違った魚) or fish with a difference. Moreover, for Japanese common people, these fishes symbolise resilience.

Conclusion

The significance of research in the field of folklore is slightly different from other branches of area studies as it deals with more complex nuances that lie in traditions, customs and primitive values handed down in the form of stories and songs. Bihar and Japan are rich in these complex nuances as both regions possess an abundance of folk stories and folk songs. In Bihar, *Lokgeet* deals with various subjects; for instance, *Lokgeet* is associated with marriage, seasons, religious activities, dance, rituals, customs, agriculture, and other socio-cultural subjects. These songs are an expression of joy, sorrow, gratitude, and family values possessed by them. Similarly, in Japan, *Min'yō* deals with numerous subject matters. For instance, folk songs are associated with the seasons, occupations, religious activities, festivals, celebrations, and other cultural activities in Japan. However, Bihar is a state where many languages are spoken, and as a result, one can find folk songs inspired by different regional cultures and traditions. Nevertheless, as far as the connection of these folk songs with the occasion or event is concerned, they remain broadly similar in both countries.

Nature has been perceived by every individual differently; for example, Newton and William Wordsworth took inspiration from nature and contributed remarkably in their respective fields of science and literature, which seem poles apart. However, in every case, nature has played the role of the ultimate teacher, and the respect for this divine teacher has been articulated through the stories and folk songs. Rural folks of both regions have a strong connection with folk songs, and this strong connection between folks and folk songs is further reflected in their seasonal folk songs. Since folk songs are already present in the socio-cultural life of rural folks where they are leading their lives surrounded by the natural world, it would not be an overstatement to say that the dependency of rural people on nature for economic, social, religious, and day-to-day activities strengthens their reliance and deeply attaches them to the various manifestations of nature. Hence, trees, mountains, seasons, flowers, rain, birds, etc., resonate in their seasonal folk songs.

Maithili and Japanese folk songs have themes of nature and seasonal changes, echoing rural life experiences associated with trees, birds, and fish, symbolizing life's cycle. Maithili and Japanese folk songs highlight respective cultural symbolism wherein Maithili songs focus on rituals, festivals, and symbols of longing because of migration and new life, such as the nightingale bird (*Koel*) and blossoming mangoes; on the other hand, Japanese songs underline fields, mountain and emphasize resilience through rural ecosystems and food culture of the concerned region. In Maithili and Japanese folk songs, nature mirrors emotional turmoil and life changes, portraying the close relationship between humans and the natural world.

In conclusion, it can be said that folk songs have helped to preserve cultural motifs that they employ, which may have been lost with the propagation of modernisation. These song's texts have helped maintain the peculiarities and unique characteristics of the concerned societies. Therefore, a folk song can resonate with the famous lines of the renowned work *Hōjōki* by Kamo no Chōmei that goes “*yuku kawa no nagare wa taezu shite, shikamo moto no mizu ni arazu*” (ゆく川の流れば

絶えずして、しかも元の水にあらず) that means just as a river never stops flowing yet the water never remains the same. Likewise, the inception and culmination of folk songs also remain unknown, yet it accumulates within its layers of cultural elements and continues to transform and resurrect.

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Criticism Against the Education System in Protests Against the Government of East Germany: With the Case of the Affair in the Carl von Ossietzky School

OTA, Yukari

Abstract: This study aims to explore the people's movement before the reform of National Education in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). After Honecker's resignation, the new administration efforts to rebuild the system, including proposing reform plans through the Ministry of National Education. This political process has been studied to understand how the education system of the GDR was integrated into that of West Germany. In contrast, this study focuses on the evolution of public criticism against the National Education leading up to political reforms. Specifically, this study examines the Ossietzky Affair as a pivotal moment in this movement. Occurring in the late the 1980s, this incident reflected widespread demands for freedom and systematic reform. Students from this school voiced their opinions about society, a practice initially tolerated by the government. However, when these students faced punishment, it sparked heightened activism, particularly led by Evangelical churches. Through these movements, discussions about National Education became widespread in society. This study seeks to shed light on a segment of the broader public movement demanding freedom and challenging the government's unreasonable policies during the final years of the GDR.

