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Floating between the Orient and the Occident: Japan, Australia and their inferiority complex

Yoko Harada
University of Wollongong

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*Floating Between the Orient and the Occident:
Japan, Australia and Their Inferiority Complex*

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

from

UNIVERSITY OF WOLLONGONG

by

Yoko Harada

Bachelor of Arts

Master of Social Change and Development

Centre for Asia Pacific Social Transformation Studies

School of History and Politics

2009

CERTIFICATION

I, Yoko Harada, declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Yoko Harada

31 March 2009

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Figure 1: Cartoon “The Bridge on the River Euphrates” by Peter Nicholson
(23 February 2005, *The Australian*, p. 1)

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Following the custom in Japan, Japanese names are written in the following order; first surname and then given name throughout the thesis. Names of Korean and Chinese residing in Japan also follow this order.

Macrons to indicate long vowels in transliterated Japanese are not used in this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	Australian Associated Press
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ACLALS	Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies
AGI	Asia Gateway Initiative
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
EAC	East Asia Community
EAS	East Asia Summit
EEC	European Economic Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
ICCNND	International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament
ICR	The Institute of Cetacean Research
IHT	The International Herald Tribune
IWC	International Whaling Commission
JAS	The Journal of Asian Studies
JMOD	Japan Ministry of Defence
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party of Japan
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
NIKKEI	<i>Nihon Keizai Shimbun</i>
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RSL	Returned and Services League of Australia

SDF	Self Defence Force (Japan)
SMH	The Sydney Morning Herald
TAC	Treaty of Amity and Cooperation
UN	The United Nations

ABSTRACT

Japan and Australia are generally understood as very different countries in terms of culture, history and ethnicity. However, if we focus on their formation as modern nation states they are contemporaries and their similarities become visible. Under the influence of European and American imperial/colonial expansion, they both became modern nation states around the turn of the last century. As a result of being latecomers to the Western dominated international community they both developed an “inferiority complex” in relation to the West. This made them appear ambiguous within in the context of Asia where they geographically belong. Their ambiguous national identities are aptly represented in the reading of Edward W. Said by Japanese and Australian intellectuals. In a world which Said described being dichotomous and hierarchical, they float between the Orient and the Occident. Their ambiguous identities troubled by an inferiority complex are well reflected in their behaviour in the international arena. On the one hand, as frontrunners in the region in terms of modernity, they act in a superior manner towards neighbouring Asian countries. On the other hand, they tend to be connected to strong countries in the West. Japan and Australia’s closeness in recent years can be explained as an outcome of their similarly ambiguous position in the world. They are still captured by the rhetoric of colonialism and imperialism and in this sense they have not yet been fully “decolonised”.

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INTRODUCTION

Why do Japan and Australia appear similarly ambiguous within Asia? This thesis attempts to explain the situation by introducing the notion of an “inferiority complex” in relation to the West into the sphere of national identity.

Japan and Australia, which are geographically located on the periphery of Asia, are generally understood as very different countries. However, the moment in world history when the Japanese archipelago and the Australian continent transformed into nation states was almost the same. Japan and Australia gained the structure of a modern nation state at around the turn of the last century. Compared to other countries in the region, they were frontrunners as modern nation states. On the contrary, among the Western countries, which were dominating the international arena, they were latecomers. Both countries became obsessed with the idea of not being mature enough compared to the Western countries. Their process of creating their national identities was significantly affected by the idea. On the one hand, they suffered from an inferiority complex in relation to the West. On the other hand, to balance the unstable identity troubled by this complex, they acted in a superior manner in relation to neighbouring Asian countries. Their identities and behaviour floated ambiguously between the Orient and the Occident.

When comparing Japan and Australia, it is not difficult to point to stark differences. History and culture are simple examples and the environmental setting of the two countries is another aspect which makes them very different. Therefore, it is astounding to find a beautiful gum tree at the gate of a Commonwealth war cemetery not in Australia but in Japan. The Yokohama War Cemetery, for which the Commonwealth War Graves Commission has responsibility, was first settled by

the 38th Australian War Graves Unit in 1945 to concentrate the graves of Commonwealth prisoners of war which were scattered throughout Japan into one place (Yokohama War Cemetery Leaflet). The Cemetery consists of four main sections; United Kingdom, Australian, Indian and a combined New Zealand and Canadian (Yokohama War Cemetery Leaflet) and there are another two gum trees standing in the Australian section as if looking down on the Australian soldiers' graves. Fallen gum leaves cover the grave plaques.

