

# Rereading Katō Shūichi: Japan's Modernity from 'Honyaku-' to 'Zasshu-bunka' and the Possibility of the Postwar Enlightenment Thought

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## Introduction

This paper will be looking back to the concepts of “translation culture” (*honyaku bunka*) and “hybrid culture” (*zasshu bunka*) in writings of Katō Shūichi, and attempt to relate it to the assessment of the project called “modernity” in Japan and its transformation to the “plurality” of the “postmodern” (Wagner 2011, 227). The concepts of those “two cultures” will be discussed in the light of the contemporary research interests in the “other”, as well as in the increasing interest among Japanese intellectual circles for “re-reading” the modernity and the postwar thought as one of its main carriers. In this case the other will be Western “modern society”, as well as Chinese culture with its enormous impact on Japanese through centuries until Japan's opening to the “West”. How the other was seen in the two turning periods of Japanese history—Meiji Restoration (started 1868) and the defeat in the World War II? And what were its consequences? And how the perspective of the “other” in the concepts of “translation” and “hybridity” changed first with the awareness that the “promises of the modernity” might have failed starting with the late 60s and its social movements (students, workers, anti-war) which “interrupted the tranquility of the apparent postwar social consensus” (Wagner 2011, 227), to be completely overthrown in the 1990s with the brake-up of the Cold War structure and the rise of neo-liberal ideologies? Also, already at the beginning of the twentieth century it was clear that it is only a matter of time when the Chinese economy will surpass the Japanese, which officially happened in the late 2010s. For the first time since the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–5) in which Japanese newly acquired steam ships defeated so far predominant Chinese navy, Japan started to doubt its superiority over China.

The main material to analyze will be three works of Katō Shūichi in two time periods away from each other for about forty years. The first will be *Zasshu Bunka* [Hybrid Culture] published in 1956, and the other will be two related books, first written in cooperation with Japanese famous postwar political scientist Maruyama Masao et al., *Honyaku no Shisō* (1990) [The thought on translation], and the second being conceived as a dialogue between Katō

and Maruyama, *Honyaku to nihon no kindai* (1998) [Translation and Japanese modernity].<sup>2</sup> The essay will first explain what Katō's idea of "hybridity" [*zasshusei*] is, and what were his contemplation on translation problem in the Japanese culture within his hybridity theory from the mid 50s, and then move on the thought of translation at the end of the twentieth century. It will also suggest a certain transformation of Katō's ideas and its meaning. This essay will attempt to assign a certain value to the knowledge of the past and to take an essentially ethical attitude towards it, as well as open a space for critique. It will try to search for a possibility not in the experience and thought of that time, but in the very change Katō's thought has undergone with the break-up of the Cold War structure.

Since many readers outside Japan (except, perhaps, French readers) are not well acquainted with Katō Shūichi who was a very influential and prolific critic in postwar Japan, his life and work will be shortly introduced.

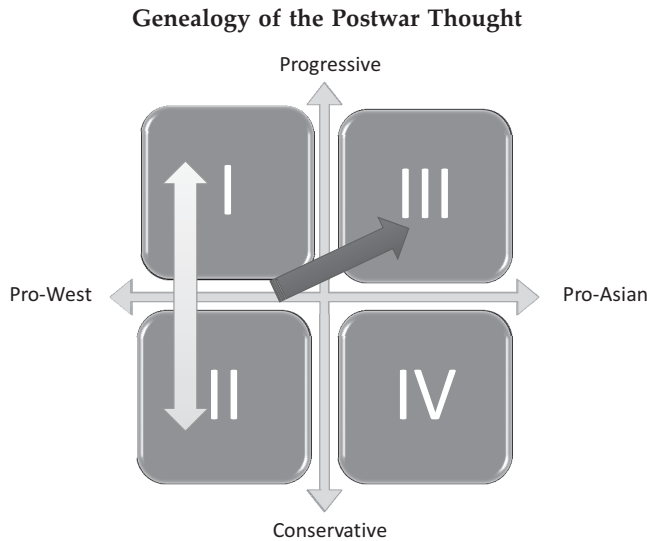
### 1. Katō Shūichi's place in the postwar Japanese thought

Katō Shūichi (1919–2008) was writer, critic, literary historian and medical doctor. He wrote novels, poems, essays and comments ranging from contemporary Japanese politics and society, international relations to literature, art and mass-culture.<sup>3</sup> Katō was a part of an intellectual trend in postwar Japan called "*sengo-keimō*" (postwar enlightenment). In seven decades of writing, Katō covered wide range of topics—from complex relationship between modernity and traditional culture, critique of imperial system in Japan, the role of intellectuals and issues of war responsibility, nationalism and the Cold War to the problems of terrorism, military interventions and nuclear weapons. He gave a comprehensive image of the times and is considered to be an avant-garde in the "cultural studies".