Introduction

The policy of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was always shaped by the dynamics of the Cold War. The administration governed society by emphasizing socialist ideology to justify the system. The Ministry of National Security (Stasi) monitored the entire society to prevent anti-establishment activities. Criticism of the government often leads to disadvantages in one's prospects.

In the 1980s, the GDR faced a severe economic crisis, and the government struggled to function effectively, as only top officials had a full understanding of the social situation. Erich Honecker refused to follow Gorbachev's call for reforms, even though the people had high expectations for change after Gorbachev's rise to power. This refusal led to widespread disappointment with E. Honecker's obstinate attitude. A lot of people applied to leave the country in pursuit of freedom in Western countries, while others chose to protest against the government. At that time, in 1988, the Ossietzky Affair took place. In those days, young people who were influenced by Western countries tended to rebel against the internalization of the socialist character. The Affair is regarded as a representative example of this tendency¹.

¹ Izeki, Tadahisa. (2016). *Protest movement in Germany after World War II: a search for 'a mature civil society'*. Iwanami Shoten. p.102 (井関正久『戦後ドイツの抗議運動：「成熟した市民社会」への模索』岩波書店、2016年、102頁).

This study examines the Ossietzky Affair as a turning point in the transition of criticism against education policy. Preceding studies about protest movements against the government revealed the process that the people of the totalitarian state gained the power to change the establishment². The research on criticism against the education policy uncovers how the nation called the nature of the totalitarian governance into question because the goal of National Education was the cultivation of the people who contributed to the socialist society³. Preceding research about National Education has explained the political processes involved in reforming the education policy after E. Honecker's resignation to understand how East Germany's education system was integrated into that of West Germany. According to Amano (1993), the citizen's movement towards democratization prompted the administration to change its education policy. He regarded Margot Honecker's resignation from the Ministry of National Education as a symbol of the turning point in education policy and described the process of democratizing the education system. One day after her resignation, the new administration announced, 'Action Plan⁴,' which outlined the abolition of military practices and the restoration of teachers' autonomy. Ono (2002)⁵ referred to education reform as an early stage of curriculum reorganization. She viewed the rebuilding of the Ministry of National Education as part of the government's self-reform driven by significant population outflows and pressure from the democratic movement. These researches have not revealed the transitions in popular claims before political reform.

² See these resources: Neubert, Ehrhart. (1998). *Geschichte der Opposition in der DDR 1949-1989*, Ch.Links Verlag, Berlin, S. 25. Kwai, Nobuharu. (2001). The formation and the development of "opposition" in the German Democratic Republic (1) – Was 'the oppositon' a pillar of 'civil society'? *Hogaku-seijigaku kenkyu* 25. pp.51-70 (河合信晴「ドイツ民主共和国における「反対派」の形成と展開 (1) – 「反対派」は「市民社会」の担い手かー」『成蹊大学法学政治学研究』第 25 号、2001 年、51-70 頁). Id. (2002). The formation and the development of "opposition" in the German Democratic Republic (2・completion) – Was 'the oppositon' a pillar of 'civil society'? *Hogaku-seijigaku kenkyu* 26. pp.19-42 (河合「ドイツ民主共和国における「反対派」の形成と展開 (2・完) – 「反対派」は「市民社会」の担い手かー」『成蹊大学法学政治学研究』第 26 号、2002 年、19-42 頁). Izeki, *op.cit.*

³ Yoshida, Nariakira. (2011). *German reunification and reorganization of Didactics - historical evaluation of East German Didactics*. Hiroshima University. pp.17-18 (吉田成章『ドイツ統一と教授学の再編ー東ドイツ教授学の歴史的評価』広島大学出版会、2011 年、17-18 頁).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.24.

⁵ Ono, Ayumi. (2002). *Curriculum reform in former East German region -Revolution of the establishment and change of the school*. Kyodo Shuppan. pp.19-20 (大野亜由未『旧東ドイツ地域のカリキュラム改革ー体制の変化と学校の変化』協同出版、2002 年、19-20 頁).

