

Nationalism and Ethnicity in the Modern Japanese Context: Translation and Ideology in the late 19th Century

Nacionalismo y etnicidad en el Japón moderno: traducción e ideología a finales del siglo XIX

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Abstract: The world is experiencing globalization rapidly and has become deeply interdependent. Nevertheless, we see an increasing awareness of nationalism and ethnicity all over the world. Nationalism and ethnicity are two different concepts. However, nationalism may not be dissociated from ethnicity; rather, it may develop in close association with ethnicity through the process of modernization. Japan's modernization began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, which led to its transformation from a feudal society into a modern nation that drew on Western states as its model. This process involved a struggle to translate Western ideas, such as «nation» and «nationalism.» This paper focuses on the late 19th century which prompted the formation of a Japanese national identity and an upsurge in nationalism, and explores the ways that translation practices and ideological aspects of the period were interrelated to shape Japanese nationalism at that time.

Key words: nation; nationalism; ethnicity; ideology; modernization; Japanese context.

Resumen: El mundo está experimentando una rápida globalización y se ha vuelto profundamente interdependiente. Sin embargo, se aprecia una creciente conciencia sobre el nacionalismo y la etnicidad en todo el planeta. Nacionalismo y etnicidad son dos conceptos diferentes. Sin embargo, el nacionalismo no puede dissociarse de la etnicidad; es más, puede desarrollarse en estrecha asociación con la etnicidad a través del proceso de modernización. La modernización de Japón comenzó con la Restauración Meiji en 1868 y transformó una sociedad feudal en una nación moderna inspirada en el modelo de los Estados occidentales. Este proceso implicó la búsqueda de traducciones para las ideas occidentales, tales como «nación» y «nacionalismo». Este artículo se centra en el final del siglo XIX, cuando se impulsó la formación de una identidad nacional japonesa y el surgimiento del nacionalismo, y explora las formas en que se interrelacionaron la práctica de la traducción y los aspectos ideológicos de dicho período para dar forma al nacionalismo japonés de la época.

Palabras clave: nación; nacionalismo; etnicidad/etnia; ideología; modernización; Japón.

1. INTRODUCTION

The world is experiencing an increasingly rapid globalization process and societies' interdependence has deepened since the end of the Cold War. Simultaneously, increasing emphases on nationalism and ethnicity have emerged around the world, which often has caused regional political instability. We are now facing two contradictory phenomena: globalization and nationalism. The meanings of «nationalism» and «ethnicity» are different and difficult to define, and, in recent decades, both concepts have been the focus of a broad array of studies in numerous academic disciplines (e.g. Anderson 1883, Gellner 1883, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Smith 1986, Greenfeld 1992). «Ethnicity» generally is understood as a way to identify human groups as socio-culturally and traditionally constructed and distinct from other groups, whereas «nationalism» primarily refers to the modern-era political ideology that the political and national units should be identical. However, «nationalism» is not always distinguished from «ethnicity» because it might develop in close association with ethnicity through the process of modernization. In Japan, these two concepts have been inextricably intertwined with each other since its early modernization period to the present.

Japan's modernization began with the Meiji Restoration in 1868, which transformed it from a feudal society into a modern nation-state¹ by drawing on Western states'

1. As for the terms, «nation», «nation-state» and «state» this paper takes the following definitions by Nye and Welch (2014, 4-5).

Nation: A group of people who have some combination of common language, culture, religion, history, mythology, identity, or sense of destiny, as well as strong ties to a particular territory, and, usually, aspirations for political autonomy.

examples as its model. In the face of the arrival of the Black Ships (1853)² and the defeat of Qing Dynasty by the Western powers in the Second Opium War (1856-1860), Japan had grown increasingly aware of the threat of Western domination in East Asia, and, consequently, government officials and scholarly elites believed that understanding the West was an urgent matter. Thus, translation became a national-level project on Japan's path to modern statehood involving the struggle to translate completely unfamiliar concepts, including terms, such as «nation» and «nationalism», rooted in Western tradition. This paper focuses on the late 19th century, the mid-Meiji period, or Meiji '20s (1887-1896), when Japan succeeded in establishing itself as a modern nation-state, which prompted the formation of a Japanese national identity and an upsurge in nationalism. By analyzing texts containing translated words written by scholarly elites who had important roles leading nationalist movements during the Meiji '20s, this paper explores the ways that translation practice and the ideological aspects of the period were interrelated to shape Japanese nationalism at the time and the influences that those factors might be exerting on the Japanese people's current understanding of nationalism.