Katō experienced the defeat and the occupation of Japan by the Allied powers as "liberation" from the pre- and during-the war regime, and as long-awaited freedom of expression. He was one of the first intellectuals to criticize the emperor's system (in 1946, under the pseudonym Fujisawa Tadashi and Arai Sakunosuke<sup>4</sup>) and the role of intellectuals during the war. Katō's strong interest in the phenomenon of war and his interest in Japanese society—how the bureaucratic apparatus of imperial system had been formed, how it advanced to militarism and how it got the support of the nation—were only some of the questions which Katō analyzed from many perspectives, from *Zasshu bunka*<sup>5</sup> [Hybrid culture] to essays such as *Nihonjin to wa nani ka*<sup>6</sup> [What is Japanese?], *Nihonjin no shiseikan*<sup>7</sup> [Japanese view on life and death] and many others. Japanese "vertically-structured society" (*tate-shakai*) and "the system of irresponsibility" (*musekinin no taikai*)—the expressions he took over, respectively, from Nakane Chie and Maruyama Masao, were always on Katō's mind. Katō was discussing the concepts of a nation (*kokumin*) and state (*kokka*) and its essential incompatibility with the Western notions of nation and democratic

state. Here arises the problem of translatability of the Western concepts to Japanese language and culture and the issue of Japanese modernization (“*kindaika*”), which occupied Katō’s thought throughout his long writing career. Japanese “*kindaika*” was one of the quickest modernization processes in the world that started with the opening of Japan to the world upon outside pressure and the collapse of Japan’s two and a half century long Tokugawa isolationist policy. One of the characteristics of the modernization was intensive translation activity, the so called *honyaku bunka* [translation culture], about which Katō together with Maruyama Masao coauthored a book *Honyaku no shisō*<sup>8</sup> [The thought on translation] and *Honyaku to Nihon no kindai*<sup>9</sup> [Translation and Japanese modernity].

Katō was considered to be a “pro-west” liberal intellectual, and in order to define his place in the Japanese intellectual history of postwar era, this essay will use a classification of the postwar thought developed by Oguma Eiji. Oguma<sup>10</sup> divided trends in the Japanese postwar thought into four main spaces determined by two coordinates which fluctuated from conservatism to progressivism and from pro-West to pro-Asian attitude. In this essay I will argue that Katō’s thought fluctuated from the squares I and II, to be finally placed into the square III (see the chart below). Katō’s liberalism fluctuated from nationalism to internationalism and from anti- to pro-Asian affinity, and it was directly related to Japan’s changing relation to the West. If Japan’s relation to the West we define as independent variable, the dependent variable would be Katō’s view of Asia and his “image” of Japan. Asia after Japan’s defeat for Katō was an “anti-Western” and “anti-modern” symbol, and Katō was a typical “progressive” intellectual who saw “democratization” of Japan in line with the West. His theory of hybridity was a pre-eminent example of displacing Japan from Asia (Igarashi 2000, 79). The time in which Katō wrote his “Zasshu bunka” were the mid-50s which were a sort of “black-box” that is nowadays being increasingly opened in intellectual circles of Japan in their search of the answers to the contemporary issues (see Iwasaki, et al. 2009). The main input of that complexity have been defeat, nuclear bombing, air raids, and imposed democratization that was soon twisted (so-called “reverse course”<sup>11</sup>) with the start of the Cold War, the Korean War which represented the first initial capsule for Japan’s high-speed economic growth, as well as abrupt change to the “pacifism” and forgetting war issues without properly addressing the responsibility. The consequences of those issues that stayed unsolved in the 50s increasingly became important from the 90s onwards.



At the end of his life, Katō was a founding member of *Kyū-jō-no-kai* (Article 9 Association) when in June 2004, together with eight other intellectuals, he appealed for preservation of Article 9.<sup>12</sup> Katō’s long intellectual history and rich opus offer extraordinary opportunity for a journey through the life of an “average”<sup>13</sup> Japanese citizen in the Post-War era through the Cold War and so-called Post-Cold War era.

