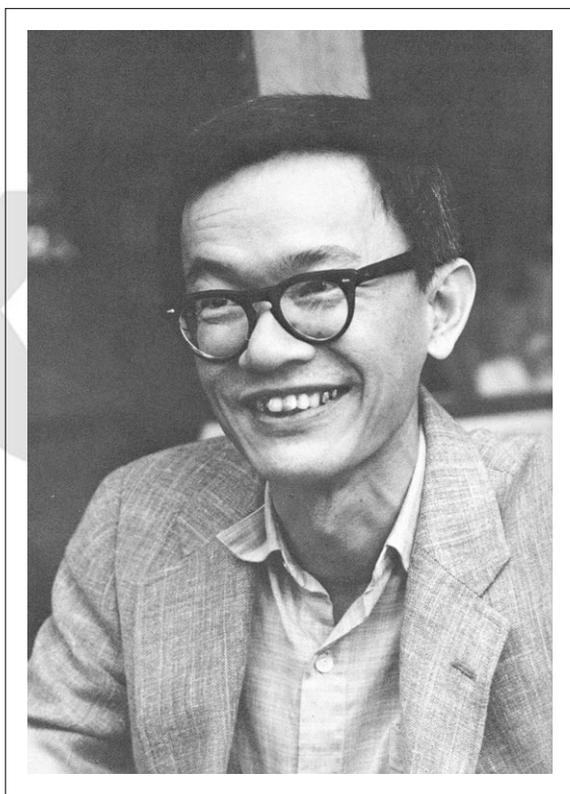


KAJIMURA HIDEKI

1935 - 1989



by

Yi Hong-Rahk

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The Review of Korean Studies, in cooperation with *Jeongsin munhwa yeongu* (Korean Studies Quarterly), features articles on eminent Korean studies scholars worldwide. Kajimura Hideki, a pioneer in the study of Korean history and an activist on behalf of Zainichi Koreans, is introduced here. This article was written by Yi Hong-Rahk, Assistant Professor, Humanities & Social Sciences, Hanil University & Presbyterian Theological Seminary. Prof. Yi received his Ph.D. in economic history from Kanagawa University (神奈川大學) in Japan, and his scholarly interest includes modern Korean economic history and social history. The Board of *The Review of Korean Studies* would like to express its deepest gratitude to Prof. Yi Hong-Rahk for his kind cooperation and contribution. - Editor.

Kajimura Hideki

Kajimura's Youth and Encounter with Korean History¹

Kajimura Hideki was born in Tokyo in 1935 and died in May 1989 at the age of fifty-three. Although he did not live long, he devoted his whole life to the study of Korean history. Japanese imperialism led to the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, creating a wartime system in Japan and Korea. When the Asian/Pacific War was at its peak in 1942, Kajimura entered a local elementary school but had to evacuate to Nagano in the summer of 1944 due to air attacks. His family had to live separately; Kajimura and his elder sister, who was in the sixth grade, went to Nagano, other family members went to their hometown in Aichi, and his father remained in Tokyo to work in his office.

His forefathers had been farmers in Aichi-ken, but his grandfather and his grandfather's brother went into new fields of work; his grandfather was a teacher and his brother a doctor. Kajimura's father was a brilliant man who, after graduating from middle school, later entered Tokyo-ichi High School and the Law School at Kyoto Imperial University. His father became a judge in the district court and eventually worked as the head judge of the High Court. It was extraordinary at that time for a Tokyo-ichi High School graduate to enter Kyoto Imperial University instead of Tokyo Imperial University (renamed the University of Tokyo in 1947). It was probably because he indulged himself in the liberalistic philosophy of Nishida (Publication Committee on the Works of Kajimura Hideki 1990: 205).

Kajimura's father was well acquainted with Kawai, a notable liberalist and

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one of the professors at Tokyo Imperial University who happened to be from the same hometown. His father married Kawai's sister. His father privately tried to help his brother-in-law as much as possible in his position as a judge when Kawai became involved in an incident related to the "disquieting thought," in spite of the severity of the wartime system.

Kajimura's father refused several important positions and instead taught law at a university and published law books. Kajimura might have inherited his father's scholarly and liberalistic tendencies.

Kajimura returned to Tokyo in November 1945 when he was ten, but what waited for him was his mother's death. Thanks to his father, he had a relatively good childhood although most Japanese suffered from lack of material goods both during and after the war. His father had great expectations for Kajimura and was strict with him perhaps because he was the only son among six children or because of his mother's early demise.

Kajimura's father was a self-made man who chose a career as a judge despite his primary interest in the humanities and philosophy. Kajimura was also expected to study law. He later recalled that he had had a "strong aspiration to escape from the suffocating protection and strictness" of his father during his high school and university days (Kajimura 1974a, reprinted by Ishizaka 1995: 168).

For Kajimura, the study of Korean history was an escape of a sort. Still, there was no reason that Korean history was the only exit. It seems he had "chosen Korean history by chance" (Kajimura 1974a, reprinted by Ishizaka 1995: 169). He received very high grades in all subjects in middle and high schools. He was particularly good at mathematics and wrote an excellent paper on entomology when he was a high school student (Publication Committee on the Works of Kajimura Hideki 1990: 225-264). Therefore, most of his friends thought that he would "escape to the natural sciences." But he changed his mind and entered the field of humanities all of a sudden right before he entered the general education course (Chinese language) at the University of Tokyo (Kang Deok-sang 1997: 177).