2. BACKGROUND

Doak (2007) started his book, *A History of Nationalism in Modern Japan*, with the phrase, «much of what is written about Japanese nationalism is not really about nationalism at all», and stated as follows.

But what has been most striking is the rather casual use of the term «nationalism» in English writing, and the more attentive and discriminating use of terminology to convey the idea of nation or nationalism in Japanese (Doak 2007, 2).

Indeed, whenever the notion of «nationalism» is discussed in any academic discipline in Japan, one confronts the question of which Japanese term to use to refer to it. There are mainly five words for «nationalism» in modern Japanese: *kokumin-shugi*, *minzoku-shugi*, *kokka-shugi*, *kokusui-shugi*, and *nashonarizumu* (the phonetic form of «nationalism»). All five stem words, *kokumin*, *minzoku*, *kokka*, *kokusui*, and *neeshon* (the

Nation-state: An ethnically homogenous state; that is, a state whose citizens are all, or virtually all, members of a single nation.

State: A sovereign, territorial political unit.

2. The East India Squadron of the United States Navy led by Commodore Perry arrived in Japan, near the entrance of Tokyo Bay in 1853. Perry submitted a letter from the President of the United States that urged Japan to open the country.

phonetic form of «nation») appeared as translations of «nation» or «nationality» in the late 19th century when Japan was modernizing³. They all combine two *kanji* (Chinese characters), except for *neeshon*. While *kokumin*, *kokka*, and *kokusui* include the same *kanji*, *koku* (by on-yomi)⁴, that refers to «country», *kokumin* and *minzoku* share the same *kanji*, *min* (by on-yomi), that refers to «people». *Shugi* also appeared as a translation of «principle» in the early Meiji period⁵. *Shugi* corresponds to the English suffix «ism.» Therefore, the words used to refer to «nationalism» were created by combining the translations of the words, «nation» or «nationality», with the word *shugi*. However, among five only four words except for *minzoku-shugi* appeared in Meiji period texts. The word *minzoku-shugi* had not been seen in the texts until around the First World War (1914-1918).

The Japanese words for «nationalism» listed above often evoke various images of nationalism for today's Japanese speakers because, whereas *kokumin* generally refers to people who have the same nationality or belong to the same country, *minzoku* often refers to people of the same ethnic group or who share the same ethnic background. *Kokka* means a «nation» or «state»⁶. *Kokusui* literally means the «pure essence of a country.» On the other hand, *kokumin-shugi* is used relatively less today than the other words. Instead, *minzoku-shugi* and *kokka-shugi* usually are used to mean nationalism. Currently, *kokusui-shugi* is used to denote ultranationalism. Because each of these words induces a distinct meaning, the loan word, *nashonarizumu*, has increasingly been used in recent years. The *Genius Japanese-English Dictionary* by Minamide and Nakamura (2011), one of Japan's most commonly referenced bilingual dictionaries, denotes the meanings of each word as shown in Table 1.

3. A number of new words were coined as translations of Western notions by combining two Chinese characters, which are called *nihon-kango* (Japan-made Chinese words). Many of them including *minzoku*, *kokka*, and *kokusui* were reimported to the Mainland China and took new meanings (Katsurajima 2008).

4. After *kanji* was introduced from ancient China, Japanese people applied *kanji* to Classical Japanese language. *Kanji* readings are categorized as either on-yomi or kun-yomi. On-yomi refers to Chinese reading. Kun-yomi refers to native Japanese reading associated with the meaning of *kanji*.

5. The term *shugi* already appeared in 1881 in the first edition of *Tetsugaku Jii* (Dictionary of Philosophy) (1881/2015, 71).

6. To be precise, *kokka* was coined as a translation denoting a state at the beginning of the Meiji period, and was included in the first edition of *Tetsugaku Jii* (Dictionary of Philosophy) (1881/2015, 87).

Japanese	English	Japanese	English
<i>kokumin</i>	the nation; the people; citizen	(<i>kokumin-shugi</i>) no entry	-
<i>minzoku</i>	people; ethnic group; race	<i>minzoku-shugi</i>	nationalism, racism
<i>kokka</i>	nation; state; country	<i>kokka-shugi</i>	nationalism
(<i>kokusui</i>) no entry	-	<i>kokusui-shugi</i>	ultranationalism
(<i>neeshon</i>) no entry	-	<i>nashonarizumu</i>	nationalism

Table 1: Japanese words with their corresponding English words

According to the dictionary, in current Japanese, while *kokumin* is the most common word for «nation», *minzoku-shugi* or *kokka-shugi* are much more frequently used than is *kokumin-shugi* for «nationalism.» On the other hand, today, while *kokumin-shugi* has usually no unfavorable meaning, *minzoku-shugi*, *kokka-shugi*, and especially *kokusui-shugi* often carry a negative connotation. There has been much confusion in terms of these words among the general population as well as politicians, journalists, educators, scholars and translators. The following afterword written by one of the Japanese translators of Hobsbawm and Ranger’s well-known work, *The Invention of Tradition*, demonstrates the difficulty and confusion experienced by translators when translating «nation» and «nationalism» into Japanese.