As the name indicates, the Cemetery is located in Yokohama city. It is about an hour's trip by express train from Shinjuku station in central Tokyo to Hodogaya station in Yokohama, the nearest train station to the Cemetery. A further 20-minutes bus trip which goes through Hodogaya's commercial area and then a residential area is needed and a few minutes walk from a bus stop finally takes you to the entrance of the Cemetery. If it is in the midst of Japan's hot and very humid summer, people visiting the site will be fairly soaked with sweat by then and looking up at those gum trees which are usually associated with the dry climate of Australia in that very wet setting gives them quite an extraordinary experience. The strangeness of gum trees in the Japanese vegetation enhances the sentiment which was accumulated around those Australian soldiers who had lost their lives on foreign soil. The difference of environmental setting between the two countries increases the nostalgia of those who are familiar with the signature tree of Australia.

This sentiment exists similarly in Cowra, Australia, a town about three hundred kilometres west of Sydney. The town is well known as the site of the Prisoner of War camp and the breakout of Japanese from the camp in 1944 during the Pacific War. Nineteen years after the war, in 1964, a Japanese cemetery was established and the remains of Japanese POWs who died in Australia were all brought to this

site to rest. In 1979, the Japanese Garden was established and the town became known as a symbol of friendship between Australia and Japan (Kibbler 2006). In the late 80s, a project to plant sakura trees along a street connecting the former POW site, Japanese and Australian cemeteries and the Japanese Garden was launched (Kibbler 2006). The street is now called Sakura Avenue. *Sakura Matsuri* – Cherry Blossom Festival – is held annually in the town. The sight of a row of *sakura* trees – which is considered to be the symbol of “the distinctive Japanese cast of mind” (Watsuji 1961) by many Japanese people – within the climate of Australia, especially on the typical reddish Australian soil, was just as extraordinary as coming across gum trees in Japan.

The project to plant *sakura* trees started as a part of Australia’s Bicentennial celebration and the initial aim was to plant 1988 trees for the year 1988. The project is, however, taking more time to complete and still continues in 2009. One of the reasons for this delay is the climate in this dry Australian town (Kibbler 2006). It took time to implement a well established irrigation system which was crucial to providing enough water for *sakura* trees. In addition, the period suitable for planting *sakura* trees is quite short in dry weather conditions and the number of trees which could be planted within one year was limited. This episode simply and clearly tells of the difficulties in growing plants which are not native and symbolically demonstrates the difference between Australia and Japan in terms of the typical environment, and climate.

If what Watsuji Tetsuro, a Japanese philosopher and thinker on ethics, argued in his well known work *Fudo*, which was first published in 1935, is true, Japan and Australia, countries with such a stark difference in climate, could never be

compared. The Japanese term *fudo*, which is normally translated into English simply as “climate”, is explained by Watsuji as follows. He says:

I use our word Fu-do, which means literally, “Wind and Earth”, as a general term for the natural environment of a given land, its climate, its weather, the geological and productive nature of the soil, its topographic and scenic features. (Watsuji 1961, p. 1)

The purpose of Watsuji in writing the book was “to clarify the function of climate as a factor within the structure of human existence” (Watsuji 1961, p. v). He further explains:

Man’s way of life has its own distinctive historical and climatic structure, the individuality of which is shown with the greatest clarity by climatic patterns governed by the limitations within a climate. Climate, essentially, is historical; so climatic patterns are at the same time historical patterns. (Watsuji 1961, pp. 133-134)

In order to explore his argument, Watsuji introduces three types of climate – monsoon, desert and meadow – which indicate “man’s way of life” (Watsuji 1961, p. 134), according to zones defined in actual meteorological climate.

