

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN JAPAN

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THE PACIFIC REGION CONTAINS TWO OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD WITH THE highest GNP. The United States dominates the Americas; Japan comes closer every day to achieving the same position in regard to the countries of Southeast Asia. At one conference of Asian Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Japan promised to raise its aid budget to the developing nations to 1 per cent of her GNP by 1975, but at the same time called upon the other countries to try to solve their problems on their own, by making adequate use of economic aid.

Thus we have in the area two economic colossi whose interests occasionally converge upon the same country, giving rise to innumerable opportunities for friction. Latin America, meanwhile, remains a mere spectator.

Now, there is a great difference between the attitudes of the United States and Japan in regard to Latin America. I believe the attitude of the former is most clearly shown in the relatively large emphasis given to Latin American studies in United States universities. It may be that such studies are insufficient and that they suffer from inveterate prejudices, but at least they tell us that there is a renewed interest—in part owing to the Cuban revolution. On the other hand, in Japan, and here my thesis begins, interest in the problems of Latin America is the domain of a small number of academicians and a few businessmen.

In this paper I would like to describe first the stage of university studies related to Latin America and then give an account of the research activities of various special groups, and finally give a review of the publications brought out in Japan, their tendencies and characteristics. I am quite convinced that, as long as there is no serious and sufficiently widespread academic base, it is practically impossible for the economic and political relations of the region to acquire the ideal development which we all desire much.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL IN JAPAN

Before I describe in detail the courses of the Japanese Universities, I will make some general remarks about the origin and organization of the University in Japan, for this will help us to understand better the present state of studies related to Latin America.

The Japanese university in the 1970s is an institution which, in its modern form, dates back to the first years of the Meiji Reform (1868). The better known national universities, and also the private universities of high reputation were founded about a hundred years ago. For example, Tokyo University, formerly Tokyo Imperial University, began its existence as a collection of various schools of higher learning in which European medicine and French and English law were taught to a

Latin American Research Review

group of progressive samurais who were determined to place Japan on equal footing with western nations in order not to succumb to the colonialistic pressure of those countries. But what is most peculiar is that this University grew from a former institution dedicated to the translation of European Works. As a result of various missions sent to the United States and Europe, the Japanese chose the Napoleonic university system so that there existed, at least in theory, only one National University. In reaction to this centralist policy of the government two of the most outstanding personalities of the Meiji Reform, Fukuzawa and Baron Okuma, decided to found on their own account and their own risk two institutions which have today developed into the most prestigious private universities, Keio and Waseda. The purpose of the foundation was, without doubt, to oppose the governmental influence and to produce independent leaders to counteract the bureaucratic influence of the National University.

On the other hand Japanese universities up to our time do not differ greatly in structure from the traditional Latin American universities, where the faculty is the center of all activities and maintains its autonomy even in opposition to its own central administration. Studies are compartmentalized in such a way that there is almost no interchange between the various faculties, with the resultant loss of effort, and duplication of courses. Furthermore, the full-time department head in a Japanese university is a king in his own right to the point where communication vertically between professors often makes a change in study plans impossible if the department head refuses to give way.

The introduction of the American system of education after the Japanese defeat introduced new elements of a horizontal nature into the university organization. Nevertheless, even today, a series of legal difficulties exist which hinder full freedom of movement within each university or between universities. For example, under the system of entrance examinations, students enter a faculty or department from the beginning, obliged to follow a series of courses—laws, literature, economics, etc.—with little opportunity to choose courses in other faculties or departments. The concept of area studies is thus almost unknown or, where known, is not accepted by the majority of professors and administrators. In contrast, in the United States, as I understand it, the student is not tied down to a faculty or department as in Japan or as has generally been the case in Latin America. In his college, the American student has much liberty to take the courses of his choice, so that he can himself organize his study program in accordance with his interests. This greatly aids the development of area studies, in that he can take courses in Latin American economics, politics, literature, etc., often in an interdisciplinary manner.

Having said this much, let me now describe the research which I carried out in Japan in order to get some idea of the present state of Latin American studies. Based on the lists of members of the Associations of Spanish and Portuguese Professors and the Association of Latin American Social Science Professors of Japan, a questionnaire was sent to 37 universities, 14 of them state, the rest private. It should be borne in mind that there are in Japan today more than 850 institutions at the uni-

versity level, 25 per cent of these students being in state institutions and the remainder in private. It follows that the number of universities offering courses either in Latin American languages or social sciences is very small.