Gensoku-teki ni, «State» o kokka to shi, «Nation» o «minzoku», «kokumin» to shita ga, baai ni yotte wa «kokka» to shita kasho mo aru. «Nationalism» mo, bunmyaku ni ojite «nashonarizumu», «minzoku-shugi», «kokumin-shugi», «kokka-shugi» to yakushi waketa (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, 487).

[In principle, I translated the word «state» as «*kokka*», and «nation» as «*minzoku*» or «*kokumin*», but in some cases as «*kokka*.» I also translated the word «nationalism» as «*nashonarizumu*», «*minzoku-shugi*», «*kokumin-shugi*», and «*kokka-shugi*» depending on context] (Translated by the author).

As discussed later, *kokumin* appeared as a translation of «nation» at the beginning of Japan’s modernization, and, by the mid-Meiji period (Meiji ‘20s, i.e., 1887-1896), when the alternative translation *minzoku* emerged, usage of *kokumin* was relatively widespread (Tsuboi, 2015). Osawa (2011, 58-59), as well as other scholars (e.g. Shiokawa 2008) stated that people in Japan became to identify themselves as *Nihonjin* (Japanese people) and that Japan was established as a nation-state in about the Meiji ‘20s. This might suggest a correlation between the emergence of the translation

words and the establishment of Japan as a nation-state with the associated upsurge in Japanese nationalism. In addition, it might suggest the connections or disconnections between usages of «nationalism» between then and now.

Political scientists and sociologists have proposed two types of nationalism: civic and ethnic. This classification might have been introduced by Kohn (1944/2008), who proposed that the former, which mainly developed in Western countries, such as Great Britain, France, and the United States, is based on political identity built around a shared citizenship. Therefore, a «civic» nation is identified by common internal political principles. The latter type developed in Germany, Italy, and Eastern European countries as a group identity based on ethnicity built around a shared heritage. Therefore, an «ethnic» nation is identified by its common language, culture, and ethnic ancestry. This dichotomy proposed by Kohn could lead to an oversimplified argument. However, Kohn's typology has proved an effective analyser for comparative nationalism theory and has been used by researchers including Smith (1986), Brubaker (1992), and Greenfeld (1992).

Under this typology, what type of nationalism developed during Japan's process of modernization? Further, is there any relationship between translation practice and nationalism? Then, is there any connection between usages of «nationalism» between then and today?

3. RESEARCH ON TRANSLATION PRACTICE AND JAPANESE NATIONANALISM

Scores of scholars from the fields of the social sciences and humanities including sociology and ideological history in and out of Japan have developed an active discussion on Japanese nationalism. In 2007, one hundred and fifty years after the death of Katsunan Kuga, who played an important role in the nationalist movement in the mid-Meiji period, much active debate on nationalism was conducted at Japanese academic societies. Koyasu (2007) elucidated how the discourse of nationalism was formed in modern times in Japan and on the process of how and when the ethnic concept *minzoku* was established. Osawa (2007) revealed the prototype of nationalism and the process of its transformation through human history, and Osawa (2011) subsequently discussed how Japanese nationalism had transformed from an early form to ultranationalism. Doak (2007) investigated the history of Japanese nationalism from the Meiji period to the present, and explored two concepts central to Japanese nationalist discourse, *kokumin-shugi* and *minzoku-shugi*.

However, as mentioned above, whenever people discuss the nation or nationalism, they face difficulty in choosing the Japanese terms that should be used to refer to these notions. A number of scholars have pointed out the problem caused by the fact that

these terms are translations (e.g. Nishikawa 2002, Shiokawa 2008). Nishikawa (2002) stated the following.