In this classification, Japan belongs to the monsoon type and to emphasise the particularity of Japan, he introduces the concept of “typhoon nature” (Watsuji 1961, p. 134). He states that Japan’s is a monsoonal climate but different from other monsoon climate countries, such as India, since the country, unlike others, is affected by very fickle seasonal winds which bring heavy rain – typhoons – and heavy snowfalls (Watsuji 1961, p. 134). This analysis leads him to connect this

characteristic of Japan's climate to the "Japanese cast of mind" and he defines the cast of mind as follows linking it to the *sakura* tree. He argues:

And it [notion of the Japanese which is abrupt as the representation of its typhoon nature] has further produced the distinctive Japanese cast of mind that exalts and sets great value on emotion and abhors all tenacity. It is of deep significance and highly appropriate that this mood of the Japanese should be symbolised by the cherry blossoms, for they flower abruptly, showily and almost in indecent haste; but the blooms have no tenacity – they fall as abruptly and disinterestedly as they flowered. (Watsuji 1961, p. 136)

Climate is, for Watsuji, a crucial element which has a significant influence on the very existence of human beings and on the creation of their character.

Unfortunately, Australia was not in the scope of Watsuji's thinking and is not mentioned in *Fudo* but it is not difficult to imagine that he, with no doubt, would have placed Australia in a different climate type from Japan's typhoon nature attached to the monsoon type and could have described the "Australian cast of mind" which is very different from the Japanese one based on his categorisation. People living in a land of *sakura* and a land of gum tree could never show a similar "cast of mind".

Nevertheless, on this onset of the twenty first century, not the two countries' differences but their similarities are attracting more attention. A book which came out in 2005, *Islands in the Stream: Australia and Japan Face Globalisation* is one of those examples which reflect a recent focus on Japan and Australia's similarities. An editor of the book Stephen Alomes starts his introduction by presenting "a contemporary cliché" saying "Australia and Japan are said to be the 'odd couple'"

but he points out that in fact they are “a comparable couple” (Alomes 2005, p. 1).

Explaining the purpose of the book he says:

This book explores the complex ways in which each society is facing the contemporary forces of globalisation, discovering that in several respects they are a comparable couple: two societies facing similar pressures on the economy, society and culture. (Alomes 2005, p. 1)

Japan and Australia are, according to Alomes, sharing the “experience of responding to global change” which derives from the patterns and pressures of globalisation on developed societies (Alomes 2005, p.1).

One crucial phenomenon which Alomes emphasises and identifies as one of the similarities the countries have is the rise of conservative politicians in both countries. Examples are the two Prime Ministers, Koizumi Junichiro and John Howard. Under the influence of globalisation, both countries have felt a sense of insecurity in economic, social, cultural and psychological terms. The wave of neo-liberalism that deregulated business structure and the workplace spread social anxiety among those who lost in the free competition race and they have sometimes fallen into psychological depression. In popular culture, Americanisation has made its way into both societies and they are in a position to feel a sense of cultural cringe – a sense of being inferior. Referring to the security issue, fear over terrorist threats is strong in both countries and they are strong allies of the United States in the “war on terror”. In spite of the situation where this supportive stance towards the United States makes them more likely to become targets of terrorist attacks, politics which pursue a hardline policy against “terrorism” is popular among the citizens both in Japan and Australia. These insecure circumstances legitimated the power

of politicians like Koizumi or Howard. They gained and held power as a result of populism.

While *Islands in the Stream* focused on issues mainly within the countries, a workshop held in Japan, also in 2005, focused on the disciplinary field of international relations. The workshop co-hosted by La Trobe University and Nanzan University of Japan titled “Searching for Equitability and Peace in the Post-9/11 World: Exploring alternatives for Australia and Japan” gathered 15 academics and researchers from both countries and also a couple from other Asian countries. The organisers’ focus was on both countries’ similarities. They clearly described this point in the concept and background section of the workshop’s website by saying “[t]here are remarkable similarities in the situations in which these two countries find themselves today, particularly in the context of the post-9/11 war on terrorism” (Joint Australia-Japan Workshop 2005). They especially recognised the similarities in both countries’ relationship with the United States where the two countries were closely tied in terms of their economies and, moreover, in terms of security (Joint Australia-Japan Workshop 2005). The organisers pointed to both countries quick and firm support for the United States in the war on terrorism and also recognised a similar “sense of vulnerability and threat” in both countries (Joint Australia – Japan Workshop 2005). Having these similarities as a premise, the workshop brought together and shared ideas from both countries and considered alternative directions which the countries could take (Joint Australia – Japan Workshop 2005).