Kang Deok-sang speculates as follows on the reason for Kajimura's sudden turnabout from the natural sciences to the humanities.² "One of the reasons, I suppose, was that he took the entrance examination in 1954. After the armistice

2. Kang Deok-sang, a student of Waseda University, began to study Korean history along with Kajimura and Miyata Setsuko when there was almost no information available.

of the Korean War (1950-1953), many Japanese began to pay attention to the social changes in China and prominently studied about China and the Chinese revolution. They expected an Asian socialistic revolution and believed in the theory of ‘advanced China and backward Japan.’ Kajimura was influenced by this trend” (Kang Deok-sang 1997: 177). Kajimura also said, “When I looked for an escape route, the Asia boom in the academic world played a role in my choice” (Kajimura 1974a, reprinted by Ishizaka 1995: 168).

Kajimura decided to major in Korean history after he entered the Asian history curriculum in the literature department in 1957 when he was a junior. No other student was studying Korean history at the University of Tokyo at the time, and Korean history was not even recognized as one of the academic domains. Therefore, his decision was not promising. Then, what made him turn to Korean history?

First was the discrimination against foreigners, especially against Zainichi Koreans. He felt the necessity for self-reflection of the Japanese, including himself. After the war, the Japanese government adopted discriminatory policies in order to exclude Zainichi Koreans, who were forced to move to Japan under the wartime mobilization and considered unnecessary after World War II. In 1947 it enforced the Foreigners Registration Law, which considered foreigners, most of whom were Koreans in Japan, as potential criminals. Soon thereafter, Korean schools built to promote national identity were closed, and organizations for the interest of Zainichi Koreans were suppressed. Zainichi Koreans and those who lived in Buraku were the groups most discriminated against in postwar Japan.

He considered misconceptions about Korea and Koreans held by ordinary Japanese were the result of distorted histories of Korea and Japan. That was why he devoted his time to various activities for the benefit of Zainichi Koreans as well as studied Korean history. He appealed for the acquittal of Kim Hui-ro,³ and led the movement against fingerprinting of Zainichi Koreans in Japan.

Second is his reading of *Arirang* by Nym Wales, which prompted him to have an interest in Korean society. Through this book Kajimura felt an intellec-

3. Kim Hui-ro (real name is Gweon Hui-ro) was responsible for the so-called “Kim Hui-ro Incident” in Shizuoka, Japan in 1968. He killed high-ranking Japanese mobsters and took a stance against the police by holding a hostage at an inn to protest against discrimination against Zainichi Koreans. He was sentenced to a life-time in prison but released in 1999 on parole. He then went to Korea. At the time, Kim Hui-ro’s action incited self-reflection on discriminatory issues in Japanese society, and the effort to save him was active.

tual curiosity about Korean society that was the foundation for creating the interesting life of Kimsan (real name is Jang Ji-rak), a young Korean revolutionary, and other characters who appear in the book. Kajimura wrote, “When I made up my mind to study Korean history, only a few were studying it. By chance, I read this book translated by Ando Jirou and published by Asahi Shobou in 1953” (Kajimura 1987: 221). Kajimura was able to overcome the dark and passive image of Joseon due to *Arirang* and, instead, had a dynamic and active image of Korea (Kang Deok-sang 1997: 178-181).⁴

Institutes for studying Korea appeared in 1958 and 1959 around the time Kajimura decided to study Korean history. Kajimura played a leading role in those institutes. His research activities usually took place out of the university because he rarely found historical materials for study or professors who could guide him. In the beginning, his activities concentrated on Chosen Shiryou Kenkyukai (Institute of Korean Historical Materials), which belonged to Yuhoukai (Association for Friendship with Other Countries) organized by bureaucrats who had worked in colonial Korea. The institute, set up in May 1958, collected data on Japanese colonial policies and arranged the materials for historical review.

Although Kajimura, Kang Deok-sang, and Miyata Setsuko did not attend the same university, they studied Korean history together and had access to materials on colonial policies; they were actively involved in the institute from its inception. Kajimura never missed the weekly seminar on Korean history held at the institute. The seminar was held 400 times (Kang Deok-sang 1997: 182). The papers Kajimura presented at the seminar were as follows: “Nikkankyoyaku

4. One of Kajimura’s forefathers, Ohkubo Haruno, was responsible for the suppression of the Righteous Army when Korea was annexed by Japan. Kang thinks that that was one reason why Kajimura decided to study Korean history. Kajimura said, “On my maternal line was one soldier who invaded Korea. And my mother’s father is said to have been an advocate of the Russo-Japanese War” (Kajimura 1974a: 167).

According to Kang Deok-sang, General Ohkubo Haruno was a commander of the Japanese army stationed in Korea (1909-1911). Kajimura confessed to Kang of Ohkubo being his great-grandfather when they were university students. They were visiting Ohkubo’s house in Yokohama in order to gather resources for their joint study.

However that may be, Kajimura said, “But it was not the guilt about my kin that made me study Korean history. I became aware of this fact after I started to study about Korean history. I was not aware of my ancestor’s role in Korean history until after I studied it.” (Kajimura 1974a: 169). In this sense, it was not the reason for his choice but one of the reasons that kept him studying Korean history.

teiketsuni okeru nihon gaikouno taido” (Japan’s Diplomatic Attitude toward the Japan-Korean Agreement, May 1958), “Chosen no shiho oyobi keisatsu seido” (The Judicial and the Police System in Korea, September 1958), “Shihoseido hushokuno mondaiten” (Problems in Implementing the Judicial System, March 1959), “Kazokusyugi no keisei ni kansuru ichi shiron” (Study of the Formation of the Family System, June 1959), “Chosen sotokufu no hoseikiko” (The Law-Making Structure of the Governor-General’s Office in Korea, August 1959), and “Sen’ikogyo bumon no jittai” (Conditions of Textile Factories, January 1961), etc. We can infer the breadth of his concerns. Amongst them were then current issues such as talks on normalizing relations between Korea and Japan. And his presentation about the family system developed into his graduation thesis (Kajimura 1959).