Nihon ni okeru minzoku gainen no konran no hitotsu no riyu wa, kindai kokumin kokka keisei no katei de, obei no bunmei = kokumin, bunka = minzoku to iu aitairitsu suru gainen no soho o ukeireta koto de aro. ... Daga minzoku to iu gainen no konran no yori konpon-teki na riyu wa, sore ga hon-yakugo de aru to iu koto daro. Kore wa Nihon dake no mondai dewa nai. Seio no bocho, shitagatte sekai shisutemu to kokka-kan shisutemu ga kakudai shite iku naka de, hi-Seio sekai wa jikoku no kannen taikai ni nai Seio no kokumin = minzoku gainen o ukeirezaru o enakkata. Shitagatte kotonaru gengo o hanasu hi-Seio sekai no subete ni oite minzoku wa hon-yaku go de ari, ... (Nishikawa 2002, 176-177)

[One of the reasons for confusion of ethnic concept in Japan might be because we had to accept conflicting concepts such as civilization = *kokumin* and culture = *minzoku*. ... However, a more fundamental reason for the confusion of the concept of «*minzoku*» is that it is a translated word. This is not a problem only in Japan. As a consequence of the expansion of Western European powers, and therefore, the expansion of global and regional interrelations, the non-Western world had no choice but to accept the Western concept of «nation (*kokumin*) = ethnos (*minzoku*)», which had not existed previously in the ideological systems of non-Western countries. Thus, in all non-Western countries speaking different languages, words representing «ethnos» are translated words ...] (Translated by the author)

Meanwhile, Howland (2002) elucidated how Western concepts were introduced into Japanese society during the Meiji period by means of translation. Tsuboi (2015) analyzed texts written and translated by Japanese scholarly elites in the late 19th century and explored the translation practice for «nation» in the process of Japan's modernization, especially from an ideological perspective. However, research on the relation between the formation of nationalism and translation practice in Japan's modernization has not been fully elucidated. Based on these studies, this paper explores how translation practice and the ideological aspects of the period combined to form Japanese nationalism during Japan's modernization and what influences those factors might be exerting on the Japanese people's current understanding of nationalism.

4. METHODS

This study employs the context-oriented approach (i.e., case studies) because it examines the relationships between translation practice and ideologies relating nationalism during Japan's modernization period. In Section 5, the sociocultural and

historical contexts of Japan's modernization progress during the late 19th century will be briefly examined. Then, in Section 6, using the published texts, the discourses on nationalism will be analyzed from an ideological perspective. Finally, in Section 7, based on Section 5 and 6, discussion will be developed.

Drawing on the typology explained in the section 2, this paper attempts to clarify ideological aspects of nationalism developed in Meiji 20s and its relationship with translation practice. Then, it explores what influences those factors might be exerting on the current confusion in terms of understanding and using these words for «nationalism.»

The Case study research is widely used in social science disciplines and has also been frequently used in literary translation research as well as in research on translation history. Saldanha and O'Brien (2013) classified translation studies into four orientation types: product, process, participant, and context. Case study is employed to investigate the external factors affecting individual translators as well as the circumstances in which translations take place and how translations influence the receiving cultures (ibid, 205). Boase-Beier, Fisher, and Furukawa (2018) stated the following.

By placing translations within their related context, translations, translators, the act of translation, or the reception of translations will be able to reveal not only the aspects of target cultures, but also intricate relationships between source cultures and target cultures. This is what case studies look for (Boase-Beier, Fisher, and Furukawa 2018, 12).

In this sense, case studies are defined as context-oriented research.

The data were derived from the few available relevant texts, all of which are famous works on nationalism, in which the authors described their ideas of the meaning of «nation» using translation words. The authors were three of the period's most influential intellectuals, all of whom were journalists who led the nationalist movement during the mid-Meiji period. The following texts are analyzed.

1. Texts from articles written by Shigetaka Shiga (1863-1927) published in the journal *Nihonjin* (Japanese People) (1888) in which he advocated on behalf of the term *kokusui-shugi*.
2. Texts from articles written by Katsunan Kuga (1857-1907) published in the newspaper *Tokyo Denpo* (Tokyo Telegram) (later the *Nippon* (Japan)) (1888), in which he advocated on behalf of the term *kokumin-shugi*.
3. Texts from *Dai Nihon Bocho-ron* (Expansionism of Great Japan) (1894) by Soho Tokutomi (1863-1957), who published the journal *Kokumin no Tomo* (The Nation's Friend), in which he advocated on behalf of *kokka-shugi*.

It might be important that, similar to many other intellectuals of the period, these authors initially were influenced by the liberalism and enlightenment that had developed in Great Britain, France, and the United States, which was quickly followed by the governance system developed in Germany.