## 2. Katō’s life abroad and the birth of the Hybrid Culture

At the time of Japan’s defeat in the Second World War, he happened to be in Shinshū<sup>14</sup> working in the relocated hospital from Tokyo.<sup>15</sup> After the defeat, Katō spent a month in Hiroshima as a member of the joint US-Japan Medical Team to investigate the facts of atomic explosion. The Experience in Hiroshima for Katō was a decisive moment—although he would quit his profession of medical doctor more than a decade later, it was precisely the experience in Hiroshima that made him decide so. The observing patients, Katō wrote<sup>16</sup> in his autobiography, bordered with the barbaric, and moreover, the findings could not be publicly revealed. Departing Japan for the first time in 1951 at age 32, (after being awarded a scholarship to do medical research at the Institute Pasteur and at the Université de Paris<sup>17</sup>), Katō spent four years based in Paris and traveling around Western Europe. From 1955 to 1958 working in Japan as a doctor and as a French literature lecturer and literary critic, and in 1958, on the occasion of his participation in organizing the second Asian-African Writers’ Conference held in Tashkent, decided to finally leave the medical profession and fully devote to writing. Katō spent half of his life living and traveling abroad.

Beside satisfying intellectual curiosity, Katō's travels opened for him a new space for re-thinking the Japanese culture. Through comparison with European culture, Katō was provided with opportunity to take a new look at Japanese culture. Having an "outside" perspective was something natural to have by the pure fact of being a foreigner, and getting a new "inside" perspective is again, for Katō, inevitably part of the former.

The series of the events, domestic and international, that culminated with the revolt against renewal of Japan-US Security Treaty known as "*Anpo-tōsō*" marked the end of the postwar epoch or "*sengo*". Katō's autobiography, *Hitsuji no uta—wa ga kaisō* [A sheep's song—my reminiscences] that also ends with the events in 1960, was more than a biography—it was a history of Japan's modernization and it is a testimony of the time and its controversies that modernization brought to Japan—on one side, for Katō, there was no doubt that it was necessary for Japan to pass it, and on the other it produced a "hybridity" that as much as it was a chance for Japan (*Nihon no chiisana kibō*—Japan's small hope, as Katō calls it) it also presented a continuous contradiction since it reflected Japan's international relations which became increasingly complicated with the Cold War.

*Hitsuji no uta* [A Sheep's Song], Katō writes, was a reflection of Nagai Kafū's<sup>18</sup> statement that a Japanese is "with one foot in the West and with one in Japan"<sup>19</sup> and that it was impossible to change that fact. This idea was the guiding idea in Katō's theory on hybridity of Japanese culture advocated in *Zasshu bunka—Nihon no chiisana kibō* [Hybrid culture—Japanese small hope]. In a way, Katō explained,<sup>20</sup> *Zasshu bunka* was a kind of autobiography—it was a statement on him personally who had that specific East-West two-sidedness melted together in his psychology. Since *Zasshu bunka* was a story about general issues and not personal matters, it was not a personal biography but a kind of historical reflective biography of society.<sup>21</sup>

### 3. Hybrid Culture

"Hybrid Culture"<sup>22</sup> was a collection of thirteen essays Katō published in various magazines between spring 1955 and spring 1956, after coming back from almost five years spent, mostly, in France. After a long journey, Katō writes in the afterword,<sup>23</sup> he collected the articles published on Japan's culture. The book had strong impact on the Japanese reader and when speaking of it inside the political circumstances of the time (Korean war and special-emergency procurements), and the fact that the Japanese public started to forget the experiences of the last war, the raising of this question by Katō had a highly strategic meaning.<sup>24</sup> In the contact of "Eastern" with "Western" culture, Katō distinguishes two types of relation: first in which there was a kind of thinking on conflict and acquisition of Western civilization (in the Meiji period, representative are Mori Ōgai and Natsume Sōseki) and a second where dominant way of thinking was how two civilizations can live together

(Uchimura Kanzō). Katō classified himself in the first group.<sup>25</sup> He criticized extreme stances, such as “purity” of Japanese culture advocated during the war, and completely opposite blind fascination and accepting of Western culture after the war. Considering specific circumstances in which Katō wrote his “Hybrid culture”, it might not be wrong to think that it was not only a way, a form in which Katō analyzed Japanese culture and its development, but perhaps offering a kind of “prescription” for how to overcome controversies from the war-time, as well as today’s controversies over extremism and “purity”, as well as the non-critical acquiring of everything that “comes from America”.<sup>26</sup>

Katō’s view of Japanese national identity has been determined by domestic and international conditions and most of all by Japan’s relation to the “West”. His early postwar years (until 1960 and anti-US Japan Security Treaty protests—*Anpo-tōsō*) were marked by the flow from pro-Western sentiment and liberal progressive views to nationalistic (conservative) views (which can be seen in Hybrid culture theory).

One short chapter in *Zasshu bunka* was devoted to the “*honyaku bungaku*” or translation literature (*Honyaku bungaku no idai to hisan*)<sup>27</sup>. Since for Katō literature in Japan was almost overlapping with the intellectual thought (which he explains in detail in the Introduction to history of Japanese Literature—*Nihon bungaku-shi josetsu*), this paper will use the term “translation culture” when referring either to Katō’s writings on the translation literature (*bungaku*), either on the translation thought (*shisō*).