A knowledge of one of the two major Latin American languages is essential to the development of studies in our area: for this reason the first questions asked related to language teaching. In Japanese universities, English is studied as the main foreign language, and any other is secondary. From the replies received, 22 in number, it appears that Spanish is taught as a first language in four private and three state universities; as a second language in 17 private and four state universities. It follows that the languages of this area take second place in the study plans of the majority of universities, with the resulting loss in quality: a second language is given two hours per week, while the first language receives 12 hours or more. The situation as regards Portuguese is not much different, in that only one private and two state institutions teach it as a first language, and four state universities and one private, as a second language.

These data give some idea of what courses on Latin American economics, history, literature, and politics may amount to. Courses of this type are offered by eight private universities on their various faculties, whereas only four state universities acknowledged offering them. The majority are introductory courses, ten having 1 or 2 classes per week. After these come economics, with five classes, culture and literature with four, while law, history, and Latin American thinkers come last.

Some universities have language courses for company employees. In addition, various language teaching centers exist with the very practical aim of preparing people going to Latin America. As regards these courses, although they could be a basis for studies in the area, they generally remain at the language academy level.

Here I would like to take time to explain in more detail the activities of the Sofia University of Tokyo, since it is perhaps the exception in a picture which I may have made overly sombre. This university, with a tradition of more than 56 years, was founded by the Jesuits and maintains an international teaching staff for which it is quite well known. Within the Faculty of Foreign Studies are the departments of Spanish and Portuguese. Of the 7,500 students in the university, 500 belong to these departments.

During the first two years, the students receive intensive training in Spanish and Portuguese, amounting to 20 hours a week, together with general education courses and some introductory courses in the culture of the area. In the third and fourth years, language studies continue directly, and by means of many native language professors. Apart from the language itself, students in the Spanish department may, during their 4 years, choose from 20 different courses on the history, literature, politics, and economics of the Spanish-speaking area, necessarily including Spain. The Portuguese department offers 16 different courses on Brazil and Portugal. When I visited the United States some years ago and described our program to American professors they greatly admired it, saying that very few American universities at the undergraduate level offer such a broad variety. This small contribution of our uni-

Latin American Research Review

versity to the mutual understanding of Latin American and Japan is shown by the great number of students graduated from these departments who are now working in Latin American countries. Some idea of this can be seen from the fact that in Mexico City alone, there are more than 25 graduates from the University of Sofia.

On various occasions, there has been discussed the project of the (National) University of Tokyo to establish a section on Latin American studies, but the problem arises of the lack of competent teachers in languages, and, above all, in interdisciplinary studies. Some other state universities, such as those of Foreign Studies in Tokyo and Osaka, have, for the time being, had to limit themselves mainly to language and literature, with some courses in Latin American economics.

Lastly, I would like to point out that at the university level, the Japanese government has presented a plan for the University of the United Nations in which is stressed the need to educate the international person, with studies in international relations and in areas such as Latin America. In addition, the Ministry for Industry and Development in Japan has begun a university for graduate students working in companies with business abroad, in which languages are taught, and for which a program of interdisciplinary studies is planned. This center, however, has a very pragmatic purpose as its name indicates: The Commercial University. It is not likely to lead to a great development of research in the field of Latin America.

RESEARCH INSTITUTES

Apart from purely university activities relating to the area, it is worth noting activities comprising both research and instruction carried on by various institutions.

1. *Latin American Society of Japan*

The purpose of this institution, founded on July 1, 1958, is, with the aid of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to bring about economic, technical, and cultural cooperation between Japan and the Latin American countries. To this end it undertakes its own research throughout the area or in individual countries, and gathers the results of investigations made abroad, which it publishes every 10 days in its report "Latin America Jihō." In its section on publications it edits research material on politics, economics, law, trade, etc. Because of the great number of Japanese emigrants in Latin America, the Society grants scholarships to their descendants to study in Japan for short periods. From time to time it also offers courses in Spanish and seminars in economics. At the present time, some 200 bodies, both official and private, belong to this society. The majority of them are businesses with interests in Latin America, while some are research institutes. As a semi-official agency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Society reflects the policy of the Japanese government and serves as a liaison center for the Latin American countries. Among its many publications should be mentioned the *Latin American Encyclopedia*, whose second edition in 1968 benefited from the cooperation of various Latin American specialists.

