

# Trilogy on the Study of the Embryonic Movement of Global Cultural Exchange in Modern Japan: “From ‘International Exchange Gathering (Tsudoi)’ to HIF”(2019/20), “Study on the Hakone Conference (1988-97)” (2020), and “From ‘Grand Design Theory’ to ‘Catalyst Theory’: International Relations Thought of Norihiro Ito” (2019/20)

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## Forward/Summary

This paper is a set of three papers, which first published separately and later consisted of part of the book, KOKUSAI BUNKA KORYU TO KINGENDAI NIPPON (International Cultural Exchange and Modern/Contemporary Japan: For the Study of Global Cultural Relations), Yushindo Kobunsha, 2020: 9784842055787). These three papers consists of the second part of the book, and the first one is Chapter 4, the second one is Chapter 5, and the third one is Chapter 6, with prologue and epilogue.

As I discussed in the book, the study of international cultural exchange (in Japanese, KOKUSAI BUNKA KORYU) has been lack of accumulation of its historical developments, especially on those activities practiced by private or local actors. Recent change in Japanese society, for example, the rise of the numbers of non-Japanese people who live or stay in Japan urged the need to seek for better relationship between different cultures. However, those who are interested in such activities tend to overlook the past precedent activities and thoughts from such past experiences. This trilogy tries to fill the research vacuum and to pave the way for the further studies.

## Prologue: The Embryonic Movement of Global Cultural Exchange

The purpose of Part II is to examine two cases of practices and ideas related to international cultural exchange activities that developed in Japan from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s, and to show that the transnational ideas and practices of the same period have historical significance as a turning point from “international” cultural exchange activities to “global” cultural exchange activities.

Specifically, Chapter 4 deals with the process of holding the “*International Exchange Gathering*,” an international exchange activity proposed by Terumasa Akio that has been held since 1979 and continues to this day, and the institutional development of the Hokkaido International Foundation (HIF), which has continued to develop its activities as the organizer of the event. In Chapter 5, the author examines the establishment and development of the “*Hakone Conference*” held from 1988 to 1997 with the aim of networking international exchange leaders, and in Chapter 6, the author discusses Norihiro Ito's contributions to international exchange activities during that period in terms of ideology.

The author has initially endeavored to examine the historical significance of the Hakone Conference based on the “Study of the Hakone Conference” (1) and (2), which served as the ancestral model for Chapter 5<sup>1</sup>.

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1 Atsushi Shibasaki, "A Study of the Hakone Conference" (1) (2), *Journal of Global Media Studies*, Vol. 4 (March 2008), Vol. 6 (September 2009).

In 2016, the Japan Society for International Cultural Studies held a free discussion session on the Hakone Conference, entitled “The Historical and Contemporary Significance of the Hakone Conference (1988-1997): From the Perspective of the History of International Exchange and International Cultural Relations,” with conference officials invited as moderators and discussants, which produced certain results.

On the other hand, it was also necessary to consider the historical context that led to the preparation of the Hakone Conference, and the historical phenomena that could be regarded as some kind of “outcome” produced by the Hakone Conference. One of the reasons for this is that I have realized that in order to place the Hakone Conference in the historical context of the time, it would not be sufficient to understand the significance of the conference by simply taking a snapshot of its activities over a period of 10 years. Rather, we thought that combining the local private-sector-led international exchange practices of the time, which served as a conduit for the “Hakone Conference,” and the emergence of ideas on international exchange and international cultural exchange that emerged from the “Hakone Conference,” would be an effective method to gain insight into the changes that occurred from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. I thought that the “Hakone Conference,” so to speak, could be an effective way to look at the changes that occurred from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. In other words, it is a shift from a strategy of extracting the “Hakone Conference” as a “single item” to a strategy of depicting the historical dynamism, including the “Hakone Conference,” as a set of two items.

Of course, it is far beyond the author's ability to examine all the “pre-history” or all the subsequent “achievements” of the Hakone Conference, in which almost all major figures involved in international exchange activities in Japan at that time participated. Given these restrictions, this second part of the report is an attempt to examine the appropriate case studies that are interlinked with the “Hakone Conference” before and after the study of the “Hakone Conference,” that is, to clarify the historical significance of the “Hakone Conference” and to link the historical context of the “Hakone Conference” before and after it, so to speak, in a fixed-point observation. This second part is presented as the first attempt to depict the dynamics of international cultural exchange during that period through a “combined technique,” so to speak.

From this perspective, Part 1 of this report will provide a case study of the “International Exchange Gathering (*Kokusai Koryu No Tsudoi*),” which started in 1979 as a result of Terumasa Akio's (1942-) proposal, and the subsequent history of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center and the current Hokkaido International Foundation. In Part 2, we will focus on the study of the Hakone Conference, the “main part,” as it were, and in Part 3, we will examine the “Catalyst” theory of Norihiro Ito (1946-), one of the representative figures who led the Hakone Conference in terms of philosophy, published intensively in 1994-1996, as a case study on the philosophy.

In Chapter V, I interviewed people involved in the Hakone Conference, and in Chapter VI, I interviewed . Akio, HIF, and many others, and also relied on materials provided by these people.

Of course, ideas and practices are formed through interaction, and there exists ideas in Part I and practices in Part II. In this sense, Hakone Conference was the intersection of the ideas and practices of all the conference participants, who numbered over 200 people.

The practice of Akio, who was a central figure in the planning and realization of the “International Exchange Gathering,” was a pioneering example of the so-called “grass-roots” international exchange activities of the private sector that emerged and developed simultaneously in Japan. Later, as one of the key figures in the Hakone Conference, Akio was instrumental in organizing and sustaining the conference. It also contributed greatly to the establishment of the Hakone Conference's philosophy and direction. Interestingly, both of them had left their original activities and pursued their own paths by the time they joined the conference. By placing both of them before and after the Hakone Conference, the purpose of the second part of this paper is to describe the development of the practices and ideas of the “Alter Nation-State” era.

From an examination of these practices and ideas, we can see that the aspect of international cultural

exchange in modern Japan at the end of the 20th century gradually changed from “international” cultural exchange based on the nation-state system to “global” cultural exchange in which a wide variety of “people” on a global scale, including but not limited to “international” people, transcended diverse boundaries and sought symbiosis with each other, in other words, “global” cultural exchange. In other words, it is a process of transformation from an “international” cultural exchange to a “global” cultural exchange, in which a wide variety of “people” on a global scale, including and overcoming “international” boundaries, seek to live together.