To complement this drawback, the Ossietzky Affair must be taken up as a turning point. However, preceding studies referred to it only as one of the events that happened at the end of the 1980s⁶. For example, Heike Kaack (2016) stated only that church members used this affair to strengthen their influence on the education policy⁷, which overlooks the expansion of the discussion about the policy into the people outside the church.

This study examines the transition of criticism against the education policy, taking up the Ossietzky Affair as a turning point in this movement. This paper uncovers the process of widening discussions about National Education and the change of their substance.

Signs and Development of Oppositional Movements

Evangelical churches⁸ were the main actors in oppositional movements in the GDR. They supported anti-establishment groups and criticized policies, particularly those related to militarization and discrimination against Christians. Since the government promoted atheism, public schools did not offer religious education and Christian children faced discrimination especially regarding school admissions. From 1968 onwards, churches began supporting Christian and non-Christian people deemed unable to adapt to society. That year marked the end of military service or the first construction soldiers. The government did not publicize the option of serving as construction soldiers, so churches actively disseminated this information among Christians⁹. In the same year, protests erupted against Soviet military operations during the ‘Prague Spring’. Subsequently, non-Christians also began gathering in churches, organizing concerts and debate forums. These gatherings addressed topics such as the dangers of war and environmental issues. The government’s

⁶ See also the other below books: Kowalczyk, Ilko-Sascha. (2009). *Endspiel: die Revolution von 1989 in der DDR*, C.H. Beck, S. 291-297. Mählert, Ulrich (interpreted by Izuta, Shunsuke). (2019). *History of the GDR 1945-1990*. Hakusuisha Publishing. p.175 (ウルリヒ・メーラー、伊豆田俊輔訳『東ドイツ史 1945-1990』、白水社、2019年、175頁).

⁷ Kaack, Heike. (2016). *Der IX. Pädagogische Kongress am Ende der DDR*. Peter Lang GmbH. Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften. S. 169f.

⁸ In the region of the GDR, the majority was Lutheran traditionally, and about 80 % of the people belonged to Lutheran in 1949. Evangelical churches tried to keep independence from the state because of regret for following the Nazis. In this manuscript, “churches” mean evangelical ones. Ichikawa, Hiromi. (1995). Churches and citizens movement in the GDR – roles and limitations of “The church within socialism.” *Historical journal* 546. P.49 (市川ひろみ「東ドイツにおける教会と市民運動ー「社会主義のなかの教会」の役割と限界」『歴史評論』546号、1995年、49頁).

⁹ id. (2016). “Peace revolution” and churches in the GDR. *Socialism as history -Experiments in the GDR-*. Nakanishiya. pp.175-177 (市川ひろみ「東ドイツ「平和革命」と教会」川越修・河合信晴編『歴史としての社会主義-東ドイツの経験-』、ナカニシヤ出版、2016年、175-177頁).

increasingly repressive interventions in these events only fueled rebellious actions within the churches. However, after the suicide of Pastor Oskar Brüsewitz in 1976, church leaders and the government sought compromise. In 1978, Erich Honecker and Albrecht Schönherr, the chairman of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the German Democratic Republic, held a conference. At this conference, the government allowed free social activities to take place exclusively within churches, while church leaders had little choice but to accept the government's policies¹⁰.

This year, the government introduced military practice as a compulsory subject for students aged 14 to 16, as the conflict between East and West deteriorated once again from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. Students were neither allowed to refuse this practice nor permitted to choose participation without weapons. This decision provoked widespread resentment among parents, resulting in 2,500 petitions against it. Churches also campaigned for peace education and opposed as part of their broader peace movement¹¹.

In the first half of the 1980s, churches had already attempted to promote discussions about the education system, but these efforts failed. In 1987, a commission within the churches focused on work with children and confirmands under the alliance of the evangelical churches in the GDR¹² critically analyzed textbooks. However, they were unable to publish their findings.