In his first academic article, Kajimura made it clear through investigating the adoption of family courtesy as orthodox Confucian ideology that familism, the symbol of Korean stagnation, was a product of a certain phase in historical development. It could be said here that his lifelong study of “indigenous development” was clearly present even then.

Thereafter, Kajimura became active in the Chosenshi Kenkyukai (Institute for the Study of Korean History), which was built in January 1959. He was one of the leaders of the institute and became the operations manager in November 1963. He frequently presented his studies at the regular meetings of the institute. He introduced contemporary studies in South and North Korea to Japanese researchers—such as “Yangan yeongu” (Kim Yong-seop’s Study of Land Survey) in Sahakyeongu (Historical Study), Volumes 7 and 8, “Joseon geunesau sigigubune gwanhan gwahaktorohoe” (Seminar on Periodization of Modern Korean History) in Yeoksakwahak (Historical Science), Volume 1 of 1962, as well as up-to-date issues such as “Nikkan kaidanni taisite” (About Korea-Japan Talks, November 1962), “Richoumakino mengyouni taishite” (Study of Cotton Manufacturing in the Late Joseon Dynasty, April 1963), and “Minamichousenno sihaikouzouto iwaba reizokushihon” (South Korea’s Ruling System and the So-Called Subordinate Capital, December 1963), etc.

Another realm of his activities was the Nihon Chosen Kenkyusho (Japan and Korea Research Center), established in November 1961 as a research institute and committed to practical issues. He was an active member from its inception. “The institute was established in order to resolve Korean problems from the Japanese point of view,” according to Miyata, who participated in this organization as well.?

Kajimura's Study of Korean History?

Kajimura was a representative researcher of Korean history as well as an activist on behalf of Zainichi Koreans. He devoted himself to improving Zainichi Korean human rights in postwar Japanese society. Endowed with his role as a pioneer in Korean history and with the depth and breadth of his studies, his academic achievements had a vast influence on the next generation of historians despite the fact that he passed away at the relatively young age of fifty-three.

He left about 600 works behind. In order to see his various activities and works in more detail, refer to the chronology in *Memories and Posthumous Manuscripts* (Publication Committee on the Works of Kajimura Hideki 1990). However, there exist uncertified works of his because he used many pen names in various instances due to Korea's division under the cold war. Still, he wrote more than twenty works per year for the duration of about thirty years.

His works can be divided into seven categories: methodology of Korean history, socio-economic history, history of the national liberation movement, history of thought, Japanese concepts of Korea, issues on Zainichi Koreans, and contemporary economics of South and North Korean society. Each category is very important in modern Korean history and contains enormous issues. Thus, it is really hard to introduce all of the contents of his works from my narrow perspective in this short essay.

In this respect, Kajimura divides the characteristics of the study of Korean history into two: The former is the "theory of indigenous development," on which his study was based, and the latter is Korean history as the means for self-reflection of Japanese society. The two aspects cannot be separated but, while the former reveals his overall view on Korean history, the latter expresses his stance as a Japanese.

1. Korean history and the theory of indigenous development

To put it shortly, the "theory of indigenous development" (i.e., Korea would have become modernized sooner or later without external forces in the form of colonialism) is a methodology that comprehends history from the perspective of seeking the basic dynamics of historical development in the internal factors of a nation. Kajimura said as follows:

"It is common sense to elucidate the process of contradictions in progress

and changes from within and without and between the lower class and the upper class with the ultimate goal of explaining the subjective criteria of the basis of the *minjung* (the people). It has the ultimate purpose of clarifying the momentum from the inside and from the lower class, that is to say, the subjective condition of people.”⁵ (Kajimura 1986b: 168-169)

After Korea’s liberation, many Korean historians have tried to overcome the colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism. And this was basically the same with Japanese historians who studied Korean history. And the first step was to disclose the criminal exploitations of Japanese colonial rule. While Koreans wanted to recover their national consciousness and national identity as the premise for the construction of their new society, the significance for the Japanese lay in their need for self-reflection through Korean history.

However, such historical studies resulted in Korean history without Korean people wherein Japanese imperialism, which suppressed and exploited Korea with cruel force, took the leading role in portraying Koreans as helpless and passive. It would more appropriate to say that it was not Korean history but history of Japanese imperialism.

Therefore, a more effective weapon for criticizing the colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism was found in the factors for development within Korea in the so-called “embryonic capitalism theory in Korea” (i.e., the theory that Japanese colonialism stifled Korean capitalism at its bud). Although Kajimura borrowed the basic framework for this theory that appeared almost at the same time in both South Korea and North Korea, he constructed the “theory of indigenous development,” which was “not just a copy of historical research of Korea but an eventual product of historical studies in Japan” (Kajimura 1968b: 81).

As previously mentioned, such a perspective appeared in his first academic article of 1959. His socioeconomic history assumes that first, “petty commodity production” was in an advanced stage in Joseon society and would have ultimately reached capitalism on its own if it had not been for western interference from the outside” (Kajimura 1974b: 119). Moreover, he traced how the origin of the indigenous development of Korean society became distorted and changed in the process of reacting to external pressure.