## **Part 1: From “International Exchange Gathering” to HIF**

### **Introduction**

The first “International Exchange Gathering(*Tsudoi*)” was held from August 18 to September 1, 1979, in Nanae-cho, Hokkaido, as a homestay program for foreign students studying in Japan. The 41st “Gathering” was held in Nanae-cho, Hokkaido from August 18 to September 1, 1979. The 41st “Gathering” was held in the summer of 2019.

The main person who realized this “Tsudoi” was Terumasa Akio (1942-), and the organizations that were established to continue the “Tsudoi” were has been renamed and reorganized, from the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center (1980), the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center (1984), the Hokkaido International Exchange Center Foundation (1986), and the present institution, the Hokkaido International Foundation (HIF) (2013).

Akio’s direct involvement with the “Tsudoi” has been from the first meeting held in 1979 to the first meeting held in 1986. After that, HIF has grown and developed, maintaining, expanding, and transforming its activities. Especially since 2001, when Makoto Ikeda (1961-) became Executive Director, HIF’s activities have developed well beyond the framework of a mere international exchange organization.

In Part 1, Section 1 describes the establishment process of the first Tsudoi, and Section 2 describes the period from the second Tsudoi to the first turning point. Section 3 describes the activities up to 2001 and the development after Ikeda's appointment as Secretary General. Section 3 discusses the role played by Akio, the development process of HIF activities, and the significance of the Gathering.

### **Section 1: Process Leading to the Holding of the Gathering**

The first “Gathering” was held in Nanae-cho, Hokkaido, from August 18 to 31, 1979. The Hokkaido Shimbun (August 19, 1979) introduced the “Gathering” as follows (Figure 1-1).

The visitors to Nanae Town on that day were ten male and six female students from the University of Oregon, USA, who came to Japan in September to study at the School of International Studies at Waseda University for one year as exchange students. The students are majoring in various fields, including Asian studies, religion, education, and languages, but all are highly interested in Japan and eager to experience Japanese culture firsthand.

The international goodwill exchange program has been planned since spring by the town's agricultural cooperative youth club and others, and Terumasa Akio, 36, an English school teacher who lives in Okawa, helped make the project a reality. At the request of the International University Exchange Association, Akio is acting as a bridge between Japan and the U.S. in the southern part of Hokkaido for the exchange of foreign students. He has extensive overseas experience and continues to translate while running

his English tutoring school. He has been particularly active in translating articles about Hakodate and Nanae, and this steady effort, along with the encouragement of the agricultural cooperative youth club, was one of the main reasons for his visit to Hakodate<sup>2</sup>.

In the “Report on the 3rd International Exchange Meeting” (1982), the following is a more specific account of the process of the visit.

1979

February: Visited Waseda University and met with Dr. Harris, Professor of Oregon Literature in the School of International Studies.

April: Dr. Harris visited Nanae Town. He met with the mayor, the agricultural cooperative, and the president of the Oonakayama Union Neighborhood Association.

June: Meeting at the home of the Oonakayama Union Neighborhood Chairman to discuss the reception of Dr. Harris.

July: Meeting at the Oonakayama Community Center.

August: Final meeting at the Oonakayama Community Center.

August 17: Mr. and Mrs. Harris, a group of 16 Oregon University students, and Akio, depart for Ueno on the Towada No. 3.

They departed from Ueno.

Arrive at Oonakayama Station on the 18th. A welcome party will be held at the community center with the Mayor in attendance.

The 1st International Exchange Party is held.

Returned from Hakodate on September 1.

December: Revisited Nanae-cho with a friend from Oregon University<sup>3</sup>.

Due to the limited resources available, we would like to trace the formation process of the “Gathering” through a composite understanding of these two accounts, based on interviews with Akio and other people involved at the time.

Akio was born and raised in Tokyo. After graduating from Waseda University, he took a job in the U.S. and worked in San Francisco for many years in charge of Japanese companies, but decided to return to Japan. He chose the town of Nanae, Hokkaido, partly because it was his father's hometown. The main reason for opening an English-language school in the town was that his many years of experience in the U.S. had awakened him to the importance of education that would foster internationally-minded individuals. He had a dream of opening a “university” or “international university” for this purpose<sup>4</sup>.

In 1979, he was consulted by Professor Harris of Waseda University, his alma mater. Traditionally, students studying at Waseda University had an orientation in Kiyosato before each semester, but for that year only, the university was unable to rent facilities and was looking for a sponsor. Akio acted as a go-between and approached the relevant parties in Nanae Town, and the road to realization was set in motion. For Akio, the significance of this educational exchange was to create an “intangible school,”<sup>5</sup> as he put it,

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2 “Let's come in contact with live Japanese culture. 16 U.S. university students visit Nanae,” Hokkaido Shimbun, Hakodate column, August 19, 1979. The following materials are mainly based on materials in the possession of Akio or HIF and supplemented by other materials.

3 *The 3rd International Exchange Gathering Report*, Minami Hokkaido International Center, January 1982, p. 4.

4 Interview with Terumasa Akio (July 18, 2014). The expression “International University” can already be found in the Hakodate column of the *Hokkaido Shimbun*, August 20, 1980.

5 Ibid.

where international students and local people could learn from each other by living together, even if only temporarily. Although the newspaper report in Figure 1-1 suggests that the youth club of the Oonakayama Agricultural Cooperative took the initiative, Akio was the actual proponent of this project.

At that time, there were almost no opportunities for foreign students to do homestays in rural areas of Japan. Of course, this was the first experience for the town of Nanae, which hosted the program. According to Akio's recollection, at first the local people were not very understanding of the idea of hosting the students, but with the understanding and cooperation of Seiichi Kanazawa, then mayor of Nanae Town, Nobuyuki Takahashi of the town office, Etsuro Ikeda, a prominent person in Oonakayama, Nanae Town, and the youth club of Oonakayama Agricultural Cooperative, which was to provide many of the host families, the program was held. The event was made possible by the understanding and cooperation of Etsuro Ikeda, a prominent figure in Oonakayama, Nanae Town, and the members of the Oonakayama Agricultural Cooperative Youth Club, who would provide many of the host families.