Movements Supported by the Churches

Campaigns, especially those for environmental protection and equal rights between men and women, received support from the churches. Towards the end of the GDR, coal became an alternative resource due to a reduction in financial support for oil from the Soviet Union, which led to severe environmental pollution. Additionally, the government withheld information about the Chernobyl disaster, considering it inconvenient, which frustrated the public. However, 'Environment Library (Umwelt-Bibliothek),' which was established in Zion Church in Berlin, published information that contradicted official accounts¹³.

Organized campaigns for women's rights gained momentum following an amendment to the conscription law in 1982¹⁴. The new law allowed women to be conscripted for military service in emergencies, sparking protests linked to peace

¹⁰ Murakami, Yu. (2016). The expansion of anti-establishment in the GDR: with a focus on the development of "Open Activities." *Politics Research* 63. pp.74-76 (村上悠「東ドイツ体制批判運動の拡大：「開かれた活動」の展開を中心に」政治研究 63 巻、2016 年、74-76 頁).

¹¹ Ichikawa (2016). *op.cit.*, p.179.

¹² This organization was "die Kommission für kirchliche Arbeit mit Kindern und Konfirmanden im BEK" in German. Neubert, *op.cit.*, S.775.

¹³ Kawai, Nobuharu. (2020). *Story History of the GDR attempts and failure of the divided state*. Chuokoron Shinsya. pp.224-225 (河合信晴『物語 東ドイツの歴史 分断国家の挑戦と挫折』中央公論新社、2020 年、224-225 頁).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.221.

movements. In response, the opposition group 'Peace for Women (Frauen für den Frieden)' was formed to protest against the legislation. One of its leaders, Ulrike Poppe, dedicated herself not only to the women's movement but also to participating in campaigns against the Ossietzky Affair.

The government had to address these oppositional movements without jeopardizing its international reputation. It managed rebellious people through brief detentions and increased surveillance. Furthermore, the Ministry of National Security (Stasi) infiltrated unofficial collaborators into rebellious communities to disturb their activities¹⁵. According to Kawai (2020)¹⁶, the strictness of the government's response depended on the timing of Honecker's visit to Bonn. Before the visit, the measures were relatively moderate. After his visit, the government intensified its control, but it was too late to suppress the oppositional movements fully. Additionally, the government's effectiveness was hindered by Honecker's excessive optimism, which made him reluctant to consider his policies. There was also internal conflict among politicians about whether they should maintain the status quo.

The Ossietzky Affair

The Extended Secondary School Carl von Ossietzky¹⁷ was located in Pankow, Berlin. Pankow included an area where only political elites could live, and their children attended this school. In the autumn of 1988, the principal set up the wall newspaper *Speakers Corner*, which the government approved¹⁸. At this location, students and teachers could discuss social issues freely an exceptional measure for that time.

On September 11th, Phillip Lengsfeld, Benjamin Lindner, Shenja-Paul Wiens, and Alexander Krohn participated in a gathering against Nazi tendencies. They displayed placards with slogans opposing fascism and neo-Nazism, which the Stasi soon discovered. The following day, Lindner and Wiens posted a summary of strikes in Poland at *Speakers Corner*. Some students supported the article, while others claimed that the demonstrators in Poland were lazy. Karsten Krenz, the son of Egon Krenz, disagreed with the strikes and removed the article without comment. The next day, he returned it to *Speakers Corner* and proposed holding a student seminar to debate the issue. Although the principal approved the idea, but the Undersecretary of National Education rejected it. On 14th September, Kai Feller posted an article questioning whether a military parade was necessary on National Foundation Day. Both students and teachers discussed this topic publicly. Furthermore, Feller collected signatures opposing the parade within the school,

¹⁵ Mähler, *op.cit.*, p.173.

¹⁶ Kawai, *op.cit.* p.227.

¹⁷ Carl von Ossietzky is a German journalist who worked on an antiwar movement, criticized the Nazis, and received a Nobel Peace Prize.