One of the organisers of the workshop, Michael Seigel from the Institute for Social Ethics, Nanzan University, later reported three significant similarities between Japan and Australia which became apparent during the workshop. First, they both perceive Western civilisation as the supreme form of civilisation and try to

be a part of or try to be recognised as a part of this advanced civilisation by Western developed countries (Seigel 2006, p. 5). Secondly, their relationships with neighbouring Asia Pacific countries tend to be less close than would be expected and fear directed towards these countries has easily risen within both countries (Seigel 2006, p. 5). Finally, both Japan and Australia have a habit of considering bilateral alliances with stronger or the strongest power in the world as their most important international relationship in terms of security (Seigel 2006, p. 5).

What we are made to realise from these examples is that despite their differences in history, culture and geography, let alone climate, there are explicit and, at the same time, peculiar similarities between the two countries. A similar phenomenon exists among their nationals¹. It is the instability of their national identity which derives from their sense of immaturity and lack of confidence as a nation state. This is crucially affecting their behaviour in international relations and is expressed in their ambiguous attitude towards their neighbouring Asian countries. The similarities between Japan and Australia, thus, become more obvious in the context of Asia. In this thesis I argue that this situation can be explained as a symptom of their shared psychological problem – the possession of an inferiority complex in relation to the West.

In this thesis I will examine the problem – an inferiority complex – shared between Japan and Australia in three different dimensions: (1) how the inferiority complex was created in the historical context of their international relations, (2) how the inferiority complex is affecting their national identity with regard to their position in the world, and (3) how consequences of the inferiority complex are

¹ In this thesis, I will use the term “nationals” to refer to people who identify themselves with particular nation states (in most cases in this thesis Japan and Australia) and who are a part of the process of nation states to forge their national identities.

expressed in the international arena today. The first section of my thesis, Section A, presents a context for Japan and Australia's collective psychological instability regarding their national identity. Chapter One places the two countries in parallel position in world history in order to establish a basis for the argument of my thesis. Although Japan and Australia are generally seen as very different countries in terms of their history – Japan being seen as an old country and Australia as a new country – if we focus on their existence as nation states, it becomes clear that they are contemporaries in the modern era. They both emerged as new nation states and became visible in the international arena at around the turn of the last century.

The origin of present international relations is said to be found in 17th century Europe. The Westphalia Treaty which marked the end of the Thirty Year War (1618-48) established the basis of relationships between states – a polity which started to emerge in Europe in this period. One of the main concepts which had derived from the Treaty was the idea of sovereignty. The idea was to secure the independence of one state and repel others hoping to intervene. States were expected to have population, land, border, central government and bureaucracy, a set of laws including a constitution, and military and police to maintain their sovereignty.

Along with this structure of states, another key element that characterised the polity which is a modern creation was the notion of the nation. If elements of a “state” indicate a framework of a nation state, then a “nation” could be recognised as the spirit of the polity – a spirit which mobilises people as one unified polity. Whether the notion of nation is a modern idea or not is a controversial debate. Nevertheless, an ideology of nation – nationalism – is widely recognised as a modern creation. It was used by the leaders of states to generate an organic connection

among the population and unify them. Nation states developed into the main actors in the world and created modern international society.

The international order based on nation states which originated in the European continent started to expand outside Europe carried by imperialism and colonialism. Other parts of the world were gradually incorporated into the order. However, there are some counter arguments to this Eurocentric view. By following the flow of silver between 1600 and 1800, Andre Gunder Frank, for instance, presented China as the centre of the world at that time and tried to reconstruct the premise of present international relations. Nevertheless, the fact that international society is led mainly by Western powers today, makes it unrealistic to understate the significant influence of Europe or the West, plus the United States of America, on the present international order.