The realization of the event was made possible in large part by Akio's rich international experience, who explained the significance of practicing international exchange as a "revolution to change culture,"<sup>6</sup> and at the same time, the openness and tolerance toward others in the southern Hokkaido area, as represented by Hakodate, was also a major factor. Hakodate. For example, Nanae Town is basically an agricultural community centering on dairy farming, but there were also people with international experience, such as Shunsaku Yamakawa, who became a host family after the second program and later supported HIF as a board member, who had stayed in the U.S. as an overseas trainee in the agricultural training program. In other words, Nanae Town, Hakodate, and the southern region of Hokkaido had the potential to realize locally initiated international exchange to a certain extent<sup>7</sup>. It is fair to say that Akio played the role of a "catalyst" and, aided by the time constraints and the pressure to make a decision, the project began to move toward realization.

Although there is no official program for the first meeting at this time, the following events were organized.

- Welcome party at Oonakayama Community Center
- Exchange program at Oonakayama Elementary School
- Exchange program at Oonakayama Junior High School
- Tea party
- Tea ceremony • Round-table meeting between international students and all host families
- Tour of the town
- Friendly game with mama-san(wives) volleyball
- Exchange with Kojitsuen Nursing Home
- Onuma Park Picnic
- Farewell party<sup>8</sup>

Almost all of the students stayed with local farmers in homestays ("minpaku" in the language of the time), and while participating in these programs, they also helped with the farm work and deepened exchanges with the host families. Figure 1-2, 3, and 4 are some of the few primary documents remaining from the first program, but these "school exchanges" and "labor exchange" in the form of farm work at the host family's home stay are important elements of the international exchange program that Akio had envisioned. These "school exchanges" and "labor exchanges," in the form of farm work at the host families, were important elements of the international exchanges envisioned by Akio, and became the prototype for the various forms

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6 Ibid.

7 Interviews with Shunsaku Yamakawa, February 27, 2015, June 14, 2016.

8 *The Third Tsudoi Report*, p. 5.

of exchanges that were gradually organized from the second meeting.

The first “Tsudoi,” which welcomed 16 international students from the U.S., Singapore, and Malaysia, ended successfully, creating a strong bond between the students, their host families, and the local people. Many of the students returned to Nanae during the year-end and New Year holidays, and the rural homestay experience, which had rarely existed in Japan before, brought about a significant change in the international mindset of both guests and hosts. The following year, they were about to plan a second program to accept students from the University of Oregon, but the orientation system at the university had been discontinued, so Professor Harris introduced this program again to a group of students studying at ICU (“California Group”), and those who were to study at other universities<sup>9</sup>. As a result, a total of 44 students from 12 countries, 12 universities, and 4 Japanese language schools, including the U.S., Malaysia, Taiwan, Italy, the Philippines, Ireland, France, Ghana, and Thailand, participated in the program. As a result, a total of 44 international students from 12 universities and 4 Japanese language schools in 12 countries, including the United States, Malaysia, Taiwan, Italy, the Philippines, Ireland, France, Ghana, and Thailand, participated in the program.

As the scale of the program expanded, the number of stay destinations also expanded beyond Nanae Town to Ono Town, Mori Town, and Hakodate City. Akio's thoughts on international exchange can be clearly discerned in the “Request for Home Staying” that he drafted at the time of the program.

As you all know, true international exchange should start with exchanges within a small civil society. However, although many foreign students come to Japan every year, the majority of them are concentrated in large cities such as Tokyo and Osaka, and the scope of their friendship is limited by the busy people of the big cities, leaving them with very few opportunities to experience and understand the true nature, people, and culture of Japan. It is a pity that so many foreign students return to their home countries without understanding the true nature of Japan, knowing only the big cities and tourist attractions.

We believe that breaking through this situation and increasing the number of “people who truly understand Japan” through natural private-sector exchanges is extremely important for our country and its future<sup>10</sup>.

Even if we discount the strong tone (“true international exchange,” “the original Japan,” “true Japan”) due to the “proclamation” nature of the request for host families, this sentence gives us a glimpse of his intention to make the response to the first event, which was hastily organized under “external pressure,” more meaningful in a universal context. The expressions “nature, people, and culture,” “exchange within a small civil society,” and “natural private-sector exchange” are placed in opposition to “big cities and tourist attractions” and, implicitly, to the state and government, which clearly shows what Akio believed the “Gathering” was intended to achieve.

In the second “Tsudoi,” a more systematic program was created and developed. In accordance with the schedule shown in Fig 1-5, exchange activities were organized by genre, such as labor exchange and school exchange, and by type, such as “Unification Exchange” (official exchange in which all members participate), “Exchange by Region,” and “Other Exchanges”. In the second program, for the first time, exchanges were held not with farmers but with “ordinary families” in Hakodate, which resulted in the creation of exchanges not only between Japanese and foreign students, but also between Japanese from the city and county, and between ordinary families and farmers<sup>11</sup>. In addition, a large-scale “exchange meeting between foreign students and successors of farmers who aim for self-reliant management” was held, where participants were

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9 Ibid, p. 6.

10 Terumasa Akio, “Request for International Exchange Minpaku(Homestay)” (1980).

11 From *The 3rd Tsudoi Report*, above.

asked questions ranging from “I would like to ask you about agriculture in your country. Is there a shortage of brides for farmers in your country? Is there a shortage of successors to those who work in agriculture?”, etc<sup>12</sup>.

The first large-scale event was the “International Symposium” held on August 24, 1980, at the Onuma Women's Hall in Minami-Hokkaido (Fig. 1-6). Symposium” held on August 24, 1980 at the Onuma Women's Hall in southern Hokkaido (Fig. 1-6 and 7). The first part of the symposium was a symposium and the second part was an international goodwill party, which attracted more than 600 participants. Following the proposals made in the first half of the symposium, the breakout sessions were divided into discussions on the following themes: (1) Japanese culture in which foreign students were interested, (2) difficulties in international mutual understanding, (3) problems in accepting foreign students, (4) differences among modern students in each country, and (5) international comparison of women's social advancement<sup>13</sup>. Similar programs tend to have similar presentations, and the structure of this program had many points in common with the structure of the Hakone Conference in later years.

