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二卷三号には、アジアの歴史に関する論説や書評がそろいました。古代律令制国家の「学制改革」から、明代の対モンゴル軍事政策、在日朝鮮人の帰還事業、第二次世界大戦後の沖繩の政治構造まで、論説は時代もテーマも様々ですが、いずれも史料

の詳細な検討から新しい知見を提供しています。書評欄では、日本人の中国考古学研究に対する現地からの書評を掲載したほか、縄文時代の動物考古学、イスラム教・シーア派の聖地参詣、明治時代の教育と仏教という多彩な著作を取り上げました。紹介欄にある西洋史関連の研究二点も、ヨーロッパ史を越えた広がりを持つものです。

アジアとの関係が見直される現在にあって、本号は多くの方の関心をひくことと存じます。(梶)

編集後記

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第91巻第6号におきまして、第三論文・第四論文の英文要旨に印刷のずれがありましたので、訂正のうえ再度掲載いたします。

The Historian Eric Anderson Walker and British Liberalism in South Africa

by

HORIUCHI Takayuki

In post-apartheid South Africa, one of the crucial issues has been the use of history by the African National Congress government: prime examples of this are the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1995-98) and the centenary of the Second South African War (1999-2002). On the other hand, English-speaking historians have felt alienated from the present situation, and have taken an interest in their own identity. However, they have overemphasised their openness to the other ethnic groups such as Afrikaners, Africans and Coloureds in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and minimised the exclusiveness of liberalism in the mid-twentieth century. Furthermore, it has been important for them to consider the relation between liberalism and the British Empire, because imperialism and racism in South Africa have always been issues for the liberals and the radicals in the “British world”. Therefore, this article will explore the work of the historian Eric Anderson Walker, who contributed to the foundation of British liberalism in South Africa during the period.

Walker was born at Streatham, London, on 6 September 1886, and arrived in Cape Town in 1911. As a professor at the South African College, which became the University of Cape Town in 1918, he began to study the history of South Africa under the influence of the historian George McCall Theal, whose work was pro-Boer and racist. However, Walker’s lecture ‘The Frontier Tradition in South Africa’ (1930) showed his negative and contemptuous attitude toward the conservatism and racism of Afrikaner nationalists. Nevertheless, he followed Theal in dealing with the “Great Trek” and the history of Africans.

On the other hand, the most important problem for Walker was the myth of liberalism in the late nineteenth century Cape Colony. Since the 1910s, he had been concerned with the history of the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, his concern turned to the late nineteenth century from around 1920, when he came to know politicians like John Xavier Merriman, the former prime minister of the colony. *Lord De Villiers and His Times: South Africa*

1842-1914 (1925), Walker's first book about the Cape history, emphasised the "reconciliation" with the Dutch, and a Whiggish view of history. Nevertheless, he felt a crisis when the Afrikaner nationalist camp attacked the non-European franchise in the Cape and the British in the mid 1930s. *W.P. Schreiner: A South African* (1937), Walker's biography of the former prime minister of the colony, covered the problems of the "native franchise" and the British identity more directly.

In 1936, Walker became professor of imperial and naval history at the University of Cambridge. In 1940, he contributed the article 'The Jameson Raid' to the *Cambridge Historical Journal*, and tried to investigate the cause of Afrikaner nationalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, his book *The British Empire: Its Structure and Spirit* (1943) sought to envision the role of the British Empire in the age of Pax Americana. On the other hand, he argued actively against the policy of apartheid, which began in 1948. In 1968, he settled in Durban, Natal, and died there on 23 February 1976. Even before his death, his anti-Afrikaner and Eurocentric work was criticised by Afrikaner nationalist, liberal Africanist and South African radical historians, but British liberalism never became a thing of the past out of the academic world.

Walker remained more pro-Boer and reconciliatory with the Dutch than other liberal historians. However, he confronted Afrikaner nationalism and took a leading position on the "frontier tradition" and the Jameson Raid. Furthermore, the most important problems for him were the myth of Cape liberalism and British identity. On the other hand, he did not fully develop his ideas about the British Empire in the age of Pax Americana. Nevertheless, the problem of the Empire undeniably lurked in the background whenever he told the story of South Africa, and in contrast, the South African problem was undeniably present whenever he told the story of the Empire.

The Framework of Mori Tsutomu's Foreign Policy toward China during 1929-1932

by

KOBAYASHI Shohei

Japanese foreign policy was carried out by Foreign Minister Shidehara Kijuro during the period of 1924 to 1931, except when the cabinet was headed by Tanaka Giichi (1927-1929). Shidehara's foreign policy toward China is said to have faithful-

ly followed the agreements made at the Washington Conference in 1921 and to have respected both cooperation with the powers and the principle of non-intervention in China's internal affairs. The Manchuria Incident, which broke out in September 1931, was the work of the Kantogun, who perceived that Japanese national interests in Manchuria could not be secured by the policy executed by Shidehara. Some scholars have questioned whether his policy was the best method for defending Japanese national interests in Manchuria, because the agreements of the Washington Conference contained the seeds of turmoil and were fragile, such as the fact the Soviet Union was outside the Washington system and the nationalist movement in China etc. These scholars, however, give no indication which policies should have replaced those of Shidehara.

This article focuses on Mori Tsutomu, an influential member of the Seiyukai, who advocated a hard line on China that was antithetical to Shidehara's, and clarifies the meaning of the framework of his foreign policy toward China in the period of the Manchuria Incident. In order to examine whether Mori's foreign policy could have been an alternative, I analyze Mori's conduct and remarks on the Nine Power Treaty, the League of Nations, the Chinese government, and Japanese national interests in Manchuria.

The findings of this study can be summarized as follows. (1) Mori's policy was carefully designed not to infringe on the Nine Power Treaty and to avoid friction with the powers. His policy making as such derived from his belief that adopting a hard line and taking military action to settle international problems were inevitable when pursuing national interests, but he believed relations with the powers should not be ruptured. (2) His strong emphasis on defending Japanese interests in Manchuria derived from his aspiration for Japan to become a great nation, that Japan must "become a great nation and remain a great nation." Securing natural resources in Manchuria in his view was a prerequisite to being a great nation. This emphasis on the special relationship with Manchuria was in the context of the increasing radicalization of the nationalist movement on the Chinese mainland and the worry that this might endanger Japanese interests there. From his point of view, social order and stability must be maintained in order to secure natural resources in Manchuria. (3) Japan became a council member of the League of Nations in 1920. Mori understood this to mean that Japan was responsible for preserving order in East Asia, and on the basis of this understanding, he reasoned the powers would accept Japanese military action to maintain order in Manchuria under the conditions mentioned above (1). (4) Mori viewed the Japanese state as a "nation state based on the Imperial Household," and understood the communist movement as threatening the Imperial Household. Therefore communism could

not be tolerated and the spread of communist forces into Manchuria must be prevented. This was because an intrusion into Manchuria would mean its spread into Japan. The infringement on Japanese national interests in mainland China by communist forces in early 1927 and the revolutionary foreign policy by the communism elements in Chinese nationalist government solidified his view of communism.

Considering the four points noted above, I wish to point out that this paper provides an opportunity to reassess Mori's foreign policy toward China, which most studies have regarded as antithetical to Shidehara's and have viewed negatively by stressing his hard-line stance and conduct. Further study and consideration of Mori's policy can also help us to consider what would have been a possible, alternative Japanese foreign policy to that of Shidehara.

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