5. JAPAN'S MODERNIZATION PROCESS AND TRANSLATION

5.1. Early- to mid-Meiji period (1868-1887)

As explained above, Japan's modernization process began with the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate and advent of the Meiji Restoration, both of which occurred in 1868. After that year, Japan worked toward achieving status as a modern nation-state centered on the Emperor. Government officials and intellectuals recognized the value of quickly learning about the West. Translation became an urgent national issue and was implemented exhaustively and extensively (Kato 1991). The term *kokka* was coined as a translation of the word «state», and *kokumin* appeared as the translation of «nation» at the dawn of the Meiji period.

The first edition of *Tetsugaku Jii* (Dictionary of Philosophy) (1881/2015), edited by Tetsujiro Inoue and others, includes entries of the words «state», for which *kokka* was selected as its Japanese equivalent, and «nation», for which *kokumin* and *kuni*, a word mainly referring to «country», were chosen as Japanese equivalents. This means that, by the Meiji '20s, these terms, *kokka* and *kokumin*, had achieved widespread usage. Because Meiji government's most pressing task was to revise Japan's unequal treaties with Western powers that had been signed at the end of the Tokugawa period, the political leaders pooled all their efforts to ensure that the Western powers acknowledged Japan as a so-called «civilized» country. The government proceeded with various policies such as the Europeanization policy that Europeanized Japanese regulations and customs.

Meanwhile, in 1871, Germany was unified as the German empire under the Prussian king. In the same year, Italy was also established as a modern state. Germany and Italy, backward countries at that time, tried to establish themselves as a powerful nation-state against the developed Western countries such as England and France. Japan, also a backward country then, hastened the formation of a modern state modeled on Germany. Consequently, *kokka* (state) was built top-down by the government to create *kokumin* (nation) based on extreme centralization and Europeanization modeled on Germany.

5.2. Mid-Meiji period (1887-1896)

This period experienced a new political movement that criticized the government's extreme Europeanization and insisted on awareness of Japan's national identity as the *Nihonjin* (Japanese people). The movement gained overwhelming support from the public, which led to the Freedom and People's Rights Movement influenced by the liberalism and individualism developed in Great Britain, France, and the United States, and the rise of nationalism. Whereas the movement lost its momentum in the face of a government crackdown and establishment of the National Diet (1890), nationalism experienced strong momentum that created various discourses on it. The most influential ideological discourses were on the concepts of *kokusui-shugi*, *kokumin-shugi*, and *kokka-shugi*. During this period, an alternative translation of «nation» as *minzoku* emerged and gradually spread, even though its use was initially was limited (Tsuboi, 2015). The word *kokusui* also developed as a translation of the word «nationality.»

Meanwhile, the government moved forward its national policy of fostering industries and enhancing military strength. The world already was in the grip of imperialism, and Japan quickly became involved in capitalism, imperialism, and nationalism. Then, upon winning the Sino-Japanese War (1895), it expanded its territory in East Asia, which opened the door to a new phase of nationalism.

6. DISCOURSES ON NATIONALISM IN MID-MEIJI PERIOD

6.1. *Kokusui-shugi* by Shigetaka Shiga

Shigetaka Shiga (1863-1927) is known for his role as the chief editor of the magazine *Nihonjin* (Japanese People) that was first published in 1888. He and his colleagues developed a political nationalist argument opposing the government's extreme Europeanization policy, which they named *kokusui-shugi*. However, at that time, the term did not imply «ultranationalism» as in its modern usage. Shiga used *kokusui* with the English word «nationality» in brackets in his first article in *Nihonjin* and explained the meaning of *kokusui* as follows.

... *Kokusui naru mono wa, Nihon kokudo ni sonzai suru manpan naru igaibutsu no kanka to, kagaku-teki hanno to ni tekio junju shi, motte haitai shi seisan shi, seicho shi hattatsu shi taru mono ni shite, katsuya Yamato minzoku no aida ni senko banko yori iden shi kitari kajun shi kitari* (April 18, 1888).

[... *Kokusui* denotes accepting the influence of all sorts of foreign elements in the area of Japanese national land and integrating with them appropriately like a chemical

reaction, thereby arising, delivering, growing and developing, and also what has been transmitted and refined among the *Yamato minzoku* since ancient time.»] (Translated by the author)

To paraphrase, Shiga defined *kokusui* as the essence of Japanese nationality in relation to the *Yamato minzoku* (people native to the Japanese archipelago). Nakanome (2014) stated that the publication of this article was the moment when modern nationalist philosophy was born in Meiji Japan.