## **Section 2: From the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center (1980) to the Hokkaido International Foundation (HIF) (1986)**

One of the institutional changes that occurred at the time of the second “Gathering” was the establishment of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center (SHIF) as the host organization. Article 1 of the constitution of the SHIF states as follows:

The Center shall be responsible for promoting exchanges between foreign students in Japan and residents of southern Hokkaido. The center's goal is to promote understanding of Japanese regional culture among foreign students living in Japan. The purpose of this program is to deepen the understanding of each country among the residents of southern Hokkaido through foreign students in Japan, thereby improving their international awareness and sense of internationalism, and to contribute to international goodwill through the friendship that develops as a result<sup>14</sup>.

The purpose of the program was “to promote international goodwill through the friendship that develops as a result of these activities. From this, it is clear that the original purpose of the center was to promote international goodwill by focusing exclusively on “foreign students living in Japan” and “residents of southern Hokkaido”. In reality, the center was established in name only, and it was launched without an office. It was not until January 1981 that the center was finally able to open an office in a room of the Nichi-Ro Building. The “Tsudoi” report describes the difficulties at that time as follows:

An office was secured in January 1981. We could not afford the rent. However, in order to keep this international exchange going, we had to set up an office in a convenient location and organize all of our documents, etc., otherwise it would be difficult to promote it. For this reason, we asked for monthly donations from our members to cover the cost of maintaining the office. (We rented a spare room (warehouse) in the current Nichiro Building at a reasonable price and put a signboard “South Hokkaido Center” on the door. (omitted) At first, copies are allowed to be used with the cooperation of the Board of Education of Nanae Town. We explained the situation to them and asked them to type the Japanese text at a reasonable price. We would take the paper and the original paper to the Daibundo LL classroom

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12 “Exchange Meeting between Foreign Students and Successors of Agriculture for Self-Supporting Management” (August 19, 1979).

13 “Program of International Exchange” (August 24, 1980).

14 The “Rules and Regulations of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center” (August 24, 1980).

and ask to use their printing press. We made our best effort to save even one thousand yen. Even so, we had to borrow money from volunteers to pay for the printing and postage of posters and invitations. We need to let foreign students all over Japan know that this kind of project exists. We must also recruit students to participate<sup>15</sup>.

The 9.9-square-meter-office shown in Figure 1-8 was indeed too cramped, and it was decided to rent an adjoining room soon after, but after the success of the second meeting, preparations were made to hold the “Tsudoi” on a more permanent basis, and the event became widely known among international students. After the success of the second meeting, the organization to hold the “Tsudoi” on a more regular basis was established, and the awareness among international students became widespread. As a result, the third meeting in 1981 received 250 applications and inquiries, and, 148 international students from 33 countries, 4 family members, and 8 volunteer Japanese students participated. This was nearly ten times the size of the first gathering and nearly three times the size of the second gathering. Although there was some opposition to the expansion of the event, it was successfully held.

As the scale of the event expanded, regional exchanges expanded to include Hakodate City, Ono Town, Kamiiso Town, Nanae Town, Mori Town, Yakumo Town, Todohokke Village, Minami-kayabe Town, Siriuchi Town, Matsumae Town, Fukushima Town, Esashi Town, and Kaminokuni Town. The schedule for the 3rd Tsudoi was almost the same as that established at the 2nd (Fig. 1-9). A questionnaire survey of the participants of the 3rd Gathering was also conducted, and a variety of opinions were expressed by the host families and international students (Fig. 1-10)<sup>16</sup>.

The “Gathering” thus expanded in scale and became well known, thanks to the steady efforts of those involved and media coverage, but the institutional and financial basis to support it remained weak. According to Akio's recollection, the opening ceremony of the third “Tsudoi” in Ueno (Fig. 1-9) was also intended to attract the attention of various media<sup>17</sup>.

In January 1982, while preparing to hold the fourth “Gathering,” Akio went to Tokyo to raise funds, but was met with little response. Akio felt a sense of loneliness. The coup de grace was an article in the “Tenseijingo” column of the Asahi Shimbun newspaper.

March 7, 1982 was a memorable day for me and for the South Hokkaido International Center. (omission) The Center's finances had a balance of only 3,000 yen, and it was financially impossible to hold the fourth event. However, my partner at the time, Terai, and I wanted to maintain and continue the event somehow. I decided to go to Tokyo to raise the money. His wife and children had returned to the U.S., and on a cold and snowy day, I, a single man, took the Seikan Liaison Boat and headed for Tokyo, accompanied by Terai. I stayed at my parents' house and spent day after day scrambling for money. When he left home in the morning, he had no destination in mind. He visited corporate general affairs departments and grant foundations, but with no success. Through the Toyota Foundation, I met Ms. Mori of the Mori Building, and from there I was able to expand my network of contacts, including those at the Japan Foundation. Mitani of the Bank of Mitsubishi International Foundation, which had just been established, understood my story. On March 6, as a last resort, I went to a company in Hakodate to ask for a favor. The answer was “no,” the company would not fund such an activity. The last resort was a dud, and all was not well. He decided that he had to give up on the project and find a decent way to get a job. That night, I drank heavily and returned home.

In the midst of my hangover, I was awakened by a phone call. Ito of the Japan Foundation called me

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15 *The 3rd Tsudoi Report*, p. 8.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-51.

17 Interview with Terumasa Akio (April 10, 2009).



and asked me if I had read Tenseijingo. It was a text of my letter I had written for the Japan Foundation's journal, that had been introduced in Tenseijingo. When Ito explained to the chairman of the board of directors what kind of organization the Minami Hokkaido International Center was, and he told them that it had reached a financial impasse and was in danger of not being able to continue, they ordered him to “subsidize” it. I immediately called Hakodate and asked them to print posters to recruit international students for the fourth round of the program. The national government decided to subsidize the program, so Hokkaido put on its subsidies, and Hakodate City also began to provide them. The grant was also confirmed for Mitsubishi, making it possible for the organization to continue its activities<sup>18</sup>.

The “text of my letter” in the text is the “Diagram of International Exchange in Hokkaido: South Hokkaido International Exchange Gathering,” which appeared in Issue No. 30 of *Kokusai Koryu (International Exchange)*<sup>19</sup>. The publication of this article was contributed by Norihiro Ito, whom I discuss in Part 2. The “Mitani of the Mitsubishi Bank International Foundation” was Seiichi Mitani, who was also deeply involved in the Hakone Conference, along with Ito.