¹⁸ Grammes, Tolman & Zühlke, Ari. (1995). *Ein Schulkonflikt in der DDR*. Chemnitzer Verlag und Druck. Zwickau. S.7.

without the principal's permission. By the time the principal noticed about 40 signatures had been gathered. Students who signed the list expected the principal to forward it to FDJ and the Ministry of Defense, which he superficially agreed to do. However, he did not condone the unauthorized collection of signatures and reported the activity to school council member, Voß, in Berlin. The Stasi also became aware of the incident.

On the weekend of September 17th or 18th, the Ministry of National Education, M. Honecker, received the report and decided on the actions to be taken regarding the students involved. She intended to order the students to leave or transfer to another school if they refused to change their stance. Lorenz was tasked with implementing her orders. Voß objected to such strict punishments; however, not only was her opinion dismissed, but her superiors stopped assigning her any other responsibilities. Teachers at the school must have pressured parents of children who had signed the list to convince their children to withdraw their signatures. Nevertheless, Kataja Ihle and Georgia von Chamir refused to comply.

On September 21st, Lengsfeld, Lindner, and Richter published a poem that had been carried in 1986 in the newspaper *The People's Army*. The poem meant as praise for automatic rifles was intended to be ironic. The next day, Feller, Ihle, Lengsfeld, Wiens, and Lindner were pulled out of their class and interrogated by the principal and officials. The following day, Krohn and Richter were also interrogated. The principal and officials questioned these students about their political beliefs and loyalty to the state, threatening them with expulsions if they did not change their views. Eventually, the Ministry M. Honecker decided that Feller, Ihle, Lengsfeld, and Lindner must leave the school and FDJ¹⁹. If two-thirds of their classmates agreed, the expulsions from the FDJ would be enforced. Consequently, a vote was held in their classes. While some students opposed the measure, but in three of the classes, excluding Lindner's class, over two-thirds of classmates voted in favor of their removal. However, Lindner left the FDJ voluntarily. Leaving the FDJ had a significant negative impact on the students' careers, including the forfeiture of opportunities to attend university. Even those who voted against the punishment risked similar consequences. Despite this, some students voiced objections to the treatment. On September 30th, the principal announced the punishments at a school assembly. In addition to the aforementioned four students above, Chamier and Wiens were also ordered to transfer to another school, while Krohn and Richter received reprimands. These decisions had been communicated to the students in advance. During the assembly, they were not permitted to protest the punishments and were required to leave the school immediately. Some students expressed dissent over the decision to combine leaving the FDJ with being forced to leave the school, as they had not anticipated that both consequences would be enforced together²⁰.

¹⁹ Free German Youth (Freie Deutsche Jugend) is a political organization that most people from 14 to 25 years old joined at that time.

²⁰ See the book in terms of the outline of the Ossietzky Affair above; Kalkbrenner, Jörn. (1990). *Urteil ohne Prozeß Margot Honecker gegen Ossietzky-Schüler*. Dietz Verlag. Berlin,

Although the government approved discussions at the *Speakers Corner*, Ministry M. Honecker punished the students involved. These strict and immediate measures were taken for two main reasons. First, high-level officials addressed the incident because E. Krenz's son was involved²¹. K. Krenz opposed the strike in Poland, however, he also proposed holding the debate at the school. This could have made him appear anti-government, similar to the punished students. Second, Lengsfeld was associated with the 'anti-government' activities, prompting the Stasi to intervene in the matter²². His mother participated in a demonstration during the ceremony for Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in January 1988, which led to her arrest by the police. Afterwards, she fled to England, and since then, Stasi closely monitored Lengsfeld in Berlin²³.

Initially, M. Honecker decided firstly to expel Wiens from school, but he was only transferred to a different school. This was due to the intervention of Otto, a member of the school council, who advocated for a reduced punishment, considering Wien's family background. His grandfather was an anti-fascism poet who had been imprisoned in a concentration camp, and his mother was a member of the writer's league. The government anticipated that she might protest strongly against a harsher punishment, and she did oppose the penalty that was ultimately imposed²⁴.