2. *Institute of Developing Economies*

Although this institution is not exclusively dedicated to Latin America, since its founding it has maintained a group of researchers in the area. The Institute has an odd history in that originally its name was, in English, the Institute of Asian Economics; however, since other areas, in particular Latin America, were not excluded, its official English title has recently become the Institute of Developing Economies, giving some idea of its outlook. At the same time, its original name has been retained in Japanese for financial reasons, since it depends on the Ministry of Industry and Development. As a semi-official body, its budget for the year 1968–69 amounted to 804,000,000 yen, of which 698,000,000 yen represented government aid. It maintains a staff of 256 researchers and employees, 26 of them abroad. Although its library is mainly dedicated to the economies of the developing countries, the Institute has a wide range of books numbering 69,000, 1,400 magazines, and 15,000 maps. It also carries out research on the economic development of the countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America through members in the countries concerned, and when necessary sends special missions. Up to the present, the Institute has published 24 studies on Latin America, and in its bimonthly review, *Asia Keizai*, its specialists and other authorities often collaborate on development problems in Latin America. This institution also has connections with industrial and commercial enterprises, some of its directors also holding important posts in industry.

3. *Institute of World Economy*

This institute works less intensively in the Latin American field than the previous two bodies, although it does maintain a special section for this area. Founded in May 1941, during the epoch of fervent Japanese nationalism, it has continued to the present day with the aid of the government and private corporations. Although it does not offer the economic scope of the Institute of Developing Economies, it does maintain a series of publications where from time to time articles are found relating to Latin America.

4. *Andean Institute*

This body, although belonging to the (National) University of Tokyo, is included among the research institutes since within the teaching area of the University there is no program exclusively dedicated to Latin America, except for certain specialized courses on anthropology. The Andean Institute, as its name might imply, is principally concerned with anthropology in Peru, where it has maintained a group of experts studying pre-Inca culture. Its director, Professor Izumi, is a recognized authority in the field, not just in Japan but throughout the scientific world. Under the initiative of the professors of this Institute, translation has begun of the *Chronicles of the Colony*, published by Iwanami, the largest publicity enterprise in Japan. The Institute has also produced two exhibitors of pre-Colombian culture. The first, in 1958, was dedicated to the Incas, and the second, in 1968–69, concerned the culture of San Agustine and the Golden Museum of Colombia. These exhibitions have

Latin American Research Review

traveled through all the great cities of Japan with surprising success, and have caused a growing interest in pre-Colombian cultures among all kinds of people.

5. Institute of Economics and Administration

This research center, as with the former, belongs to a state university, that of Kobe and, as its title indicates, it is not limited to the area of Latin America. Nevertheless, the Institute has a well founded tradition in that its staff has such professors as Kanada, Fujita, and Nishimukai, who have specialized in Brazil mainly as a result of the donation originally made by Mr. Ryoji Noma. On the basis of this collection, the University of Kobe has tried to broaden the amount and content of its specialized library on Latin America. It is at the present time about to conclude the publication of its catalogue of foreign books, numbering 5,000. It also publishes periodically a magazine in Japanese dedicated exclusively to economic problems of Latin America. Given that publications of this type are very rare in Japan and that the number of readers is small, one can only admire the consistency and the quality of the articles. To date, 15 numbers have appeared. Because the magazine is restricted to economics, its view of Latin American problems may be somewhat limited.

6. Ibero-American Institute

Within the realm of the private universities, this is the only institution at present carrying on activities in the field of Japanese-Latin American relations. It operates as an institute of Sofia University, which I have mentioned previously. Besides maintaining a specialized library of 3,500 volumes and receiving some 70 magazines on Latin America from countries all over the world, the Institute has begun a program in cooperation with the University to offer a degree in Latin American studies to students who have fulfilled the required conditions. Through the Spanish and Portuguese-Brazilian Centers, it offers night courses in these languages for persons not belonging to the University. It also acts as a center for the propagation of Latin American culture by means of periodic lectures by distinguished persons from these countries who happen to be passing through the great metropolis of Tokyo. Oddly enough, some 5 years ago, there appeared at the same meeting of the Institute, the ex-President of Colombia, Dr. Mariano Ospina Pérez, and Dr. Víctor Haya de la Torre, who had taken refuge in the Colombian embassy during Dr. Ospina's period as president. Worth mentioning is the Symposium on economic relations between Japan and Latin America, organized by the Institute with the generous cooperation of the Inter-American Bank, the Latin American Society of Japan, and the Japanese Center for Economic Research. It was held in March 1968, with the active participation of Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría, Dr. Epstein, Dr. González, etc., the latter two from the Inter-American Bank. On behalf of Japan, Dr. Okita spoke on the problems of the Pacific area. His talk was later translated and published by the magazine INTAL. Dr. Yokoyama, director of the Bank of Tokyo and representative of ADELA for Japan, explained the nature of these multinational companies. Dr. Horikoshi, President of the Board of the Ujiminás Blast Furnaces in Brazil, discussed the difficulties met by Japanese in this type of investment.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN JAPAN