Japan and Australia which are geographically located in the Far East were created as modern nation states under the influence of the West's imperial and colonial expansion into Asia. In 1901, a new nation state, the Commonwealth of Australia, was born gathering together six colonies and obtaining permission from its mother country. It was clear evidence of the importance of British colonialism in the Asia Pacific. Only approximately a decade earlier, Japan had been transformed into a modern nation state by implementing its Western style constitution in 1889. Although domestic circumstances were already eroding its feudal system, stronger pressure for Japan to go through major social transformation came from overseas – mainly from the West. The gunboat diplomacy of the United States, followed by

other Western nations, pushed Japan to participate in international society. Thus, as modern nation states, Japan and Australia belong to the same generation².

Because of their different history and different influences from the West pushing them to become modern nation states, the incidents which took place in the Northern Hemisphere and in the Southern Hemisphere at around the turn of the last century may appear to be just coincidental. However, by focusing on the flow of world history and the two countries' positions in the flow, their contemporaneous aspects and their similar status in the newly constituted international society become apparent. They were latecomers to international society which was ruled by the rhetoric of the West, and simultaneously, they were frontrunners in their region, Asia, in being structured as nation states.

This ambiguous position of Japan and Australia being somewhere between the East and the West has affected their behaviour in international society. Having Japan and Australia in parallel, Chapter Two examines the similar ambiguity of the two countries by borrowing an idea from the area of psychology.

² Compared to Japan which had already started to behave as an independent imperial state by waging war against China and expanding its territory by colonising Ezo, Ryukyu, Taiwan and Korea by the end of the 19th century, Australia's ability to stand alone internationally at that time could be questioned. It was not until after World War Two that the country gained its independence from Britain with regard to foreign policy. From this perspective, there would be a challenge to my view that recognises the two countries as contemporaries. However, here I will make clear that in this thesis I am pointing to the contemporaneous aspect of the two countries by focusing on the timing of when they gained the constitutional structure of modern nation state. It is then that they were recognised as one unified polity in the international arena. More importantly, the two nation states both came into being somewhere between the rise of the Western imperial powers and the independence of colonised countries after World War Two. It is on this basis that I describe Japan and Australia as belonging to the same generation.

In addition, multicultural aspect of Australia may appear to contradict the idea of "nation state". Nevertheless, Australia is counted as one "nation state" by the United Nations, for example, in international sporting events, such as the Olympics. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, multicultural Australia is recognised as a single nation state.

Kawai Hayao, a Japanese psychologist, once interpreted the psychological state of one human being to understand the present world politics by specifically referring to the United States of America (Kawai 2001, pp. iv-v). Comparing the United States to an ego which is trying to keep control of the world order in their rhetoric, Kawai explains their reaction to the terrorist attacks in 2001, for example, as the symptom of a troubled ego. Incidents which significantly destabilise the identity of the States being a ruler of the world could be seen as a psychological complex.

Applying Kawai's idea to Japan and Australia, it is possible to see both countries as egos which are trying to maintain their own national identity. Since their establishment as modern nation states, they both have made an effort to forge their unique and proud national identities. However, their ambiguous state has negatively influenced their maintenance of the identity. Being latecomers to the international community, they unsuccessfully tried to catch up with and to become a part of the West. Therefore, they have been obsessed with the idea that they are not yet mature. This sense of immaturity turns into a psychological complex – in Japan's and Australia's cases an inferiority complex in relation to the West.

This inferiority complex disturbs the stable condition of their national identities and their behaviour as nation states occasionally betrays this aspect of their psychological situation. Being latecomers to the international arena ruled by the Western powers, Japan and Australia have always been attempting to catch up with the dominant power. They tend to see the world in a structure which has a hierarchy having the West at the summit and have believed that every nation state is developing and advancing in a linear way, from the East to the West.

Recognising themselves as being excluded from full membership of the Western club, they have been cautious about not falling into the category of "the East". This

idea leads them to differentiate consciously and also unconsciously and isolate themselves from those “inferior” Asian countries which are located in the East and are their neighbours. This behaviour by Japan and Australia is often seen. There are both past and present examples. This behaviour expresses their intention to show and reassure their superiority in relation to neighbouring countries and makes them feel closer to the West. Asia is used as a springboard for them to leap towards their maturity.