Before the punishments were officially announced at the school, officials and the principal sometimes objected to the decisions, but their objections were rejected. For example, during a consultation led by Lorenz, the head of a commission for school dismissals, Dr. Peter, pointed out that the interrogation process was one-sided, and that the evidence of the students' guilt was insufficient. In this consultation, the principal proposed holding a second hearing. Lorenz dismissed their opinions and instructed Dr. Peter to proceed with the expulsion process immediately²⁵.

Children of politically or socially influential figures attended the school of Carl von Ossietzky, which created a freer environment compared to other schools. However, the government needed to address anti-establishment activities quickly to prevent their influence from spreading throughout the country.

Reactions of the People to the Ossietzky Affair

After the punishments were carried out, students in the school discussed these actions. Some of them protested, arguing that the practice was premature and unfair.

S. 10-57.

²¹ Neubert, *op.cit.*, S.774.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Kalkbrenner, *op.cit.*, S.10f.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, S.42f.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, S.45.

However, K. Krenz disagreed, claiming that his father had given the matter considerable thought²⁶.

Although the government did not immediately make this incident public, it caused responses from churches both within and outside Berlin. They held services where participants prayed for the punished students and criticized the government's actions. The participants included members of anti-establishment groups and journalists from Western countries. Attendees argued that the students were merely exercising their right to discuss social issues at *Speakers Corner* and demanded that the government reverse its actions. In response, the government temporarily detained some activists, such as Ulrike Poppe and advised a bishop to refrain from organizing similar events, aiming to prevent the church's involvement in political matters.

However, despite the advice, the pastors, the activists, and the journalists met to discuss issues concerning National Education. The number of participants in the services grew significantly. On November 20th, about 1,000 people attended the Savior Church, including delegations from the IPPNW²⁷ in West Germany and the Netherlands²⁸. After the service, they held a meeting with a member of the GDR Academy of Education Study²⁹ where they declared their intention to persuade the media in West Germany to report on the Ossietzky Affair. On November 27th, churches within and outside Berlin convened a gathering. Although the Stasi intervened in these events, more than 1,200 people attended, collectively demanding reforms to the education system. The Ossietzky Affair was widely regarded as a symptom of the country's underdeveloped institutions. The following day, these gatherings received media coverage in Western countries. From December 11th to 13th, the teachers' unions from East and West Germany met in East Berlin,³⁰ where the Ossietzky Affair became a central topic of discussion. This led to another meeting involving a delegation from West Germany and 'reactionary' pastors. Poppe and other invited participants also attended to report on the Ossietzky Affair and discuss necessary education reforms in both countries. From the Stasi's perspective, this discussion resulted in explicit demands from the churches to be addressed at the 9th Education Conference.

Petitions Towards the 9th Education Conference

The Ministry of National Education organized the Education Conference annually until 1949. After that, it was held intermittently until the 9th conference in 1989. Its goal was that 'people reflected on achievements of the year and open new prospects

²⁶ *Ibid.*, S.60.

²⁷ IPPNW is the abbreviation of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

²⁸ Stasi-Unterlagen-Archiv. Nr.508/88.

²⁹ This organization is „Akademie der Pädagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR“ in German.

³⁰ Stasi-Unterlagen-Archiv. Nr.557/88.

for the next school year'³¹. Attendees discussed topics such as the education plan based on the party's policy.

In January 1988, the government announced that the 9th conference would take place from June 12th to 15th. Ministry Margot appealed to educators to submit ideas for the development of National Education. People expected her to be ready to reform the education policy and sent petitions,³² which were a legal way to voice complaints to the government and required a formal response³³. Lisa Nüßner, head of the petitions department, documented not only the dates on which petitions were received and the names of the senders but also their concerns and professions, which were forwarded to Margot. About one-third of the petitions received no response and were instead sent to the Stasi. Most of these came from churches and anti-establishment groups supported by the churches. Meanwhile, parents and educators without church affiliations demanded improvements to the practical aspects of the education system, such as introducing a five-day school week and separating talented students from average ones. However, church members called for reforms to the ideological nature of socialist education, such as the abolition of censorship and the separation of schools from political organizations.