In the “Tenseijingo,” an episode of “Komatsudaira no danna (an old man of Komatsubara),” a farmer in Hokkaido, is quoted from Akio's article in “Kokusai Koryu” as follows: At first he said, “Why should I let a stranger stay at my house when I am so busy? but he was so happy because he had lived long enough to have such a wonderful experience of international exchange. It also introduced an episode of how the old man came to think, “I have a pleasant memory to take to the afterlife,” and “I feel as if I have changed as a human being in just two weeks. In the words of the old man, practicing international exchange is “really important for security”<sup>20</sup>.

This ‘Tenseijingo’ effect had increased national visibility of “Tsudoi” and created a brighter financial outlook for its financial base. In April, one of the key people involved, Tomi Ishidate (then president of King Bake), donated a room in the company's dormitory free of charge and the office was relocated to a new location. In June, the company also held the “Lecture and Roundtable Meeting for International Understanding” and the “First Symposium on Exchange between Foreign Students in Japan and the Local Community. In June of the same year, the fifth Hokkaido Prize for the Promotion of Science and Culture for Youth was awarded, and with the prize money of 300,000 yen, the South Hokkaido International Exchange and Culture Fund was established<sup>21</sup>. The 4th “Gathering” was attended by 150 participants from 34 countries, 23 municipalities, and 282 families. The fourth “Gathering” was attended by 150 participants from 34 countries and 282 families in 23 municipalities.

The 4th “Gathering” marked a milestone in terms of institutionalizing the program and laying the foundation for ongoing activities. In the opening chapter of the report on the 4th Gathering, Akio discusses the significance and results of the Gathering in a more positive manner than in the opening paragraphs of the previous three Gatherings, in light of this milestone.

As we approach the fifth year, let us take a look back. Who is this international exchange meeting really for? For one thing, the 150 students from 34 countries living in Japan and the 300 families who hosted them for two weeks and two nights are the main actors in this exchange. For the foreign students

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18 Terumasa Akio, “Watashi no jinse wo kaeta Tenseijingo [The Tenseijingo of March 7 that Changed My Life],” Hokkaido International Center, *Kazoku no Machikado (Streetcorner of our family)*, No. 23 (October 25, 2000).

19 Terumasa Akio, “Hokkaido no Kokusai Koryu Zu Minami Hokkaido Kokusai Koryu no Tsudoi (International Exchange Figures in Southern Hokkaido),” *Kokusai Koryu*, No. 30 (January 1982) pp. 40-43.

20 “Tenseijingo,” *Asahi Shimbun*, March 7, 1982. In August of the same year, it was featured in the “Shunju” column of the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* on August 17, 1982, and again in Tenseijingo (December 11) in December of the same year.

21 The 4th International Exchange Gathering Report, p. 23.

in Japan, it is possible to promote their understanding of Japan, and for the host families to deepen their international understanding. Secondly, the main actors in this year's exchange are probably the students of the 77 elementary, junior high, and high schools that participated in the school exchange program this year, including the children of the host families. For those of us who live in regional cities, this is a community-wide effort to educate the next generation of human resources with an international perspective.

I believe that we have learned many things from the people-to-people exchanges that took place in each home, school, and community. Although we will never receive certificates or degrees, I believe that we are forming a true culture.

In many cases, we put so much effort and money into building a building that it is like making a Buddha statue but not putting the soul into it. Now we are creating the soul first. It is true that it is difficult to evaluate culture, which is invisible. However, the fact that the *Asahi Shimbun's* Tenseijingo, which is highly regarded as a barometer of public opinion in Japan, featured the event twice in one year is a great recognition of the 60,000 residents of the province who participated in this exchange program.

In contrast to international exchange by celebrities and international exchange at international conferences, international exchange by unknown common people, mainly farmers and fishermen, and international exchange in the fields, on farms and ranches, and in the sea, in other words, man-in-the-field, is what we are. Although there have been calls for the popularization of international exchange over the past few years, we were probably the first to begin organizing international exchange in such an organized manner. We have certainly created a stir in the future of international exchange in Japan<sup>22</sup>.

The international exchange by ordinary people in a man-in-the-field setting, in contrast to the exchange among intellectuals and in the public sphere, the mutual interaction and change among guests and hosts, and the emphasis on the educational effect on the next generation. These features are as much or more important than the significance of the actual "tsudoï," and they are also Akio's consistent view of international exchange. The subtle tension between the point of view of "forming a true culture" and the point of view of the difficulty of evaluating "culture as something invisible" is an issue common to all international cultural exchanges, but it is also an issue that has been addressed in the process of holding the 4th Tsudoï through many hardships. It is interesting to note that Akio's view of international exchange was formed in the process of reaching this point during the fourth conference, which was held after much hardship.

After the 4th conference, in 1983, around the same time as the publication of the "Tsudoï" report, "International Exchange Essays by Elementary and Junior High School Students" was also published. Although this paper does not go into the analysis of the book, it is itself a valuable resource for evaluating the practical evaluation of "school exchange" and "educational exchange". In addition, the "South Asian Masterpiece Film Festival" (December 29, 1982-January 16, 1983) was held jointly with the Japan Foundation to commemorate the 5th anniversary of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center.

The year 1984, when the 6th Tsudoï was held, also saw several significant changes. First, at the end of the previous year, a committee was formed to promote the establishment of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center Foundation, and in 1984, the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center Foundation was established with Soichiro Dai(then, Advisor to Daika Corporation) <sup>23</sup>as its representative director. The center established a system to support the activities of Akio and his staff, together with a support group headed by Eiichi Watanabe (then Chairman of the Board of Directors of Watanabe Hospital). Junko Sato,

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22 Terumasa Akio, "Kokusai Koryu no Tsudoï 5th Anniversary," *Ibid.*, p. 20.