In Section B I depict the ambiguous identity of Japan and Australia by introducing orientalism as outlined by Edward W. Said. In his most prominent book *Orientalism*, Said explained that orientalism is “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (Said 2003, p. 3). He made apparent in the book that because of the practice of orientalism by the West, the present world is understood and perceived as a place divided into two parties: those who dominate, the Occident, and those who are dominated, the Orient. Referring to Said’s thoughts, my focus in this section is on the national identity of Japan and Australia in the dichotomous and hierarchical world structure.

For this purpose, in Chapter Three, we see how one of the most prominent and influential intellectuals of the twentieth century was introduced to Japan and Australia, how he and his ideas were received and understood in both societies and how he is remembered after his death in 2003. Said started to be widely recognised in Japan after a Japanese translation of *Orientalism* was published in 1986. Since the book was already generating a critical debate abroad, Japanese intellectual circles were quick to take it up and many book reviews followed, published in newspapers and academic journals. The most significant aspect of the book for Japanese intellectuals was that Said was criticising the discourse and rhetoric of the

West which are dominant in the present world. By placing Japan in the context of Said's argument, they recognised the hierarchical relationship between Japan, a country of the Orient, and the West. Moreover, some intellectuals became aware of Japan's character as "orientalist" in relation to neighbouring Asian countries.

Said's occasional but continuous appearance in the Japanese media was supported by a few Japanese intellectuals who tried to bring his ideas to the public, especially through newspapers. The only occasion for Said to visit Japan was also organised by an individual who wanted Said's perspective to be heard more widely by the Japanese public. A few Japanese publishers were constantly interested in bringing Said's writings to Japanese readers and, even after his death in 2003, several publications of Said's books and articles became available in Japanese.

Compared to the situation in Japan, Said's appearance and reception in Australia were rather low key and he himself was a more controversial figure. On the one hand, in the academic sphere, Said was introduced to the area of Asian studies around 1980 under the influence of academics in the United States. This was a result of response to Said's criticism of area studies which was defined by Said as being in the similar category to oriental studies – studies of Other. There was an explicit division between those who supported Said's argument and those who criticised him. Later his argument entered into postcolonial studies. Being a country with a colonial history, it was inevitable for intellectuals in Australia to sympathise with Said's perspectives from the periphery. On the other hand, within the public sphere, Said's origin as a Palestinian specifically came under the spot light. He was taken as an expert on the Middle Eastern conflicts and, moreover, was seen as a symbolic figure of the anti-Zionist movement and occasionally became the target of those who supported Israel.

Nevertheless, there are people in Australian society who try to maintain the thoughts of Said both in academia and the public sphere more generally. Although it is a rather silent flow, Said's legacy is alive in Australia as it is in Japan.

It is against this background of Said's reception in Japan and Australia that in Chapter Four I will examine how intellectuals in both countries read Said and how they have located themselves in the West/East divided world. In addition, how Japan and Australia were seen and categorised by Said will be presented. I will try to depict the state of national identity in both countries: countries which float between the Orient and the Occident.

From the writings of intellectuals in Japan, it is clear that there are three dimensions to locate Japan in Said's context. The most popular way to perceive Japan was to put the country in the category of the Orient. Generally, there is almost a consensus for seeing Japan geographically, ethnically, historically and culturally as an Oriental country. Nevertheless, *Orientalism* made intellectuals "re-realise" that Japan is not simply located in the Orient but it is represented by the West to belong to the Orient. Said's argument made clear that Japan is in a subordinate position in relation to the West. The criticism of Said of the West's orientalist behaviour eased the resentment of people on the archipelago who were always under the pressure from the West particularly since being forced to open up the country in 1853.

The second dimension, however, shows a different Japanese character. When it comes to the issues of the Middle East, Japan slightly shifts its position to the Occident. The way the Middle East is represented in Japan was not crucially different from the representation of the region in the West. The image of the Middle East in Japan is generally integrated into exoticism or terrorism since Japan is

mainly importing images of the Middle East from the United States. As a result, Japan's gaze towards the Middle East is similar to the gaze given by the Occident towards its subject, the Orient.