According to Kaack (2016), members of the churches referred to the Ossietzky Affair to strengthen their position on education policy. Not only the churches but also anti-establishment activists used this incident. For example, during a meeting on November 27th, some participants issued a statement that included the sentence; 'It is time to discuss the actual condition of the education system of the GDR'³⁴. The Stasi regarded this meeting as the starting point for broader discussions involving all social groups.

In 1989, activities within the churches that posed a challenge to the government increased. These activities included the use of unauthorized copy machines, which enabled educators to discuss issues related to National Education publicly. Moreover, these efforts led to the formation of organizations in Berlin and Wittenberg that focused on the 9th Education Conference. These groups organized the 'conference from the bottom'³⁵ as an alternative to the official conference. Similar gatherings were held in various regions, including Potsdam. At these events, participants not only criticized the government's education policies but also drafted resolutions for the 9th Education Conference.

As a result of these movements, petitions from people in the GDR and neighboring countries "continuously (anhaltend)" ³⁶ submitted to political organizations and educational institutions. For example, the Kurt Schumacher club³⁷

³¹ Yoshid, *op.cit.*, p.16.

³² Kaack, *op.cit.*, S.109f.

³³ Kawai. *op.cit.* pp.193-194.

³⁴ I translated the part from German to English. Stasi-Unterlagen-Archiv. Nr. 183/89.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ The club was an organization of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, gathering

sent 250 copies of a letter condemning the education policy of the GDR to extended secondary schools.

Which petitions received a response remains unknown. Some claims regarding petitions that received a reply overlapped with those of petitions that were ignored. Petitions sent to the Stasi were regarded as an attack on National Education³⁸.

Reactions After the 9th Education Conference

The content of this conference betrayed the expectations of those who anticipated M. Honecker would propose reforms. Instead, she emphasized the success of the education policy, particularly its praise of socialist ideology and showed no inclination to reform it. Although the government responded to some petitions, they were largely ignored during the conference. Criticism was especially directed at the promotion of hostility towards Western countries, despite the détente of the Cold War and the contradiction between encouraging harmonious relationships between parents and children and the demand for full employment. Some people requested responses to the petitions, but these demands went unfulfilled³⁹.

Members of educational institutions and participants in party and union meetings assessed the content of the education conference. While some appreciated the achievements since the country's foundation, others refrained from public criticism but privately condemned M. Honecker's argument. Many were disappointed, particularly because the conference failed to propose solutions to the pressing issues in National Education⁴⁰.

Teachers and students also discussed the conference in their respective schools and opinions were divided between agreement and opposition. Negative evaluations were varied: while older teachers objected to personal systems, such as the unfair distribution of salaries and jobs, younger educators called for respect for students' individuality and the encouragement of their free development. These discussions subsided by the end of the semester, but anti-establishment groups continued their criticism even during the semester break.

When the new semester began in September, the political executive could no longer ignore the crisis of authority. While the executive debated E. Honecker's resignation in the mid-October, teachers who had been publicly loyal to the government began to voice cautious criticism. Students, informed by media from Western countries and anti-establishment groups, raised issues that, when combined with official government narratives, posed challenges for teachers to address⁴¹. At the Carl von Ossietzky school, teachers decided at the end of September to request

detained people from the GDR. However, "Neue Ostpolitik (new eastern policy)" resulted in an outflow of many members. Stasi-Unterlagen-Archiv. Nr. 183/89.

³⁸ Kaack. *op.cit.*, S.146ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, S.181ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, S.184ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, S.190f.

the withdrawal of penalties for leaving the school, but the authorities ignored their appeal.

Several days after the announcement of E. Honecker's resignation, M. Honecker offered her resignation from the Ministry⁴². The new government led by E. Krenz attempted to engage in dialogue with anti-establishment groups as public demand for social reforms grew increasingly stronger. The Department of Inspection of Primary Schools advised her to take the opinions raised at the education conference, and she ultimately acknowledged the necessity of reform. However, the new government began drafting reform plans only after her resignation was announced in early November.