23 Regarding Daika Corporation and Daisoichiro, see Satoshi Sasaki, "Background and Process of the Establishment of Daika: An Attempt to Examine the "Wholesale Dealer Shayo Theory" from a Management History Perspective," *Doshisha Shogaku*, Vol. 63, No. 5 (March 20, 2012), 147. (March 2012), pp. 147-175.

who was in charge of the administrative office, also played an extremely important role in supporting Akio. The center's external reputation grew, and in 1984, the year of the 6th Tsudzuki, it received the Soroptimist International Foundation of Japan's Chikako Award. The first "Japanese Language and Culture Course," the forerunner of the "Summer Seminar on Japanese Language and Culture," which has been a mainstay of HIF's activities to this day, was also launched in 1984, along with the "Gathering".

The following year, in 1985, the picture book "*Boku to Alves Niichaan(Me and Brother Alves)*" (text by Terumasa Akio, illustrations by Yuriko Oido, Fig. 1-11), was published<sup>24</sup>, and the "Tsudoi" also received the Japan Foundation's first International Exchange Encouragement Award for the Promotion of Regional Exchange (now the Global Citizenship Award), establishing itself as a representative of private-sector international exchange activities in the region. Furthermore, in 1986, the first "Summer Seminar on Japanese Language and Japanese Culture" (JJ) was launched. This was a language program in which participants would take a year's worth of intensive Japanese language classes over an eight-week period while staying with a host family. In the same year, the Minami Hokkaido International Center changed its name to the Hokkaido International Foundation (HIF), taking the "Minami" from "south," and literally became Hokkaido's representative international exchange organization.

Akio, the founder of "Tsudoi", withdrew from HIF in 1986, and in 1978, he started the International Educational Foster Parent Program, which has been in operation ever since. He is currently the president of the Intercultural Center for the Peoples of Japan (Minsai Center), a public interest incorporated foundation, and is involved in a variety of support activities, including the Darunee Scholarship, which mainly targets continental Southeast Asia<sup>25</sup>. The word "Minsai (inter-people)" reflects Akio's consistent philosophy of international exchange.

In the process of founding and establishing Tsudoi, he emphasized the importance of educational exchange as an "intangible academy," and had the ideal of opening an "international university"<sup>26</sup> as well as many new business ideas. It seems that it was inevitable for him to some extent. Moreover, for those HIF members and supporters who wanted to continue their community-based activities based in southern Hokkaido, it would have been difficult to realize. Akio's desired new business development under a situation of institutional stability, even if they agreed with it in principle, given the practical constraints. In this sense, it was inevitable that Akio, as a "Catalyst," would first open the door to realize the "Gathering," and then leave HIF when it was on a stable track as an implementing organization for JJ and the Gathering.

### Section 3: HIF in the 21st Century: An Attempt to "Create a Society that Supports Diversity Together"

After 1986, HIF, having established a certain level of external recognition, a financial base, and a local support system, continued its activities with "Gatherings" and "JJ" as the basic pillars of its programs. Although there were some changes in the representative director and executive director during this period, there were no major changes in the content of HIF's activities.

It was not until 2001, when Makoto Ikeda assumed the position of Executive Director, that HIF's activities underwent a major transformation. While continuing the "Gathering" and "JJ" programs, the HIF has since actively accepted projects commissioned by various governments and municipalities, and has shifted its

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24 *Boku to Alves Niichaan(Me and Brother Alves)*, written by Terumasa Akio and illustrated by Yuriko Oido, Fukutake Shoten, 1985.

25 The website of the Minsai Center for International Relations (<https://www.minsai.org/>)

26 For the "Yugen University," which was conceived but never realized by local officials including . Akio, see (former) Hakodate Area Yugen Education Concept Promotion Association, "*Yugen: Progress in Promoting the Realization of a New University in Hakodate*," February 11, 2002. Akio and Yamazaki also wrote in the same book. Future University Hakodate, established in 2000, is an extension of the Yugen University concept.

activities beyond international exchange in the narrow sense of the term.

In 2004, JJ began publishing the volunteer information magazine “Borat” (now the free paper “@h”), and also launched the “Onuma Work Camp” to work with young people from around the world on environmental conservation in Onuma. In 2006, the organization was commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan to support the Ministry's NGO activity environment development project, and began to provide NGO consultation services for the Ministry, which was a rare case in Japan for an “international exchange” organization. This was a rare case in Japan for an “international exchange” organization. In addition, the organization has been involved in the planning and operation of exchange programs for overseas youth and trainees, as well as tourist information services on cruise ships, commissioned by JICA, the Cabinet Office, Hakodate City, and other organizations<sup>27</sup>.

In 2010, the “Hakodate Youth Support Station Project” was launched. This is a program for people aged 15-39 to support their efforts for the future, including vocational independence. Since 2015, the company has also launched a program for counseling on self-support and learning support for the needy. In connection with this program, the company operates two living and working support centers as of 2019, as well as consultation services to support study abroad and working holiday programs, and operates a free space for young people. In 2013, HIF became a general incorporated foundation.

As you can see, HIF's current activities are diverse, but can be broadly categorized as follows.

(1) International exchange

The HIF is currently engaged in a wide range of activities, which can be broadly categorized as follows: (1) International exchange

Information for citizens: “Event Participant Recruitment,” “Host Family Recruitment,” and “NGO Consultation

(2) Human resource development and self-support

(2) Human resource development/support for self-support

(2) Human resource development/support for self-support

Global Career Support Hakodate

Free space “Yoridokoro”

Nikoniko Children's Cafeteria

(3) Information dissemination

Free paper “@h”

Onuma Work Camp

Onuma Work Camp

NPO • NGO Database

Hakodate Youth Training Center Fururu Hakodate

Kitchen Hachimanzaka

Information for foreign residents in Hakodate<sup>28</sup>

The three pillars of Hakodate International Exchange Association are as follows. While starting out as an international exchange organization, this is a rare example in Japan of an organization that has transformed itself by becoming involved in such a wide variety of activities.

One of the factors that contributed to this transformation is the career of the executive director, Ikeda<sup>29</sup>.

27 Makoto Ikeda, “Creating a Society that Supports Diversity Together,” (Report of the Japan Society for International Cultural Studies, July 16, 2016).