5. See Kajimura 1986b and Yi Hong-rahk 1997 for more information on indigenous development.

“Richo makki no men’gyo no ryutsu oyobi seisankozo” (Distribution and Production Structure of the Cotton Industry at the end of the Joseon Dynasty) (Kajimura 1968a) investigates the nature of the foreign pressures and Korean society’s reaction to those pressures from 1876 to 1910. According to Kajimura, this period was divided into three stages, and then the contradictory transformation process of each stage, the first of which spanned from the opening of the ports (1876) to the Peasant War of Uprising of 1894; the main enemy of the theory of indigenous development was “not the outside capitalist countries but the internal feudal powers.” But in the second stage (from 1895 to the Russo-Japanese War), the phenomenal conditions of contradictions changed to “small Joseon manufacturers versus Japanese capitalism and Joseon’s subordinate feudal power,” and moreover, in the third stage (after the Russo-Japanese War), “Japanese imperialism versus all Joseon people.” He doesn’t negate that Koreans’ resistance against outside forces became harder and harder to overcome and that the possibility of Korea’s independent development of capitalism decreased accordingly. Rather, he considers the issues to be how Korean people responded to the changes in the contradictions at each stage and tried to realize their tasks and react to the changes.

In Kajimura’s other works, the possibility of “independent development as a nation” was confronted by a great division in 1894. However, feudal power as the primary antagonist deteriorated to a secondary status and Japanese imperialism emerged as a more powerful antagonist after the Peasant Uprising of 1894. There were some positive factors in the trade and monetary economy in Korea right after 1894 because economic factors for the bourgeois development of the nation were not yet completely destroyed and the feudal pressure toward manufacturers was weakened. But, at the same time, wealthy farmers and small manufacturers were put under the unfavorable condition of facing competition from foreign goods without the nation’s protection, which did not make independent capitalistic development in Korea possible. Therefore, the years following were a period of great transformation, and national crisis deepened as such.

“Kindaichosenno Shoninshihon nadono gaiatsueno shotaiou” (Reaction of Modern Joseon’s Commercial Capital to External Pressures) (Kajimura 1986a) explains the diverse reactions of the participants in bourgeois development in their efforts to defend their commercial interest and to maintain the national economy.

He analyzed dualistic issues such as “nationality” and “subordination” in merchant capital and “modernity” and “conservatism” of the politically power-

ful from the standard of judgment of “internal transformation due to external powers.” According to Kajimura, “nationality” and “subordination” of merchant capital appeared as the possibility of realizing the agenda pursued by the Joseon bourgeoisie who disappeared due to increased external political and economic coercions. Moreover, “modernity” and “conservatism” of the politically powerful are related to the political divisions that subvert the unification of the people necessary for bourgeois development in a nation.

What happens to Korean society after experiencing the Peasant Uprising of 1894 to 1910? Kajimura does not consider Joseon society of this period to have undergone “the process of breaking down an already established national economy, i.e., nationwide market, from outside due to Imperial Japan,” but rather as “a commodity economy that has been deployed from below before the opening of the ports, going beyond the local sphere and gradually forming regional economic power, and the process itself was soon united with the national economy being oppressed by external coercions.” Thus, Kajimura seemed to consider that external coercions were not in a position to suppress the entire Joseon society by seizing the center of Joseon and that regional economies containing relative autonomy and individuality countering Imperial Japan’s tyranny could have existed” (Kajimura 1989: 159-160).

This paper, which analyzed the Bukgwan region of Hamgyeongbuk-do in northeastern Korea, is very important in that it revealed the existence of a framework for denying the bias of Korea being dependent on the leadership of Japanese capitalism through the investigation of increasing foreign trade with Vladivostok right before colonization by Imperial Japan and, at the same time, it was an example that could contribute to the revision of the general understanding of “the national characteristic of indigenous development.”

On the other hand, annexation of Korea by Imperial Japan in 1910 blocked various possibilities for the regional economy as described above, and the regional economy was reorganized into a more dependent reproduction system. However, Kajimura thought that there still remained, with difficulty, remnants of autonomous reproduction and social relationships related to the division of labor in Korea after total colonization in 1910 (Kajimura 1989: 181). Generally speaking, the prevalent attitude was the acknowledgement of the path to “indigenous development” being blocked once Korea was under colonial rule, but Kajimura questioned “the likelihood of the reform process that began and influenced all social relations in Korean society disappearing without any trace after colonization” (Kajimura 1977a: 377). Thus, he continued to search for the trace of the

“indigenous development” even after colonization, which shows the consistency of his view.

In “1910nendai Chosen no keizaijunkan to shonokeiei” (Economic Circulation and Management of Small Farmers in Korea during the 1910s) (Kajimura 1990), he investigated distribution channels for rice and the social division of labor in the 1910s. The article explains that this period contained transitional characteristics for forming a colonial dominant system on the one hand, and at the same time, there existed a high level of regional and social division of labor on other hand that functioned at the same time. An example of the former would be the transitional stage of surplus labor. This transitional stage of surplus labor appeared as the rearrangement of labor was impeded by colonization, i.e., the division between capital-wage labor was stopped due to colonization and labor power became concentrated in unproductive labor spheres. Such rearrangement of labor power led to the downfall of many middle-sized farmers due to dealing a heavy blow to the farmers’ manufacturing side-jobs, an inordinate shift of farmers toward the lower class, and the reorganization of the existing industrial structure due to the influx of foreign goods. An example of the latter is the regional social division of labor, i.e., small independent operations of the same size trading products such as grain and hand-made goods in neighboring areas or inside the market. As well, exchange between side jobs and odd jobs of small- and mid-sized farmers and surplus rice from large farms existed and functioned as part of the regional revolving structure.