At the time of E. Honecker's resignation, journalist Klaus Flemming was prepared to report on the Ossietzky Affair in a television program. Although the government initially approved the broadcast, the decision was later reversed. Nevertheless, the authorities were unable to repress his protest as the momentum for systematic change had become unstoppable. As a result, the program aired in November⁴³. By December, the principal announced the rehabilitation of the punished students. Furthermore, a commission of inquiry was established to investigate the matter, questioning the principal, teachers, and involved officials⁴⁴.

Conclusion

Before the Ossietzky Affair, the churches criticized National Education for its militarization and discrimination against Christian children. Their efforts were rooted in their religious beliefs. The campaign against military training as a compulsory subject was regarded as part of their broader peace movement. The churches also attempted to engage in discussions about the education system, but these efforts were largely unsuccessful. For example, the church commission was unable to publish its analysis of textbooks, and its initiatives failed to gain traction in society.

The Ossietzky Affair occurred as public demonstrations grew increasingly frequent. This event reminded people of the repressive nature of the education system, prompting many to attend church services to express their opinions on the affair and National Education. Participants called for the withdrawal of punishments and the democratization of the education system. Members of anti-establishment groups and journalists from Western countries actively participated in these events. Western media coverage of the Ossietzky Affair led to criticism of the system from abroad. During church activities in the churches, attendees drafted petitions and statements addressed to the 9th Education Conference, urging the government to reform and rebuild the education system.

The people who sent the petitions were disappointed with the content of the conference, during which M. Honecker proclaimed the maintenance of the status

⁴² *Ibid.*, S.32.

⁴³ Kalkbrenner, *op.cit.*, S. 89f.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* S.111f.

quo. Eventually, teachers who had previously been obedient to the government publicly expressed negative opinions about the conference. After the resignation of E. Honecker and his wife, the government began working on the reform of National Education. The principal of the Carl von Ossietzky school announced the withdrawal of punishments after a journalist reported the Ossietzky Affair on television.

This affair significantly contributed to the development of the discussions about issues of National Education. Churches, wielding greater influence on education policy, took up the matter. The reform of the education system was part of a broader political movement, but the reactions to the affair should not be overlooked. The affair exposed the dysfunction of the government and sparked concerns, even from abroad. It also served as a reminder of how repressive National Education had been. The criticism by the people led to the democratization of National Education.

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ISBN
978-4-908326-13-4

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Published by International Affairs Office, School of Letters/Graduate School of Humanities The University of Osaka

Printed in Japan by Noto Printing

Cover page designed by Yutaka MINEKURA



大阪大学で
学びませんか

大阪大学大学院人文科学研究科 特待留学生制度

授業料全額免除
研究活動への優遇支援
学会発表への優遇支援

人文学専攻 言語文化学専攻 外国学専攻 日本学専攻 芸術学専攻

特待留学生を採用する試験ごとに定められた選考方法により優秀な私費留学生を若干名募集します。

博士後期課程入学試験（2025年4月入学）募集要項を参照

専攻	選抜区分	出願期間	試験日
人文学専攻・日本学専攻基盤日本学コース・芸術学専攻	外国人留学生選抜	2024年12月2日（月）～12月6日（金）	2025年2月2日（日）
言語文化学専攻	特別選抜	2024年9月30日（月）～10月3日（木） 外国の大学院等を修了した者などは 9月13日（金）までに出願前準備申請が必要	2024年11月23日（土）
	一般選抜	2024年12月16日（月）～12月19日（木）	2025年2月9日（日）
	—	2024年11月25日（月）～11月29日（金）	2025年2月1日（土）
外国学専攻	—	2024年11月25日（月）～11月29日（金）	2025年2月1日（土）

博士後期課程入学試験（2025年10月入学）募集要項 2025年3月公表予定

専攻	選抜区分	出願期間	試験日
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博士前期課程入学試験（2025年4月入学）募集要項を参照

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日本学専攻応用日本学コース（実践トラック）	夏期試験	2024年6月3日（月）～6月14日（金）	2024年8月3日（土）
	冬期試験	2024年11月25日（月）～11月29日（金）	2025年2月2日（日）

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