28 From the HIF website (<http://www.hif.or.jp/>)

29 Interview with Makoto Ikeda (June 13, 2016).

After graduating from university, Ikeda worked for the JTB, and since that time, he has been in and out of HIF, and has even taken on international student escorts for the JTB. From that time on, he was greatly influenced by Akio's thoughts, ideas, and concepts regarding international exchange. After that, Ikeda quit his job and traveled to New Zealand with his family to study agriculture, where he lived for a year. After returning to Japan, he worked for two years at Shintoku Farm, a co-operative school where people with various handicaps who have difficulty adapting to society work together on the farm, and then for three years at Yamakawa Farm in Nanae Town, and then, he was asked to take on the role of Executive Director. When Ikeda was appointed, Akio advised him to focus on domestic activities as “another city hall” rather than international exchange, and to work as a private organization that could compete with the city hall<sup>30</sup>.

One of the people who discovered Ikeda was Fumio Yamazaki, who served as President from 1999 to 2019. Yamazaki is a professor of the Faculty of Fisheries at Hokkaido University in Hakodate, and was involved with the Tsudoi from its early days<sup>31</sup>. He became the president of the HIF, and with an eye on the future of the organization for the next generation, he chose Ikeda, who had little experience in international exchange, because he saw in Ikeda the potential to see things from a different and unique perspective and the ability to “see the present trend of the time”<sup>32</sup>. The development of HIF's activities since 2001, which have moved beyond international exchange in the narrow sense of the term, is based on the practical experience he gained at JTB, his farm experience, and his awareness of environmental issues and diversity at the Shinde Farm, a co-operative school. The development of HIF's activities reflects his practical experience from his time at JTB, as well as his awareness of environmental issues, respect for diversity, at the Shintoku Farm, a co-operative school.

Yamazaki, on the other hand, has also developed a unique philosophy of “symbiosis” through his long experience as a professor of the Department of Fisheries and in charge of the embryology and genetics courses. He has been involved in HIF's international exchange activities from this perspective<sup>33</sup>. In his book, *Learning from Creatures: From Competition to Symbiosis*, he discusses the concept of “symbiosis” in biology, the relationship between science and religion, symbiosis with foreigners through international exchange, the characteristics of Hakodate as a “symbiotic city,” and the symbiosis between nature and people<sup>34</sup>. This bird's-eye viewpoint, rooted in academic evidence, seems to have been complementary and supportive of Ikeda's new HIF project, which emphasizes the environment and diversity.

The current philosophy of HIF is “Toward the creation of a society that supports diversity together”. Its Articles of Incorporation state as follows:

The Hokkaido International Foundation has evolved from a volunteer organization to an incorporated foundation with the purpose of deepening understanding of life and culture around the world, promoting

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30 Interview with Makoto Ikeda (February 25, 2015).

31 At the 3rd Tsudoi International Exchange Symposium, Ikeda served as an advocate in the “What is International Education with the Awareness of Global Citizenship” subcommittee (see above, “3rd Tsudoi Report,” p. 18).

32 Interview with Fumio Yamazaki (February 25 and 26, 2015).

33 For example, Fumio Yamazaki, “Kyousei with the Different, Progress in the 21st Century,” Hokkaido International Center, *Kazoku no Machikado (Streetcorner of our family)*, No. 24, March 14, 2001, Fumio Yamazaki, “Trial for Globalization,” Hokkaido International Center, *Kazoku no Machikado (Streetcorner of our family)* No. 2, June 15, 2000. Fumio Yamazaki, “Kokusaijin to Global Person [International Person and Global Person],” Hokkaido International Center, *Kazoku no Machikado (Streetcorner of our family)* No. 16, June 9, 1999. Fumio Yamazaki, “Korekara No Kokusai Koryu No Mezasu Mono” [What we pursue through international exchange in future], Hokkaido Kokusai Koryu Center, *Kazoku no Machikado (Streetcorner of our family)*, No. 13, August 28, 1998. Fumio Yamazaki, “Ryugakusei ga Mirai kara no Sentosha [International Students are Senders from the Future],” Hokkaido International Center, No. 11, August 28, 1998. *Kazoku no Machikado (Streetcorner of our family)*, No. 11 (June 2, 1998).

34 Fumio Yamazaki, *Learning from Creatures: From Competition to Coexistence*, Ecoha Publishing, 2012.

international mutual understanding education, and contributing to world peace through people-to-people exchanges in Hokkaido.

While focusing on the International Exchange Gathering, which was the impetus for the foundation's formation, and homestay programs such as the Summer Seminar on Japanese Language and Japanese Culture, the foundation also conducts a wide range of international exchange programs from a public interest standpoint, including workshops, networking, and information dissemination aimed at strengthening NGOs and NPOs to meet the needs of international exchange in the new era<sup>35</sup>.

This description is a change from the 1980 rules of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center, which were limited to exchange between “foreign students in Japan” and “residents of South Hokkaido,” to a more narrowly defined international exchange program with exchange at its core, while maintaining the identity of “international exchange”. The fact that the center's identity as an “international exchange” was maintained, while at the same time including activities that went beyond international exchange in the narrow sense of the term, is a clear indication of its development.

Yamazaki describes the goal of “international exchange” activities as the elimination of the term “international exchange”<sup>36</sup>. The word “international exchange” has already been dropped from HIF's current motto, “Building a Society that Supports Diversity Together,” and “international” has become just one of the categories that create differences and commonalities, which are already included in “diversity. In this sense, the relative status of the term “international exchange” has certainly and decisively declined.

## Conclusion

In this part I, we have discussed the “international” exchange activities of “foreign students in Japan” and “residents of southern Hokkaido,” which began at the urging of Akio, who was a catalyst for such activities, as well as the groups responsible for these activities, as they developed through various twists and turns. The study clarified the process of transformation into an organization that respects diversity and supports each other to coexist in harmony, while continuing to engage in “international” exchange activities. And these activities were supported by the contributions of an extremely large number of people involved, who are not directly mentioned in this paper.

Comparisons with similar activities in other regions during the same period and more in-depth analysis of the individual circumstances of HIFs are issues for the future, but at this point we can summarize as follows.

The change in the character of the HIF has been from activities that promote mutual understanding based on commonalities and heterogeneities expressed in the individual/universal line that is divided only by the “international,” to activities that continue to recognize the “international” as one of such lines, and to promote mutual understanding based on the various commonalities and heterogeneities that each individual, whether domestic or foreign, has within himself/herself. This change can be seen as a shift from activities to promote mutual understanding based on the commonalities and dissimilarities that each person has in common, both domestically and internationally. However, this awareness of change was already present in early HIFs, for example, in exchanges between urban and rural populations, and in intergenerational exchanges such as school exchanges, and it is in the current HIFs that this change has been made conscious and targeted to various segments of the population.