There have been relatively few studies on the Korean economy in the 1910s because this period was thought only as a simple transitional period from “pre-modern society” to “colonial economy.” Historians have mainly taken notice of Japanese policies for establishing the colonial system in this period. Through this paper, Kajimura not only filled the blanks in the lack of research of this period but also made it clear that strong instruments for indigenous development still worked during this period and the “transitional period.” This paper is important in that it brought up issues on the “regional economy” as mentioned above as well as acted as an instrumental stepping stone for urging future research.

Korean society faced a more difficult situation in its opportunity for indigenous development in the 1920s under Imperial Japan’s cultural politics of divide and rule. But Kajimura confirmed that “being coerced into being distorted through the transplanting of colonial political and economic systems and led by it, the theory of indigenous development could be seen” when the knitting industry in Pyeongyang was investigated (Kajimura 1967-1968: 265).

First, he asserted, the entire knitting industry in Pyeongyang was under the leadership of the Joseon bourgeoisie who were independent of Japanese colonial capitalists and achieving consistent growth. But the growth was distorted and not very significant. From an overall perspective, it did not escape from being a “small- to mid-sized industry,” and they were not so competitive as to grow rapidly and surpass colonial capitalists in order to realize the prospect of “reclaiming national sovereignty.” Rather, the two contradicting extremes between nationalistic and subordinate aspects deepened in the industry because the knitting industry grew by strengthening its connection with colonial economic structure. Third, from the perspective of the struggle for national liberation of the Joseon bourgeoisie during the period of Imperial Japan, the emergence of the labor class during the 1920s made the Joseon bourgeoisie, the protectors of capital, necessarily move closer to Imperial Japan’s power. The Joseon bourgeoisie also overlapped with the temptation of growth possibilities predicated within an imperialistic system and passed the lead in the struggle for national liberation to the next leaders in history, the labor class, without ever experiencing all-out political enlightenment (Kajimura 1967-1968: 325-326).

This is not an attempt to defend that the logic of indigenous development continued without discontinuity during the duration of Japanese Imperialism after the 1920s, but rather, that it emphasized the continued importance of tracing the progress of the opportunity for indigenous development that grew in the womb of Joseon society despite that it was predicated upon the conditions led by a colonial economy controlled by Imperial Japan. This is because although indigenous development was achieved through distortion it was something that was to be overcome; furthermore, “we should not dismiss the social change from the lower class that counters transplanted capitalism from above” even when the characteristics of the colonial society are explained (Kajimura 1967-1968: 267).

Investigating the relation between the Korean bourgeoisie and the struggle for national liberation movement, Kajimura took exception to the common understanding that the leading class in “the bourgeois national movement” was based on “national capital” in the economic historical sphere. In other words, after it was annexed, Joseon was under the direct influence of the policy of dominant Japanese rule. Thus, capital in Korea showed a nationalistic tendency until the 1910s when native capital was oppressed and became subjugated as long as further development was devised after the 1920s when “subordinate development” was allowed. Therefore, bourgeois capital could no longer be the basis of

the bourgeois national movement, and “the subject of the bourgeois national movement was not the bourgeoisie but rather the colonized *minjung* with colonized poor peasants at the center” (Kajimura 1977b: 328-353).

This view of indigenous development was firmly held when the Korean economy was analyzed after the liberation. Some scholars raised a question as to whether the growth of the Korean economy since the 1970s could be understood as the continuation of the momentum for indigenous development. In order to answer the question, more in-depth analysis and theoretical support is required, but it is my understanding that the issues inherent in the South Korean economy can be critically examined also from the perspective of the *minjung* if the economy after the liberation is viewed from the theory of indigenous development; the momentum of indigenous development occurring under the surface being distorted and bent by a new external coercion called American capitalism must be considered important.

Kajimura’s “theory of indigenous development” attempts to understand history with the *minjung* as the subject of change. In response to the question of where to put the fundamental focus in studying Korean history which has experienced colonial domination, Kajimura stated that “the basic driving force of historical development was also the struggle of the people in modern Korean history, and the finest glory of the indigenous development of the Joseon people can be seen in the struggle for national liberation rather than in socioeconomic development” (Kajimura 1977a: 378). Although his study emphasizes socioeconomic history somewhat, he considered that the history of the national liberation movement with an intimate relationship with socioeconomic history must be the focal point in delineating modern Korean history. This is also a warning against the danger of falling into the trap of “socioeconomic history” and believing that “a massive system will be created one day whereby each socioeconomic factor will be comprehended one by one in a positive manner as an objective target” (Kajimura 1971: 54).

In this instance, one of the important tasks facing the history of the struggle for national independence is the question of how to view the relationship between nationalism and socialism. As previously mentioned, bourgeois nationalism, after Joseon became totally colonized, was led by the colonial *minjung* with poor peasants at the center and not by the bourgeoisie. Kajimura considered it important to reveal the existence of these groups and to comprehend “the dynamics of developing the consciousness of the *minjung*” and “the relationship between nationalism and socialism based on popular consciousness” (Kajimura

1977c: 113).