In his article published on March 3, 1889, he used the term *Nihon minzoku* instead of *Yamato minzoku* and proposed two types of policies on the independence of the Japanese nation: intangible and tangible. The article stated that intangible policies referred to «*Nihon minzoku no shiso wo dokuritsu seshimuru koto*» [to make the thought of *Nihon minzoku* independent] and the tangible policies referred to «*Nippon no seisanryoku wo zoshin shi kokumin koko no zaihon wo kashoku sen to suru sunawachi kore nari*» [increasing Japanese productivity and making each member of *kokumin* augment his fortune] (Translated by the author).

Obviously, in his idea of *kokusui-shugi*, *kokumin* as a «civic» nation and *minzoku* as an «ethnic» nation coexisted. He wanted to realize and reserve *kokusui* by a bottom-up policy enhancing the economic power of *kokumin*, not by the top-down Europeanization of the only the surface. Shiga appealed that each *kokumin* should maintain awareness as *minzoku*. Thus, his *kokusui-shugi* belonged to the genealogy of modern nationalism, and was distinguished from traditional nationalism inherited from the end of the Tokugawa period, which advocated reverence for the Emperor and the expulsion of foreigners. His inclusion of ethnicity in concept of nationalism was groundbreaking because by the mid-Meiji period other modern nationalist movements did not include the notion of Japanese ethnicity.

Later, around the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), Shiga entered the political arena, supporting a hardliner approach. In 1904, Shiga stepped on the ground for the first time on the Korean Peninsula. He regarded the expansion to the Korean peninsula as an indication of Japan's progress as a modern state. He insisted on the *kokusui* of the *Yamato minzoku* in his article in 1884 mentioned above, but did not apply the same logic to Korean *minzoku*, and his nationalism led to imperialism.

6.2. *Kokumin-shugi* by Katsunan Kuga

Katsunan Kuga (1857-1907) was a famous journalist who published the newspaper *Nippon* (Japan) (originally, in 1888, it was the *Tokyo Denpo*, renamed in 1889). Kuga led the opposition to the central government's extreme Europeanization. Kuga used *kokumin* with the loan word, *neeshon*, from English in brackets, in his article (June 9,

1888) and explained the meaning of *kokumin-shugi* as follows: «*Wagahai ga kore ni mochiuru kokumin-shugi towa eigo no iwayuru nashonarichi wo shucho suru shiso wo sasu.*» [*kokuminshugi* as I use here refers to the notion of so called *nashonarichi* (nationality) in English] (Translated by the author). Therefore, his *kokumin-shugi* might have meant «civic» nationalism. However, in the same article, he stated introducing *kokumin-shugi* against the government's Europeanization policy as follows.

... *Gaikoku no bunka wo saiyo suru ni wa, kono seikaku wo sonsezaru koto ni chui shi, kore wo sono kokumin no seikaku ni doka sezaruru bekarazu. ... Obei shokoku wo miyo, sore hitoshiku «Oshu no bunka» naru tomei no moto ni hokatsu seraruru ni kakawarazu, kakkoku kokumin no aida ni wa onono tokuyu no seikaku arite, kokumin-shugi wo nasu ni arazuya. Tatoeba Doitsu to Furansu towa hitoshiku Oshu bunmei no kuni nite, shikamo dojo ai rinseru nimo kakawarazu sono kokumin-shugi wa ryoryo ai jiritsu shite ai yuzurazu, motte ikkoku no taimen wo tamochi, motte ikkoku no kokken wo jji suru ni arazu ya* (June 9, 1888).

[... When adopting foreign culture (*bunka*), one should make sure not to harm it (his/her own culture) and not to assimilate it into the foreign culture. ... Look at Western countries. Although they are included under the unified name «European culture», there are specific characteristics between each nation (*kokumin*), and nationalism (*kokumin-shugi*). For example, even though both Germany and France are countries which belong to European civilization (*bunmei*), and whose lands are adjacent, each of them insists on making its own nationalism (*kokumin-shugi*), thereby maintains the face as a nation-state and keeps its own sovereign right.] (Translated by the author)

In this article, one can see the word *bunmei* as the translation of «civilization» and the *bunka* as the translation of «culture.» It should be noted that this was the first time that *bunka* appeared in Japanese literature⁷. Although Kuga used the word *kokumin* for nation, he associated it with its specific characteristics and culture. He also stated the following in another article.