Apart from ambassadors of the Latin American countries, representatives of more than 30 Japanese companies with interests in the area took part in the conference. As a result of the conference, the text of the various talks was published both in English and in Japanese. Because of student disturbances, which have afflicted Japanese universities, it has not been possible to program further meetings of this type which would do much to encourage mutual understanding.

The Institute in cooperation with the University authorities is planning a program of graduate studies for the Master's degree, specializing in Latin American studies and, to this end, intends soon to raise the size and quality of its library in order to serve as a research center for students and professors. This effort has lately borne fruit in the donation of 300 volumes by the government of Mexico and a 30 volume Basic Library received from Ecuador.

PUBLICATIONS AND RESEARCH

Lastly, I would like to offer a few notes on publications in Japanese, both by their own researchers and by outsiders. In Number 27 of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* (Gainesville, 1965) there is a special article written by Mr. Hiroshi Mitani of the National Library, in which the author summarizes the history of Latin American studies in Japan. On the basis of this article and a bibliography published by the same author in 1965 under the title of "Nihon no Latin America Chosakenkyu Gaisetsu," together with an article which recently appeared in the *Review of the Institute of Developing Economies*, by Professor Nishimukai, I would like to give you a general idea of the trends appearing in these studies undertaken and published by Japanese researchers.

Mr. Mitani, in the article referred to, notes that the history of Latin American studies in Japan begins with emigration to the former countries. In 1868, the restoration of the imperial power began under Meiji: 31 years after the consolidation of the throne and the birth of Japan as a modern nation, the first Japanese crossed the Pacific, emigrating to Peru. Here we established the first links between these two extremes of the world, thanks to the immense ocean which unites them. Only 9 years later, Japan began to turn its attention toward Brazil. The attraction of coffee had such an effect on migration that at the present time, the Japanese colony has come to attract the attention of other Brazilians to the point where their eyes and hearts are directed toward the Pacific as well as toward the Atlantic. This fact is fundamental for, as we shall see later, the great majority of publications in Japan or Latin America are on Brazil. Here, I only want to point out that it was the phenomenon of emigration that gave the initial impulse to Japanese researchers to interest themselves in the countries across the Pacific. Just as modernization and the interest for things European and American were motivated by the appearance of Commodore Perry's warships in the Bay of Tokyo, so Japan opened itself to Latin America under the pressure of demographic growth and the economic attractions of new land to settle. The opening was spontaneous and unforced; in part they consider themselves more givers than

Latin American Research Review

receivers, so that there is not found the fear with which they face the culture and power of Europe and the United States. As a result, the quantity and quality of the studies differs greatly between the two situations.

As I have mentioned, I base this last section of my work on Mr. Mitani's bibliography, which goes up to 1964, and I will bring it up to date, as regards economics, from other sources. Mr. Mitani's bibliography might be termed the most complete, since he had access to the National Library and to other institutions relating to Latin America. After a detailed analysis of the sections, I will present some notes which give an idea of the interest and trends in Japanese research. In the Bibliography we find under general introductions to Latin America, 51 titles; there are 45 general introduction titles for Brazil, 15 for Mexico, 11 for Argentina, and 8 for Peru. The remaining countries are barely represented or not at all. Under history, there are no such subdivisions, and a total of 42 titles. Under geography, the same phenomenon with only 31 titles. Law has attracted the attention of researchers to the point that there are 11 general titles, while Brazil has 16 and Mexico 4. In the section on Politics are 19 titles on general problems: it is worth noting that Cuba has 8, following on Castro's revolution. Under economy we find a great number of studies: 84 general, of which Brazil 75, Argentina 14, Mexico 11, Peru 10, Colombia 7, and Chile 6. This abundance of economic studies is matched only by research on emigration: general 34, Brazil 77, Mexico 7. Culture and sociology are found in the same section and amount to 40 different titles.