In addition, Kajimura's view of indigenous development is not a theory that simply imitates capitalistic modernity; rather, it carries an overtone of strong criticism against modernity. "*Minjung* nationalism," a concept founded by Kajimura during his study of Korean history, is "not just another ideology that is a compromise between bourgeois nationalism and socialism" (Kajimura 1987: 365). He intended to find a "non-Western development which transcends Western modernity through an alternative concept of "*minjung* nationalism" (Kajimura 1980: 298). For example, he paid attention to the appearance of the "settling of socialism" (Kajimura 1980: 288) during the peasant movement in the 1930s and attempted to search for the images of the *minjung* who visualized a "new society." Moreover, he emphasized the significance of national economic theory as a theoretical framework to clarify "the living conditions of the lower class people" and to "reveal the criteria for the momentum from below" (Kajimura 1986a: 174).

2. Study of Korean history as the start of self-reflection

Another notable characteristic of Kajimura's historical study of Korea is that he used the study of Korean history as an opportunity to self-examine Japanese society, which is comparable to the theory of indigenous development as a means to overcome the colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism and Japanese imperialism and as a methodology of Korean history that traced the locus of the impetus for indigenous development in Korean society.

Not only was overcoming such a view on colonial history mentioned above a necessary process to achieve national identity for the construction of a new liberated society from the viewpoint of Korean history, but it was also necessary for Japan that also had to build a new society. In this respect, the basic motif of a new study of Korea conducted by Kajimura and other Japanese scholars in the 1960s deepened the awareness of Japan's responsibility. Reflection on Japanese society's discrimination, one of the reasons given for Kajimura choosing to study Korean history, can be understood in the same context.

Japan once again began to make financial investments in Asian countries, and talk between Korea and Japan progressed in the 1960s. As was symbolically shown at the Tokyo Trial where the Emperor's responsibility for the war was disregarded, however, not only was the colonial view of history that attempted to justify colonialism not banished completely, but rather, the ambience of justify-

ing colonial dominance remained strong due to the fact that Japan was incorporated into the reorganization process of the world order after World War II before its responsibility for the antebellum was settled thoroughly and clearly. Even now, after half a century has passed since the war, many political leaders in Japan continue to tout the benefits of colonialism.

Kajimura's advocacy of Japanese society reflecting upon itself and upon being responsible for the actions of Imperial Japan's colonial domination as a necessary process for constructing a healthy society in postwar Japan is still applicable in this sense. He considered that all of Japan must participate in acknowledging and apologizing for their mistakes and in making clear who were responsible for the war by thoroughly examining prewar Japan so that all of Japan can clearly understand the historical characteristics of the war. And only through this process can Japanese society build a policy system that does not repeat the aggressions of the past. According to him, "We, the Japanese people, must study Korea to know ourselves... Issues on Korea exist as a constant reminder of our being drenched in imperialistic ideology" (Kajimura 1971: 14, 18). As can be seen from above, he found dynamic energy below the surface of Korean history and overthrew the intentional misrepresentation of the existing image of Korean history that is stagnant and heteronomous by conducting lengthy research to criticize and overcome the colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism. At the same time, he desired to apply his findings to urge Japanese society toward change.

This also meant that Kajimura wanted Japanese society to overcome its deeply rooted chauvinism. It is well known that Zainichi Koreans suffered from discrimination and disdain in postwar Japan as mentioned previously. Most of the Zainichi Koreans who were forced against their will to move to Japan under the colonial administrative policy have become a group that would have been better off to have left Japanese society after Korea's liberation. They were regarded as dirty, smelly, and dishonest monsters and suffered from poverty and discrimination. Such a viewpoint, unfortunately, is probably not irrelevant to the social consciousness found in Korean society today, where foreign laborers are often treated as potential criminals.⁶

Kajimura considered the regeneration of negative images of Korea and

6. The fact that Korean society's discrimination against foreign laborers in Korea is worse in some ways than that of Japanese society gives us something to think about.

Zainichi Koreans in Japanese society to be caused by not going through the process of settling Imperial Japan's responsibility for the war. The solution would be to rectify Japan's self-complacent consciousness by way of overcoming the narrow-minded chauvinism by viewing Japan through the eyes of Korea. Thus, it was very natural for his concerns to extend to the issues on Zainichi Koreans.

Kajimura's basic view on issues concerning Zainichi Koreans starts with a very simple and clear fact: "Zainichi Koreans did not come to Japan of their own free will." For example, Koreans immigrating to Japan up to the third period (1938) seemed to be based on "free will," but in fact, those Koreans were forced to leave their homeland due to economic coercion to provide labor to Japan as a result of imperial domination. This was the same in characteristic as "forced mobilization" (Kajimura 1968c: 45).

According to Kajimura, "material and physical violence visited upon Koreans by Japanese imperialism, the fostering of racial superiority and discrimination, prejudice, and disdain of other ethnicities, and the intentional and ideological usage of ethnic issues to preserve extreme internal contradictions of backwards imperialism acted as direct violence against the spirit of Koreans, and especially of Zainichi Koreans" (Kajimura 1968d: 48). To make matters worse, this manipulated prejudice, hatred, and contempt survived even after the war and was used in suppressing Zainichi Korean movements. This accurately pinpoints the so-called "assimilationism" (*dokashugi*) put forth by Imperial Japan to establish not only colonial rule but also the superiority/discriminatory consciousness of the Japanese, which is still strong even after the war. Unlike the word, "assimilationism" is "an ideology that does not consider the two nations to be equal for perpetuation of the Joseon colony, and its emphasis is on not recognizing Joseon on its own. This ideology does not view the populace of Korea, who were forced into becoming imperial subjects of Japan, as being on equal footings with those of Japanese nationality. This "ism" regulates these "new" subjects as having Japanese nationality but as one status lower than Japanese subjects" (Kajimura 1982b: 281).