... *Moshi kore kaku kokumin wo toitsu moshikuwa godo seshimen to hosseba, kanarazu bunka wo toitsu godo seshimezaruru bekarazu. Shikaredomo bunka naru mono wa jitsuni kokumin tokuyu no seikaku wo nasu tokoro no gengo, fuzoku, ketto, shukan, sono hoka kokumin noshintai ni tekito seru seido horitsu to wo sogo serumono ni shite, kore wo toitsu godo suru no kataki wa naho shoni wo shite tadachini rojin tarashimu ni kotonarazu* (June 13, 1888).

7. Both *bunmei* and *bunka* are other translations coined during the Meiji period combining two Kanji characters.

[... If one desires to integrate or consolidate each of these nations (*kokumin*), then one must integrate and consolidate cultures (*bunka*). Culture comprises elements of language, mores, ancestry, and customs that truly constitute the particular character of a nation (*kokumin*), along with others, like institutions and laws, that are appropriate to the body of the nation (*kokumin noshintai*). The difficulty of integrating and consolidating these elements is no different than trying to transform a child instantly into an old person.] (Translated by the author)

Obviously, Kuga thought that the integration of nation interrelated with the integration of culture and used the word *kokumin* to mean an «ethnic» nation where people shared the same culture. Thus, his concept of *kokumin-shugi* might include characteristics of not only «civic» but also «ethnic» nationalism. Similar to Shiga, Kuga also proposed the ethnic awareness as being Japanese. He was strongly opposed to the government's Europeanism because he believed that it showed a lack of ethnic solidarity and ethnic awareness. However, unlike Shiga, in his conceptualization of *kokumin-shugi*, liberalism and nationalism coexisted and merged, which hindered him from leaning towards imperialism.

6.3. *Kokka-shugi* by Soho Tokutomi

Soho Tokutomi (1863-1957) also was a leading journalist of the mid-Meiji period. He published Japan's first general news magazine, *Kokumin no Tomo* (The Nation's Friend) in 1887, and subsequently in 1890, *Kokumun Shimbun* (The Nation Newspaper), which was for several decades one of the most influential newspapers in Japan. The magazine *Kokumin no Tomo* was highly popular and had a deciding voice in the politics of the Meiji period. In his autobiography (Tokutomi 1935, 223), he explained his reasons for naming it thus, citing his admiration for the United States magazine, *The Nation*. This clearly indicates that he used the word *kokumin* to refer to a «civic» nation. Indeed, when he started out as a journalist, he was highly concerned with the modernization of Japan, and known as an advocate of Western liberalism and democracy. He initially proposed *heimin-shugi* (commoner-ism), which claimed that people's enlightenment should have proceeded from the bottom-up by commoners, not through top-down policy by the government. However, following the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Triple Intervention⁸, his political views drastically changed to be conservative,

8. A diplomatic intervention by Russia, Germany, and France in April 1895 over the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed between Japan and Qing Dynasty that ended the Sino-Japanese War. The intervention evoked nationalism among Japanese people.

and he advocated for *kokka-shugi*. The following excerpts are from his book, *Dai Nihon Bocho-ron* (Expansion of Great Japan).

... *Toyo ni oite kokumin-teki bocho no konkyo wo tsukuru nari. ... Shikoshite mata uchi ni oite kokumin-teki toitsu wo kyoko ni shi, kokumin-teki seishin wo shinko ni shi, kokka no seishin-teki, shinshu-teki, kakuju-teki genki to katsudo to wo sakkyo suru nari* (Tokutomi, 1894, 23-24) (Emphasis omitted).

[... (Our goal) is to create a foundation for national expansion (*kokumin-teki bocho*), in East Asia ... Subsequently, within Japan, we will establish the national unity (*kokumin teki-toitsu*), foster the national spirit (*kokumin-teki seishin*), and cultivate the spiritual, enterprising, and dynamic power and drive of our state (*kokka*).] (Translated by the author)

Tokutomi frequently used the term *kokumin-teki* (national) throughout the book. He also repeatedly insisted on the peculiarities of *Nippon kokumin* (Japanese nation). However, *kokumin* does not seem to have meant a «civic» nation, but, rather, to refer to an «ethnic» nation. He continued to justify Japan's expansionism in the name of national spirit as in the following.