#### 4. Translation culture—its greatness and its tragedy

In the second half of the nineteenth century, during some four decades before and after the Meiji Restoration, an enormous amount of Western literature was translated to Japanese, by the governmental and private circles. Such enormity was not only in quantity, but it was wide-ranging and all-encompassing in terms of the fields it covered—from legal systems to scientific textbooks, from Western geography and history to existing analyses of international relations, from American “Declaration of Independence” to the theories of esthetics. According to Katō, it was exactly this activity, miraculous by the brevity of time in which such massive literature was, more or less, correctly translated, including many until then unknown concepts, that formed the base of Japan’s Meiji period’s society and culture.<sup>28</sup>

Meiji society opened to the world under the pressure of Commodore Perry’s gunboats. However, it wanted to show the world that Japan is a modern nation, a nation that can go shoulder to shoulder with the Western world. And to be able to show it, Meiji Japan had to act very fast. In those dynamic circumstances, numerous antagonisms were born and on the basis of Katō’s writings, we can say that the sensibility of that time was not felt as distant history to the intellectuals of Shōwa period. In other words, either the problems born by the



opening of the country and the rushing to modernize it, or either the memory of it, were still quite alive in Shōwa period (1925–89). In that sense, Katō writes:

If we go to the time before us, while being conditioned by the time, at the same time those people were creating their own time. This is my very strong rumination. As a real and concrete fellow of the time, Sōseki<sup>29</sup> played a central role in it. He played it for people of ordinary professions as well. For example, although my father was a practicing physician, when talking about Sōseki, he would put “san” to Sōseki’s name. It used to be “Sōseki-san”. ...that was the way how we felt. He was not a relative, nevertheless, it was a capture of an intimate feeling.<sup>30</sup>

Sōseki, as the first generation of students sent abroad, Katō writes, was a good example of an intellectual who at the same time was good at the Chinese classics as well as in English. However, an important problem according to Katō, emerged very quickly— together with popularity of the Western learning went a trend of forgetting the Chinese classics (here we shall remind that Katō in his essay on Nakae Chōmin admired the fact that “Chōmin although a scholar of French literature insisted that classical Chinese be included in the curriculum of all students, arguing that since the Chinese classics were an integral part of Japan’s cultural heritage, all educated Japanese should have a good command of them, as educated Europeans knew Latin and Greek classics”<sup>31</sup>). However, the problem was an overall level of the knowledge, Katō writes, —while with the popularity of the Western learning knowledge of Chinese classics was deteriorating, the knowledge of the Western learning was not emulating its quality. In other words, according to Katō, a deterioration in the quality of both emerged. As a typical example he gives a case of translating legal books<sup>32</sup> that clearly can lead to serious troubles. Very quickly, large quantities of translations, just like professional translators, started to emerge. The symbol of that became *Sekai bungaku zenshū* (Compilation of world’s literature). At the time almost all important things were read through translations that often did not translate the original faithfully.<sup>33</sup> Even today, Katō says, students of the foreign literature read it mostly in Japanese.<sup>34</sup> While Katō generally agrees that translations are desirable, he thinks that translations for a writer often represent a problem. In other words, while the knowledge about a foreign culture through translation does increase, the same cannot be simply said for the depth of the influence of that foreign literature on a writer.

“Chinese characters are not foreign language, but reading of English or other foreign language and especially writing in that foreign language, means loss of the relationship that we call the basic contact...the power of learning our mother tongue through experiencing it is disappearing. In that meaning—Sōseki’s problem is very contemporary problem.”<sup>35</sup>

## 5. The translation and Japan's modernity

For Katō, the problem of translation could not be separated from Japanese modernization and the two should be considered synchronically. However, it should also be considered through a passage of time, diachronically, and the culture of the Tokugawa period, as its previous phase, cannot be omitted. In order to achieve translation refinement in almost all domains in such a surprisingly short span of time, Katō writes, it was necessary on the side of Japanese to have respectable historical experience, linguistic methodology and, moreover, intellectual ability. Here, Maruyama Masao was explaining the general conditions of intellectual thought of the early Meiji and its characteristics. Which books were the most translated and what was the character of those early translations? And what is the legacy of those early translations today?