This is associated with the fact that Korean people are ultimately hindered from finding the subjective task of liberating themselves because such self-complacent sentiments have been passed on to this day without self-reflection. Not only is Kajimura's research of Korean history significant in itself in relation to the study of Korean history and Zainichi Koreans, but at the same time, his research acts as a catharsis for Japanese society to be critical of itself and to

examine itself. This is the reason for his practicing what he studied.

When Kajimura stated the importance of viewing Japan through the eyes of Korea, he was actually talking about viewing the common people in Japan through the eyes of the common people in Korea. This is connected to Kajimura's study of history with the *minjung* at its center as mentioned above. "In a sense, "the *minjung*," whether Japanese or Korean, are the same despite being in conflict under certain historical conditions" (Niino 1992: 399).

It is true that the role of the *minjung* in transforming modern Japanese history was meager, but Kajimura had expectations of the Japanese *minjung* in Japanese history as he emphasized the role of Korean *minjung* in Korean history. This is the so-called theory of "latent possibility of the *minjung*." The "self-recovery" of the Japanese *minjung* has been prearranged for the future, and it will depend on how they resolve their subjective tasks.⁷

Kajimura's History within the Study of Korean History

The most unique feature about Kajimura's study of Korean history is that it is a study of history based on the theory of indigenous development, i.e., revealing the principle of the development process of internal momentum growing within a country.

The position of Kajimura's study in the history of research will be discerned here by examining the critical opinions on his study. Some critics say that Kajimura's theory of indigenous development relies too much on internal momentum, ignores international momentum, and excludes that perspective from world history; as well, the general principle contains a limitation in that it is based on a historical understanding of the hypothesis on developmental stages in history (i.e., history is predictable, linear, always moving forward toward progress, and can be divided into various stages of development).

7. A detailed discussion on this issue will be avoided here because this is part of Japanese history. Let it suffice to say that all of Japanese society in modern Japanese history is not beyond saving; rather, there is a need to search for a new possibility within Japanese history by introducing the logic of the *minjung*. In other words, the emphasis on the Meiji Restoration should not be put on the "superficiality that seems to indicate that the Samurai class led the reform but based on the eruption of the energy of the *minung* in a frantic bid for self-reform" (Kajimura 1980: 143). Kajimura considered this element to be necessary for changing Japanese society.

As mentioned above, however, the theory of indigenous development does not refute the perspective from world history without reason. The colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism by claiming that Korean society did not have the ability to progress by itself has greatly influenced Korean history. The historical perspective of a nation is emphasized to warn of the possibility of reverting back to the colonial view of history if the perspective of world history is introduced without overcoming this historical view. The colonial view of history greatly influenced Korea for a long time after Korea's liberation.⁸ Moreover, it has been reproduced consistently in postwar Japan; it still pops up whenever there is a chance to do so. Such reality shows the importance of the historical perspective of a nation over the perspective of world history. In short, Kajimura's theory of indigenous development does not exclude or ignore external factors but emphasizes the internal factors and how they develop in relationship to external factors, i.e., the intention of the theory is to grasp the entirety of universality/particularity, world history/history of one nation, class/nation, and socialism/nationalism.

It is difficult to consider the criticism of the theory of indigenous development as modernity-oriented to be a reasonable internal criticism growing out of its original purpose when the colonial *minjung* during Japanese imperialism pursuing a vision of a "new society" through the struggle for national liberation as mentioned above was not a capitalistic modernity but rather oriented toward "non-western development that transcends capitalistic modernity."

Kajimura states that "the details on the vision of a 'new society' were not deduced from ideology or theory; instead, it is from concrete living conditions of the people... and the image is of hard-working individuals in factories..." This image of a "new society" as embodied by "*minjung* nationalism" and the vision of a community of independent producers is the original meaning of establishing a people's democracy that is different from socialism." In this context, the *minjung* movement after liberation should also be examined from the point of "how well the political leaders understand such logic of the *minjung* that has been defined historically and how they construct a developmental framework based

8. Think about the classrooms on history after liberation prior to the advancement of the embryonic capitalism theory in Korea by Korean history studies and before this theory was reflected in Korean history textbooks. Images and even the future of Korea taught during Korean history class in the late 1960's being dismal is probably remembered by others as well.

on this” (Kajimura 1987: 366). The plan for a “new society” must necessarily be rooted in the historical experiences of the *minjung* who form the nucleus of that society’s reform.

Historical understanding with the *minjung* playing a major role as the historically developing subject, the prospect of a new society that transcends modernity, and the organic comprehension of socioeconomic history and the history of the struggle for national liberation are foremost in Kajimura’s study of Korean history. The reason for his study on Korean history taking a special place in the study of Korean history is probably due to this consistent view of indigenous development. This is especially true in light of a recent research trend called “the theory of colonial modernization” (i.e., Korea would not have become modernized without becoming a colony of Japan).