In the third dimension Japanese position becomes clearer and firmer. The focus is on the relationship between the country and the neighbouring Asian countries and it recognises Japan as an orientalist, being a coloniser and an imperial power in the region. Therefore, the third dimension is the most controversial for Japan regarding the reading of *Orientalism*. This practice is termed "Japanese orientalism" and it depicts not only Japan's expansionism in Asia before the Pacific War but also its attitude towards its "inner other" – mainly Koreans residing in Japan as a consequence of the imperialism of Japan in the past – after the war up until the present day.

As it is apparent from my brief outline of these three dimensions, Japan is a country which has both Oriental and Occidental characteristics. Japan appears to be rather ambiguous in the framework of the Orient/the Occident divided world described by Said. The status of Japan floats somewhere between the two categories.

Writing by Australian intellectuals referring to Said also could be divided into three different dimensions but in a slightly different form than that of Japan. The first and the most popular way to situate Australia in Said's context was to see the country as an orientalist in Asia. Being a nation state created by a Western imperial power in the non-Western part of the world, this was an inevitable aspect of the character of Australia. The country's link with the Occident regarding its origin led to Australia observing neighbouring Asian countries as the other and

alienated itself from the rest of Asia. Its mindset was with the Occident and its behaviour towards neighbours tends to resemble a Western rulers' attitude.

This first dimension refers to Australia's relationship with the others which exist outside the country, whereas the second dimension features the others within the country. This dimension is distinctive to Australia which is a multicultural country. Having an indigenous population and many immigrants not only from Britain or other parts of Europe but also from Asia, Australia has the Orient within itself. This was the reality of the Australian continent from the very day the British settlers landed in 1788. To describe the mainstream white population's attitude towards the "inner other", Australian intellectuals borrowed the idea from Said. The attitude was comparable to orientalist from the West.

The third dimension, however, shows a different character of Australia. By focusing on the fact that Australia was an outpost of the British Empire, there are Australian intellectuals who stress the country's subjection to Britain – the Occident. This makes Australia slip from the status of the Occident as it was seen in the first and the second dimensions. Its position moves slightly in the direction of the non-Occident, if not the Orient.

Thus, Australia's position in the Orient/Occident divided world is ambiguous. The background of this ambiguity is different but Australia shares this characteristic with Japan. Reading of Said by Australian intellectuals suggests that Australia's identity also floats between the Occident and the Orient.

In the third part of Chapter Four, I will focus on Said's perspective toward the two countries and examine how Japan and Australia were depicted in his writings. Throughout his career as an intellectual speaking to the world, Said's interest was always focused on the Middle East. The United States and European countries

were also within the scope of his interest as they were inseparable from the problems in the Middle East. On this basis, Japan or Australia was never a central issue for Said. In his main book *Orientalism*, Australia is not mentioned and Japan was referred to just a few times and in an insignificant way. However, in *Culture and Imperialism*, a book frequently seen as a sequel of *Orientalism*, Said deals not only with issues between the Middle East and the West but also more widely with other parts of the world and, in that context, Japan and Australia attract his attention. In Said's view, Australia was mainly perceived as a subject of the British Empire and it was not in the category of the Occident. On the other hand, Japan was in most cases categorised as being in the Orient by Said. However, on several occasions in *Culture and Imperialism*, Said refers to Australia and Japan's characters which could be interpreted as orientalist. Thus, even in Said's view, the location of Japan and Australia in the world floats between the Orient and the Occident.

Finally in the third section of my thesis, in Section C, I present symptoms of both countries which are the consequences of their inferiority complex. The complex which is created by their ambiguous position in the world and their ambiguous national identity, is expressed in the two countries' behaviour with regard to their international relations.

In Chapter Five I look at both countries' similarly ambiguous attitude towards Asia. Because the dynamism which Asia is demonstrating as the twenty first century begins, the region is gaining attention from all over the world mainly for economic reasons. Japan and Australia are also on board with respect to this interest. They seek to benefit from the region while understanding Asia is one of the top priorities for both societies. Asia or neighbouring Asian countries are

frequently taken up as an object of study by intellectuals and mentioned in everyday discourses including in media stories.