Maruyama points out that of two main trends noticeable in those early translations—the first is a faithful translation and the second is interpretation. We can understand it as two main problems: is a translation complete or not and is a translation (or interpretation) correct. As we could see, from the talk of Maruyama and Katō, many early Meiji translations were quite incomplete. Japan was taking what they thought they needed. That is how, for example, the part from the International Law on pirates,<sup>36</sup> while in Chinese translation occupying an important place, was completely omitted from the early Japanese translation. Sometimes a translation, conditionally speaking, has to be “incorrect” in order to be “faithful” and such case Maruyama and Katō discuss regarding translation of the word “Christian nations”<sup>37</sup>—in Japanese it was translated faithfully to the meaning as “civilized”. Maruyama and Katō also discuss the issue of destiny of a certain literature work in other country which often depends on the quality of its translation. That is how, for example, for a long time, works of E.M. Forster were relatively unpopular in Japan.<sup>38</sup> Specific humor and irony of his works were its essence, and it was poorly translated into Japanese.

## 6. The thought on translation

As already said, Katō in his Thought on Translation pointed out two reasons for the immense translating activity in the Meiji period—first, the necessity to translate in order to avoid colonization or at least semi-colonization status, and to catch up the pace with “modern nations” and as second, the ability, that is sufficient capacity to translate (*Honyaku no shisō*, 342). Katō gives an overview of historical reasons that brought up this necessity and quotes Dutch letter from 1844 (*Nihon kindai shisō taikai* [*Kaika*] document I-1) which recommends Japan to open its country and warns the Tokugawa shōgun (military commander), by citing the case of The Opium War, of danger of military resistance and emphasizes the need for technological reform. The First Opium War (1840–1842) was a conflict of China and Western powers which brought China into the semi-colonized



position, leaving like that only Japan as Asia's last market to be conquered.

Until then, Katō writes (*Honyaku no shisō*, 344), Japanese knowledge about the West was limited to the “rumours” (*fūsetsu*) heard from the Dutch Trading Post's chief. The content of the “rumours” would never be revealed to the public. When in the first half of the eighteenth century some Chinese translation of Western literature were imported, and in the latter half of the eighteenth century Western sciences by means of Dutch language (*rangaku*) started to be translated, even then, the acquired knowledge was limited to astronomy, medicine, navigation and the other technical knowledge (*Honyaku no shisō*, 344). Commodore Perry's black ships were stronger “negotiators” than Japan could handle, and the fear of being colonized was amplified, Katō points out. For Japanese side, it was clear that the whole system should be transformed. That is why, Katō writes, the famous Iwakura Mission to the West beside its formal task to improve Japanese negotiating position had another even more burning task—to obtain information necessary for reforming the system (*Nihon no shisō*, 345). The information were related first to political legislation, secondly to economical activity and thirdly to educational system. “*Datsu-a, nyū-ō*” [quit Asia, join Europe] was not a slogan that depicted only Fukuzawa Yukichi's opinion, writes Katō. It is also well-known that Mori Arinori, minister of education in Meiji government advocated the idea of abolishing “hieroglyphic” writing system and adopting English, that is a kind of its “simplified” version. Regardless of how ridiculous it may sound, it faithfully reflects dramatics of the change and the turning point Japan experienced. There was another way for “adapting” to the new circumstances (besides sending missions to collect information and learn by observing, or having an ideas like Mori's)—and that was translation (*Nihon no shisō*, 346). And, according to Katō, the necessity for Western knowledge meant the necessity for translation (*Nihon no shisō*, 346).

Obviously, Japan chose the second option—to translate, and Katō in *Honyaku no shisō* (p. 350–353) states that the ability or capacity to translate existed in Japan from before and its practice of reading Chinese texts which was a sort of translation already (“*yomikudashi*”). The other, according to Katō, necessary condition was the experience in translating Dutch texts. First, Katō writes (*Honyaku no shisō*, 351), Japanese translators learned through Dutch (“*rangaku*”), to divert it to the English studies and to open the road to the French studies.

## 7. From translation (*honyaku*)<sup>39</sup> to hybrid (*zasshu*) culture

If the subject of Japanese *honyaku-bunka* was born out of need to acquire Western learning and catch the pace with “civilized” world powers,<sup>40</sup> we can say that the subject of Katō's *Zasshu bunka* was born out of need for the very opposite but not unrelated process—the process of interpreting or “translating” Japanese culture already transformed through contact with Western learning. *Zasshu bunka* was written after Katō spent four years in

France, in 1955, and in that sense we can say that it represented Katō's quest for modernity, his "second youth" or a new chance for "bildung". Nevertheless, both these cultures' target was Japanese readership and in that sense *Zasshu bunka* did not contribute to improving the imbalance of a "one-way" translation activity. Perhaps Katō's later works, such as his capital work *Introduction to History of Japanese Literature* did contribute to the two-way direction of the translation movement since all three tomes were translated to English, French and some other languages. However, Katō was widely and with reason criticized that this history was an expression of so-called "*nihonjin-ron*", a discourse on Japanese uniqueness, the same discourse that is felt in text on the hybrid culture, too. Although Katō states that "translation culture" (*honyaku bunka*) did not appear out of blue and that it was a product of three things among which was the important role played by the tradition of Chinese texts read in Japanese style, the "*kanbun-yomikudashi*" style of Sorai school. Sakai Naoki, however, considers such statements to be misleading since the modern Japanese language was formed following the formation of Japan as modern state with the Meiji Restoration in 1868.<sup>41</sup>