Accounts of voyages which cannot be catalogued under academic studies are often the basis for later anthropological and cultural studies, as the Chronicles of the Conquistadors show. For this reason, Mr. Mitani adds at the end a section with 52 assorted titles. Outside of this there remain various studies and writings which are unclassifiable.

By means of this listing of the numbers of Japanese publications, I think we may conclude that for the most part Japanese academic interest has followed the process of the racial expansion, in the best sense of the word, and the economic expansion, of the Empire of the Rising Sun. For this reason the emphasis is on economics and emigration and, if we look in terms of countries, the importance of Brazil to Japan becomes evident.

Lastly, I would like to analyze later publications on the economics of Latin America, since these are an indication of the academic and practical interests of the Japanese. In the first place there exists a group of researchers who attempt to discover the characteristics of the Latin American economies. Outstanding among them are Professor Yamamoto Shin who relates in his work the economics and politics of Latin America. They are especially interested in the system of *latifundios*. Following the same line of thought is Professor Kida who studies carefully the system of land ownership. However, it is Professor Ohara who really makes the first attempt at an integral view of the Latin American economy from the various perspectives it offers at the present time.

As might be expected, the Japanese are very interested in the process of eco-

conomic integration in Latin America. As a result, there have been published the constitutive documents of the Treaty of Punta del Este, as well as some commentaries and studies, among which are worth mentioning that of Professor Ohara and that of Professor Nishimukai, who gives special emphasis to the division of industry within LAFTA. The latter also makes a detailed analysis of the principles of LAFTA and its operation.

Another aspect which has caught the attention of Japanese economists has been that of economic development and inflation. One such example is Professor Nishimukai's study on industrialization and inflation in Brazil. Several investigations amount to the application of the theory of structuralism in Latin America, and its consequences.

The ideas of Dr. Raúl Prebich have interested economists and this has led to a series of studies on the history of thought in Latin America. Apart from those already mentioned, Professor Hosono is important in this field. In addition to these topics, there are various recent studies on some of the countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, and those of the Andean area.

I would like to conclude this analysis with the words of Professor Nishimukai, who has summarized the state of economic studies on Latin America as follows: "Just as in social science, politics, sociology, and law the level of studies is low, so also in economics. The reason for this situation is (1) the small number of researchers, (2) the lack of knowledge of the theory of area studies, and (3) the difficulty in obtaining material for research, and ignorance of the history of research." What, in fact, most hinders progress in Latin American economic studies is parochialism and the lack of coordination between specialists.

Nishimukai goes on to note the need for comparative studies with other areas such as Asia and Africa in order to better understand the problems characteristic of Latin America. He also suggests a comparative study of the more developed countries. The majority of research up to now has been limited to Argentina and Brazil, yet still no study has been made of the Mexican economic structure, although Mexico seems to belong among the privileged in Latin America.

Lastly, Nishimukai proposes as topics for studies the structural duality of the Latin American economy, the population problem, urbanization, and economic development. The last of these topics is a systematic interpretation of the apparent failure of economic aid in the development of the region.

If I have dwelled at length on this analysis it is because it indicates clearly the way in which the interest of academicians in Japan is closely tied to the development of economic relations between Japan and Latin America. First, emigration stimulated their research, then, increasing trade focused their attention on more fundamental aspects, and lastly, as a result of Japanese capital investment, these researchers have begun to seek a systematic interpretation of the Latin American economy.

CONCLUSION

This report has analyzed the state of studies on Latin America in the country

Latin American Research Review

which is one of the greatest economic powers of the world and which, according to the prediction of Herman Kahn, will be *the* country of the twenty-first century. And now let me ask, what does Latin America know about Japan? How many research centers and university departments are there which teach that Japan is no longer the land of cherry blossoms, because the fouled air of the great cities kills them, nor the land of Mount Fuji, because the smoke of the blast furnaces wipes its stylized figure from the landscape, nor the home of the geishas, because they prefer the easier road of the nightclubs? Where are the translations into Spanish of Nobel prizewinner Kawabata? If Latin Americans want the Japanese to understand the reality of Latin America, Latin Americans must also try to understand the reality of Japan.