What becomes apparent from this phenomenon in both countries is the existence of a psychological border between Asia and themselves. Despite their geographical proximity to the region, they neither perceive themselves as belonging to Asia nor try to situate themselves within the region. A sense of otherness and remoteness is always lying beneath their references to Asia. Asia exists in their neighbourhood but in a slightly remote distance. This gives an impression that Asia is an object for them to handle and they seem to be having difficulties doing so.

Their awkwardness in relating to Asia is expressed in the international arena with regard to regional integration. Their relationship with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and their behaviour in the movement to form the East Asia Community (EAC) are apparent examples. Their ambiguous behaviour could be described as “one foot in Asia, the other in the West”. They do not want to lose the benefits which will be created from economic ties with Asia and, simultaneously, they have confidence in their better knowledge of the region due to their geographic proximity.

Nevertheless, both Japan and Australia do not sit comfortably within Asia and they tend to turn to their allies in the West as if searching for their mentors. This phenomenon is a representation of their belief in hierarchy among nations and is a symptom of their inferiority complex.

In the last chapter of my thesis, Chapter Six, I offer an explanation of the closeness of the two countries in this twenty first century. It is another symptom of the complex. Recently, especially in the era of the Australian Prime Minister John Howard and the Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi Junichiro and his successor Abe

Shinzo, both Australia and Japan frequently referred to each other as “natural partners”.

In spite of this intimacy between the two countries, in reality there are some tensions and disputes in their international relations. One example of tension is negotiation regarding their bilateral free trade agreement. Although their studies group on the agreement have been meeting continuously to work on the issue, it is not an easy task for them to formalise the signing of the agreement since Australian farmers are demanding free access to the Japanese market where farmers, especially rice farmers, are heavily protected by the government to secure its national self-sufficient rate.

Another area where Japan and Australia take up completely different positions is over the issue of whaling. Every year when an annual meeting of the International Whaling Committee approaches or when the Japanese whaling ships start to hunt whale in the Antarctic for scientific research, an outcry opposing the Japanese activity bursts out in Australia. Suddenly Japan is represented as a savage nation by the Australian media, far from an image of a “natural partner”.

Conflicting memories of the Pacific War is also an issue over which Australia and Japan do not and cannot share a historical sensibility. From Japan’s point of view, the memory of the war mainly integrate into an image of a war fought against the United States. On the contrary, Australia remembers this war in the Pacific as a war against Imperial Japan. With dark memories hosted by prisoners of war, Australian society still holds a strong resentment towards the Japanese.

Nevertheless, there is some sign that the present international climate is drawing them closer and overcoming those difficulties that lie between them. The most prominent example of this has been the deployment of additional Australian

soldiers to Iraq in 2005 to protect the engineers of the Japanese Self Defence Force. Imagining the strong resentment that exists in Australian society regarding the former war in the Pacific, this was seen as an epoch-making event for the relationship between Australia and Japan. However, under the present politics of the international arena, it was a natural initiative taken by both governments.

What is evident here is that both Japan and Australia have a very strong connection with the United State. Japan with the Japan – U.S. Security Treaty and Australia with the Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty. Both countries are tied to the sole super power in the present world. And with the signing of the Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation between Japan and Australia in 2007, it was said that it was the completion of the security triangle in the Asia Pacific. This tendency of both countries to move towards the West, in this case the United States, has resulted in them isolating themselves from their neighbouring Asian countries. Considering their mindset, thinking there is a hierarchy in the world order, this also is a symptom caused by their inferiority complex. This is the very reason why the two countries have been close to each other in this new century.

The age of colonialism and imperialism are believed to have become a thing of the past. Most of the nations which were objects of colonialism gained independence after World War Two. Referring to the membership of the United Nations, there are 192 members (United Nations 2006) and each state acts as one sovereign independent nation in the current international arena. Nevertheless, traces of colonialism and imperialism are still alive in the world today. The rhetoric which drives international politics today is particularly deeply affected by views drawn from the past.

Japan and Australia are also under the influence of this rhetoric from the previous era. An inferiority complex in relation to the West which the two countries share is a remnant of colonialism and imperialism. This complex is affecting their sense of national identity and has had a negative influence on their relationship with neighbouring Asian countries. The time is overdue for the two countries to overcome and to be free from the dichotomous and hierarchical world-view. Examination of the countries' inferiority complex is therefore a matter of great urgency.