However, while the experience in translating (transliterating) classic Chinese existed as an essential part of Japanese language, with the translating of Western language books (mostly from international law and politics) a very specific problem occurred—there were no adequate words in Japanese (especially not in everyday Japanese) language for variety of concepts, just to mention "government", "elections", "parliament", "rights" etc. The translations Japanese first authors did were by no means "ordinary" translations, they were creators of completely new (necessary) concepts required by the modernization.

## 8. Japan's postwar enlightenment thought—a broader picture

Japan's "*sengo keimō*" was a time of promise and in 1960 it was already clear that the promise will stay unfulfilled. The Japanese quest for the "democratic revolution" (see Koschmann 1996) showed to be elusive since it never came from the "masses" as it did in neighbouring China in 1949. Takeuchi Yoshimi, another Japanese philosopher from that period, argued that Japan had never since ancient times possessed its own culture, and it was rather the elite that had always imported culture from outside and forced masses to conform. For Takeuchi, Japanese culture was a series of nothing but apostasies ("*tenkō*"). Very similar claims Katō had in one of his last writings in "*Bunka ni okeru jikan to kūkan*" [Time and space in Japanese culture] in 2007. Japanese pacifism, he also saw as an expression of specific "presentism" inherent to Japanese culture. On the other side, in those 60s, Japan was already emerging as an economic giant, but the full price of it still is continuously coming to its due and with the end of the Cold War structure it shows signs of escalation (eg. Japanese militarization or military engagement in Iraq and other places)

which made Katō, for the first time in his life and against his life-principles to engage politically, and to advocate activism and Japan's turn to its Asian neighbours.

Katō's attitude towards Japan and Asia changed with the changes in domestic and international conditions (with the end of the 60s). Especially with the end of the Cold War and in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Katō's stance towards the pillars of Japanese national identity (defined as fundamentally blended with Western cultural tradition) has changed and he took a stance that Japan cannot be observed out of the Asian context. In 1956, the year after the establishing of the so-called 1955 System in Japanese politics (*Gojūgo nen Taisei*), the rising trend of the strengthening military alliance with the U.S. and a time when the high-rate of economic growth (*kōdo keizai seichō*) had already taken a momentum, Katō wrote his theory on Hybrid culture (*Zasshu bunka*). This theory was criticized to displace Japan from Asia as it surely was in the middle of the fifties when it was clear that the Cold War tensions (the Korean War) are growing and that Japan with its high-rate of economic growth started moving away from its Asian neighbours. That course will have its culmination in 1960's *Anpo tōsō* (the protests against renewal of Japan-US Security Treaty) and demonstrations in 1968.

From *Zasshu-bunka* and the search for "small hope" in melting pot of Japanese traditional culture and imported Western culture which was essentially an intellectual compromise in dealing with the pressure of the US within the structure of the Cold War, Katō's attitude ended in the search for hope in cooperation with its Asian neighbors and in activism. Here Katō again found a "unique" feature of Japanese culture that represents continuity with his theories of modernity and literature theories. Nevertheless, his stance has changed from being an observer on the margin to acting politically. It is a promise made before the Cold War and it is the only promise that has still stayed alive after the end of the Cold War. Katō Shūichi at the end of his life came to this conclusion. And completed his travel to "modernity"—through travels in Europe and America, he found it in Asia and political activism for the right thing regardless of how unrealistic it may look.

### **Conclusion remarks on translation and hybridity**

Both culture discussed in this paper in writings of Katō Shūichi were born out of certain necessities and reflected the power relations—the "necessity" to translate in Meiji period was a result of a fear of being colonized by the "modern" powers, and the "necessity" to "democratize" after World War II was a result of the occupation policy of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). In both cases, the pressure came from the outside. Katō's argument that there was also a sufficient "capacity" or "skill" to translate, in other words, there was an internal readiness for the change seems to be, similarly as in hybrid culture, an expression of a compromise under the enormous external pressure.