The “theory of colonial modernization” is mostly mentioned in economic history; the proponents of the theory of colonial modernization criticize the theory of indigenous development by stating that the latter has a tendency to turn the study of Korean history into “a history of exploitation only” and make it so that “the original goal of the study of socioeconomic history based on research on the dynamism of socioeconomic changes cannot be found... because there is a tendency to consider any external impetus as invasion or exploitation since the drive for development comes from within according to the theory of indigenous development.” Moreover, “the theory of indigenous development cannot but be inclined toward ‘self-sufficient economy theory,’ and will eventually be closely associated with the socialistic theory on self-sufficiency, and the historical prospect of indigenous development can only be the establishment of socialistic self-sufficient economy in reality...” “People can see how unrealistic the prospect of a socialistic self-sufficient economy is by looking at the conditions of socialist nations today.” “The economic development theory” is advanced as a new paradigm in the study of modern and contemporary Korean history (Ahn Byeong-jik 1997: 55-56).⁹

There are two problems about this criticism of the theory of indigenous development, however. First, the critics of indigenous development themselves degrade the purpose of “the study of socioeconomic history” into a means to

9. The “economic development theory” was later revised to “economic growth theory.” In spite of a few differences, there is no fundamental difference between the two (Jeong Jae-jeong 2002: 228).

pursue reality by searching for the original purpose of the study of socioeconomic history within “the dynamism of socioeconomic changes” but say that economic development is “the only prospect for contemporary Korean history” because the only prospect in contemporary Korean history is in capitalistic progress. This is what concerned Kajimura: It shows the limitations in “socioeconomic history” that lack the general perspective for understanding the study of socioeconomic history and the struggle for national liberation. Second, is this debate free from the colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism? The question is whether or not pre-modern Korean society contained the internal mechanism to become capitalized. No, the critics do not consider this capability to have existed from the start. Joseon society was different from Western society¹⁰; a modern western mechanism for capitalistic development did not exist in Joseon, and capitalism was imported from without. Thus, the “embryonic capitalism theory in Korea” is incorrect.

Joseon society was different from Western society, and the elements that were forming internally within Joseon society toward a new society may have been different from those of the West. However, it can be argued from the standpoint of Kajimura’s theory that these elements might have been different from those of the West but that there was a possibility of transformation to capitalism through contact with Western modernity due to the forceful nature of capitalism. Tracing the process of capitalization in Korea will reveal the contradictions inherent in the distortion and transformation processes. The only difference is that the degradation of Korea becoming a colony prevented it achieving capitalism.

“The theory of colonial modernization” insists that the elements for capitalization were not present in Joseon society but transplanted. Korea was able to achieve rapid economic growth after the 1960’s despite transplanting capitalization due to Korea’s adaptability. Kajimura was concerned about such an external deterministic view that disregards or disdains indigenous factors or internal momentum and thus possesses the danger of reverting ultimately to the colonial view of history that attempts to justify colonialism.

It has been pointed out above that Kajimura’s study of Korean history is significant in providing the impetus for self-reflection on the part of Japanese society; this also applies to Korean society. Kajimura, who considered that the schol-

10. Miyazima Hiroshi’s “peasant society theory” is an example of this (Miyazima 1994).

ar of history should not be negligent in carrying out the task of accurately judging the direction of historical progress, attempted to view history from the perspective of the *minjung* as the subject of historical transformation in order to execute such a task correctly.

This attitude allowed him to become involved in scholarly activities such as confirming the importance of studying the 1910's and provided an important stepping stone for stimulating future research of this period, being the first Japanese scholar to earnestly study issues faced by Zainichi Koreans, although Zainichi Korean scholars such as Kang Jae-eun or Bak Gyeong-sik pursued pioneering works on the same topics.¹¹ Accordingly, he presented a paper warning of the narrow-minded view of the Japanese people by confronting the controversy on Dokdo Island (Takeshima Island in Japanese) face on (Kajimura 1978: 315-357).¹² Moreover, he participated in various movements such as to acquit Kim Hui-ro, to oppose fingerprinting of Zainichi Koreans, and to improve the human rights of Zainichi Koreans in Japan.

Thus, it is possible to say that Kajimura's study of Korean history is a model of a practicing intellectual in that he did not simply desire objective knowledge but also grounded himself in the society and history to which he belonged, and further, in the love and firm belief of the *minjung* as the subject for changing the society and history to which they belong.

Of course, if we consider the broader sense of socialism as the product of modernity attempted by mankind in the twentieth century, then Kajimura's criticism of capitalistic modernity and his reasoning to overcome it are not completely free of such modernity.¹³ The need for a new paradigm to revise the West-centered world history has just begun. Only recently has a paper newly attempted to evaluate East Asia from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries with China at the center (Frank 1998, Pomeranz 2001, Wong 2000, and Sugahara

11. Along with Kang Deok-sang, Kang Jae-eun and Bak Gyeong-sik are first-generation Zainichi Koreans. As notable historians of Korean modern history, they are also pioneers in the study of the history of Zainichi Koreans in Japan.

12. The controversy over who owns Dokdo Island has been raging between Korea and Japan ever since liberation.

13. The "new society" that Kajimura discussed as having been pursued by the Joseon *minjung* does not refer to the so-called extant socialism of the twentieth century. Kajimura specifically differentiated socialism in the twentieth century as "socialism in its narrow sense" from the "new society" as envisioned by the Joseon *minjung*.

2000)¹⁴; it has been the focus of attention in the expectation that this will provide a new interpretation that could lead to the writing of a new world history. It is hard to predict what kind of new world history can be created, but the issues on “modernity” in relation to Kajimura’s theory of indigenous development can be reexamined based on a new standard if we reach the stages of sharing new history. At least, the new standard of judgment will not negate the view that imbues importance to the internal structure of a society.

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14. See Miyazima Hiroshi 2003 for information on research trends.

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