Seishin wa tashika ni waga ho no rekishi ni, isshin kigen wo hirakeri. ... Sanju nen no rekishi wa waga hito wo shite kokumin-teki toitsu no nanimono taruka wo kaiseshime, okonawashime, shikoshite nareshimuru ni oite amari ariki. Shikaraba sunawachi konnichi ni oite, shin kigen wo hiraku wa, kokka shin-un no junjo ni oite, ikiohi yamu wo ezaru mono aru wo miru. Kokumin-teki yori sekai-teki ni hairu. ... Waga hito ga kokumin-teki ni hairu to wa, kokumin-teki seishin wo dodai to shite, sekai-teki keiei ni hairu wo iu. Aete kokumin-teki seishi wo yokyaku suru to iuni arazu (Tokutomi, 1894, 139-140) (Emphasis omitted).

[Certainly, conquering Qing Dynasty opened a new era in our history. ... The history of thirty years (after Meiji Restoration) made our people to understand what the national unity (*kokumin teki-toitsu*) was and to realize it, and thereby to get used to it. Therefore, today, this movement to open the new era does not seem to stop in the process of advance of our state. We now enter a global (management) from national (management). It means that our people enter global management based on national spirit, which doesn't mean they give it up.] (Translated by the author)

The book also often cited German politician and Prussian statesman, Otto von Bismarck. The term *kokumin-teki seishin* (the national spirit) used by Tokutomi reminds us of the German word «Volkgeist.» It might suggest that his *kokka-shugi* strongly took on the characteristic of ethnic nationalism.

7. DISCUSSION

The nationalism discourses analyzed in Section 6 suggest two important points. First, none of the three nationalist leaders used the word *minzoku-shugi*; they instead used *kokusui-shugi*, *kokumin-shugi*, and *kokka-shugi* for identification of their idea on nationalism. However, all three terms implicitly included characteristics of ethnic nationalism. They initially interpreted «nation» as *kokumin*, i.e., a «civic» nation. However, we can see that each of these leaders had strong concern about special characteristics of Japanese ethnicity as *minzoku* in *kokusui-shugi*, *kokumin-shugi*, and *kokka-shugi* respectively. The fact that in any nationalist movement by the mid-Meiji period, nation had been considered as *kokumin*, and all these movements at mid-Meiji period had civic as well as ethnic nationalist characteristics indicates that «nationalism» was gradually shifting from being a «civic» to an «ethnic» concept at that time. Or it might be more appropriate to say that the rise of nationalism in the mid-Meiji period triggered the generation of ethnic awareness among Japanese people, and that through the nationalist movements those nationalist leaders found another possible meaning represented by the word «nation» and gradually shaped the concept of *minzoku*. Hobsbawm (1990/1992, 104-105) stated as follows.

The growing significance of «the national question» in the forty years preceding 1914 is not measured simply by its intensification within the old multinational empires of Austro-Hungary and Turkey. It was now a significant issue in the domestic politics of virtually all European states. ... Domestic nationalism could also –as in France, Italy and Germany– take the form of the rise of those right-wing movements for which the term «nationalism» was in fact coined in this period.

Hobsbawm (1990/1992) noted that nationalism had changed from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century and that ethnicity and language became the central issues for the nation. This concept of ethnic nation was transferred with nationalism into Japan through translation. German empire was established in 1871 as mentioned above, and Japan as a backward state hastened to form a modern nation state modeled on Germany. Consequently, nation as *kokumin*, or civic nation, might prove incomplete to express ethnic nation. Whenever new interpretation occurs, translation practice also occurs. Thus, generation of a new translation, *minzoku*, and the upsurge of nationalism were intertwined and happened in the sociocultural and historical contexts surrounding nationalist movements.

Second, even though the term *minzoku-shugi* had not yet emerged in the late 19th century, the concepts of nation and nationalism had included two aspects since then. This might suggest that there are relationships between this fact and today's usage of «nationalism» as *minzoku-shugi*. These multilayered interpretations of «nation» by

intellectuals and political leaders have created ambiguity and overlapping meanings of the word «nationalism», and these multiple meanings persist until today. More than 100 years have passed since then. Through the 20th century, nationalism has been often the central issue in political scenes as well as academic fields. Recently, especially after 1980s, much discussion on Japanese nationalism has been done. However, people have different images and don't share common understanding when discussing. Such ambiguity presents a risk and encourages manipulation and misuses of the concept.

Today the world faces instances of resurgent nationalism, not only in Japan, but also globally. Understanding what nationalism is and establishing a common ground to discuss on it is essential to realize coexistence in today's globalizing world and multiethnic societies. The translation study has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of human's interpretation and its relations with sociocultural and historical contexts. The data of this study was quite limited, and the study certainly requires a more detailed analysis. To address issues of nationalism, sharing knowledge among scholars across disciplines, educational and media organizations, and cultures will also be required.

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