As Walter Benjamin in “The Task of the Translator” writes, translation always includes understanding of the “other” – writer, text or phenomena, and perhaps more than in any other case, in Japan it shows its nature as an essentially power relationship. Hegemony of English language was already so clear at the beginning of Meiji period, when its minister of education Mori Arinori actively advocated English language (“simplified version”) as a language that Japan should switch to. Translation is always a transformation, and it is an insightful way to comprehend a social change in contact with the “other”. Hybrid culture theory by Katō Shūichi showed pragmatism as a modernist adaptive strategy that Japan adopted in the contact with the “West”. In that sense, it was also an expression of “presentism” that Katō at the end of his life criticized so much. In his own recognition (*Nijū seiki to jiga zō*—Portraits of the twentieth century<sup>42</sup>), Hybrid culture lacked historical perspective. Also, the concept of hybridity was undoubtedly coloured with nationalistic sentiment which was essentially pro-West and anti-Asian. Katō himself said that he wanted to show with that book that he is not anti-Japanese if he advocates the western-type modernization.

The intention of this paper was to show how Katō’s liberalism fluctuated from the pro-West affinity and nationalism to internationalism and pro-Asian sentiment, and that it varied with the changes in Japan’s relation to the West. This paper will not try to give specific judgment of Katō’s thought—it will rather search for the meaning in its change that has occurred inside the specific historical context. It will also argue that in that very change of attitude and taking pro-active stance today more than ever lies the possibility of the continuity of Katō’s thought and survival of basic human values which seemed to be so promising in the post-war epoch.

Through Katō’s writings on translation and hybridity in Japan, we could understand those two concepts as communication between two different spaces, acquiring of the knowledge which was imitation and creation at the same time, and the transformation. Translation culture of Meiji period accompanied the project of nation-building in Japan. Hybridity of the postwar period was supposed to be a part of “democratic revolution” project in Japan, and was also a part of building nation-state process. Both cultures were a way to bridge the abyss between Japan and “the other”. The main controversy with both concepts is that they both meant abandoning the bridge with the old “other” (experience of the other represented by the “basic contact” with Chinese culture).

While inside the Hybrid Culture, Katō had a short essay on “greatness and tragedy of translation culture”, at the end of the 90s he wrote on genealogy of the translation thought in Meiji Japan. It was an attempt for Katō to understand more societal issues than only translation. And it showed an awareness that modernity does not assume a “long-term convergence towards a single model of modern society” (Wagner 2011, 232) as it was

generally believed in the postwar era. The concept of “modernity” (within the modernity or beyond it) since the 90s increasingly takes plurality of forms and it needs to answer so many questions of the current global age. There is a need to re-define universal visions of citizenship, democracy, sovereignty and development. The development paradigm (McMichael 2005, 594) which erased “the relationship between the rise of modern citizenship in Europe and the horror of slavery and colonialism”, “offered to the world a single vision that flattens its diversity and sponsors an increasingly unsustainable monocultural industrial system” (McMichael 2005, 594).

What this paper suggests is that Katō Shūichi’s work on translation as a communication act and the prism through which Katō observed the project called “modernity” in Japan, exactly raised those complex issues of the modern era. In that spirit, Katō concluded his analyses of Meiji translation:

The translation of Meiji Japan was a one-way road for Japan. Cultural “one-road way” (*ippō tsūkō*) in international society means isolation, Katō pointed out. To tear apart that isolation and to achieve the self-assertion internationally, Meiji Japan resorted first to military power and then to the economic power after it failed with the military. There are limitations in self-assertion accompanied with the economic power, and smooth communication under cultural isolation cannot be achieved...Today’s Japan under the different circumstances than in early Meiji Japan must untie problems of translation vs. cultural independence and that of the one-way-translation culture vs. request for international communication. Meiji Japan’s translation-ism (*honyaku-shugi*) study, exactly from that perspective, has great significance. (Maruyama and Katō 1998, 188; translation mine).

And this is so different from Katō’s writings in *Zasshu bunka* in which he was excited with “the tall chimneys of Japanese factories made by their own Japanese hands, on the land that was never colonized”.<sup>43</sup>

## Notes

- 1 *Honyaku* consist of two Chinese characters: *hon* and *yaku*. *Hon* means a movement of turning in general like turning of a page, leaf, a sheet of paper, while *yaku* has meaning of interpretation and explanation. *Zasshu* is consisted as well of two Chinese characters: *zatsu* which means miscellaneous, sundry, coarse, rough, while *shu* means a sort, a kind, a type, a category.
- 2 It was published in 1998, two years after Maruyama Masao (1914-1996) passed away.
- 3 He was teaching at the University of British Columbia, the Free University of Berlin, Yale University, Sophia University, Beijing University, Princeton, Brown University, Colegio de México, and Ritsumeikan University.

- 4 Essay “*Tennōsei wo ronzu*” (Discussing the imperial system) was written in March 1946 and published in the Tokyo daigaku shinbunsha (Tokyo University newspapers) *Daigaku Shinbun*.
- 5 A collection of essays written from the autumn of 1954 to the autumn of 1956, first published in September 1956 by Dai-Nihon-yūben-kai-kōdansha.
- 6 1976, Kōdansha-gakugeibunko.
- 7 This book was originally co-written in English with Robert Jay Lifton and Michael R. Reich under the title *Six Lives Six Deaths—Portraits from Modern Japan* and was published in 1979 by the Macmillan Press (London and Basingstoke), Paul Norbury Publications (Kent), and Kodansha (Tokyo). Its Japanese translation done by Kato’s third wife, Yajima Midori was published in 1977 by Iwanami Shoten.
- 8 1991, Iwanami shoten.
- 9 1998, Iwanami shinsho (also co-edited with Maruyama Masao, who died in 1996, before the book was finished).
- 10 Oguma, Eiji, 2007, “Postwar Japanese Intellectuals’ Changing Perspectives on “Asia” and Modernity”, article posted at Japan Focus on February 2007, retrieved on March 12, 2009: <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Oguma-Eiji/2350>
- 11 See Koschmann, J. Victor, 1996, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan*, The University of Chicago Press, p. 4.
- 12 Katō appealed for the preservation of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, together with Ōe Kenzaburo, Hisashi Inoue, Oda Makoto, Umehara Takeshi, Tsurumi Shunsuke, Sawachi Hisae, Okudaira Yasuhiro and Miki Mutsuko.
- 13 Not many would agree with Kato when saying in the Epilogue of his autobiography “A Sheep’s Song—A Writer’s Reminiscences” that “his personal experience was in some ways comparable to those of an average contemporary Japanese”.
- 14 Nagano Prefecture.
- 15 Gendai Shisō, Special Edition: “Katō Shūichi” (Tokyo, 2009 vol. 37-9), 73.
- 16 Katō Shūichi, *A Sheep’s Song—A Writer’s Reminiscences of Japan and the World*, University of California Press 1999, translated by Chia-ning Chang, ch, on Hiroshima, pp. 225-6.
- 17 Katō Shūichi, *A Sheep’s Song—A Writer’s Reminiscences of Japan and the World*, University of California Press 1999, Chronology, p. xix.
- 18 Nagai Kafū (1879-1959).
- 19 Katō Shūichi, *Nijū seiki no jigazō* (Portraits from the twentieth century), p. 58.
- 20 Ibid., p. 59.
- 21 Ibid., p. 59.
- 22 *Zasshu bunka—Nihon no chiisana kibō*, first published 1956.
- 23 Washizu Tsutomu, *Katō Shūichi ga kaita Katō Shūichi*, Heibonsha 2009, 29.
- 24 Ibid., p. 78.
- 25 Ibid., Narita Ryuichi, p. 78.
- 26 Ibid., p. 79.



- 27 P. 65.
- 28 Katō Shūichi, Maruyama Masao, *Honyaku no shisō* (*Nihon kindai shisō taikai* 15), Iwanami shoten, 1991, (*Katō Shūichi: Meiji shoki no honyaku*, p. 342).
- 29 Natsume Sōseki (1867–1916), Japanese novelist of the Meiji period, together with Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) considered to be the most famous Japanese modern writers who were well acquainted with Western culture.
- 30 *Katō Shūichi-taiwashū* 6, *Kenpō, koten, kotoba*, Kamogawa Shuppan 2008, p. 155.
- 31 *Six Lives, Six Deaths*, p. 133.
- 32 *Bankoku kōhō* or International Law.
- 33 *Katō Shūichi taiwa shū* 6, p. 198.
- 34 *Katō Shūichi taiwa shū* 6, p. 199.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
- 36 *Honyaku to Nihon no kindai*, p. 145.
- 37 *Ibid.* pp. 135–136, “all Christian nations” was translated as “*subete no bunmei no kuni*”.
- 38 *Katō Shūichi taiwa shū* 6, p. 198.
- 39 *Honyaku* consist of two Chinese characters: *hon* and *yaku*. *Hon* means a movement of turning in general like turning of a page, leaf, a sheet of paper, while *yaku* has meaning of interpretation and explanation. *Zasshu* is consisted as well of two Chinese characters: *zatsu* which means miscellaneous, sundry, coarse, rough, while *shu* means a sort, a kind, a type, a category.
- 40 Maruyama and Katō while commenting translation of the International Law [*Bankoku kōhō*] by Wheaton explain that actual word in Wheaton’s book was not civilized but Christian. However, it was properly translated as civilized, according to both of them.
- 41 see Sakai, Naoki, *Honyaku to iu firutā*.
- 42 Chikuma Shinsho, 2005, p. 45.
- 43 Paraphrased from the part in *Zasshu bunka* when Kato arrives to Kobe port from France, first time after leaving Japan.

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