Thus, HIF's local activities in southern Hokkaido, centering on Hakodate, whether domestic or international, as well as local activities with the same purpose around the world, have also come to experiment with

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35 From the HIF website (<http://www.hif.or.jp/>)

36 Interview with Fumio Yamazaki (February 25, 2015).

supporting each other in diversity, which is a universal issue on a global scale, thus indicating a shift from exchange limited to “international” to “global”.

## Part II: Study of the Hakone Conference (1988-97)

### Section 1: Introduction

The primary objective of this study is to empirically elucidate the “Hakone Conference,” as it was commonly called, held from 1988 to 1997, and to historically localize its significance. By examining the conference, we aim to elucidate the historical phase of “transnationalism” in modern and contemporary Japan, and to obtain implications for current and future transnational thought and action.

The “Hakone Conference” was also held in 2001 and 2002, and the former is sometimes referred to as the “First Hakone Conference” and the latter as the Second. This study basically focuses on the “First Hakone Conference,” and unless otherwise specified, “Hakone Conference” is used to mean the First one. The reason for this is that the continuity or disconnectedness of both conferences itself is debatable, not to mention recalling the examples of “World War I” and “World War II,” and we believe that at this stage we should reserve judgment on this point.

The Hakone Conference was the first conference in Japan that brought together the “*Ninai-te*”(activists ,or actors) of international exchange on a national scale, and was a “forum” for exchange on the philosophy and practice of international exchange activities. There are many possible words to describe the Hakone Conference, including “network,” but which word is most appropriate among the various words used by the people involved and the various words that could be used to describe it from the researcher's perspective is itself an important issue for this study. In the early stages of the study, we will venture to adopt the ambiguous terminology of “place”.

The first issue of this study is to examine how did such a “place” emerge in the late 1980s, just before the end of the Cold War, and in the late 1990s, after the collapse of the bubble economy, the Asian currency crisis, and the start of Japan’s ODA budget cutbacks, and what was the significance of this “place” for the participants, their surroundings, Japanese society, and the world at large at that time. The purpose of this study is to answer these questions, i.e., to elucidate the reality of the Hakone Conference and its historical meaning from an intrinsic perspective.

The second objective is to elucidate the historical phase of “transnationalism,” in the sense of a comprehensive synthesis of transnational behavior and ideas about transcending national borders in modern and contemporary Japan, through the study of the Hakone Conference. In this study, “transnationalism” is taken as an analytical concept from the researcher's perspective, rather than as a nomenclature that refers only to a specific historical phenomenon. Usually, transnationalism in international relations theory has been defined as a kind of antithesis to the state-centered understanding of international relations in the late 1960s and early 1970s<sup>37</sup>, in relation to the theory of interdependence. Transnationalism in international relations theory is the antithesis of the state-centered understanding of international relations, and in relation to interdependence theory, it came to be understood as a phenomenon in which multinational corporations, NGOs, ministries, international organizations, and individuals relationships directly with each other, relatively free from the constraints of the hierarchical domestic order, without going through diplomatic offices. It is often discussed

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37 Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr. eds., *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, Harvard University Press, 1971.

in the context of global activist movements<sup>38</sup> such as Global Civil Society (GCS)<sup>39</sup>, Transnational Civil Society (TCS)<sup>40</sup>, Transnational Social Movements (TSM)<sup>41</sup>, or Global Justice Movements (GJM)<sup>42</sup>. From this understanding, transnationalism is basically understood as a concept that stands in opposition to nation-centeredness and nationalism, but mediates between them and globalism or cosmopolitanism.

On the other hand, in this study, transnationalism is considered as a relatively value-neutral concept, and is used in a way that is distinct from the above understanding of transnationalism from a position that is relatively close to or includes movement theory and practice theory. The “transnational activities and phenomena” and the values and significance attached to them are not necessarily uniquely determinable, and the values and significance attached to them in the self-understanding of those involved in the movement or practice and the values and significance that the observer-researcher judges the activity or phenomenon to have in relation to the world do not necessarily coincide. Moreover, we believe that understanding and explaining the gap between these two values and meanings is an activity that is more faithful to the essential role of academia than conflating the two. Of course, there is no particular conceptual change between transnationalism and this study in terms of direct “international” relations without going through governments or diplomatic agencies, but there is a difference in how one values transnationalism. By looking at the formation and transformation of these variations, our goal is to at least backlight the way people perceive international relations in the modern era.

From this perspective, transnationalism can function, depending on the historical context, as an idea or action that speaks for nationalism, or it can stand in opposition to nationalism. The same applies to the relationship between transnationalism and so-called “internationalism” (moreover, the relationship between nationalism and internationalism also cannot be uniquely determined). Transnational thought and action can be intended or function as reinforcing national thought and action, or it can be intended or function as undermining national thought and action, and the relationship between them cannot be uniquely determined<sup>43</sup>. Furthermore, transnationalism can be directly connected to the ideas and actions of global relations (globalism) without being so much concerned with the opposition to nationalism and internationalism, or it can be a hindrance in the eyes of globalism. The purpose of this study is to trace the history of the formation and transition of values related to “transnationalism. In other words, to elucidate the historicity of transnational thought and action is to understand how people in each period understood the world, why and how they tried to work with the world, and what did and did not happen as a result of their efforts. I will not dwell further on the theoretical issue of “transnationalism” or its “definition,” but I would like to discuss the second issue of elucidating the historicity of transnationalism in modern and contemporary Japan from the perspective of how the participants conceptualized and practiced transnational activities through the Hakone Conference. Thus, the second task is to elucidate the historicity of transnationalism in modern and contemporary Japan.

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38 Well-known references include Margaret E. Kece, Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Cornell University Press, 1998.

39 Mary Kaldor, *Global Civil Society: an answer to war*, Polity Press, 2003 (translated by Takehiko Yamamoto et al. Hosei University Press, 2007). See also *Global Civil Society (2001-)*, a yearbook published by Sage since 2001, ed by Kaldor and others.

40 Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, Syracuse University Press, 1997.

41 Noriko Mekada, *Transnational Civil Networks: Transnational Civil Society*, Toyo Keizai Shinposha, 2003.

42 Donatella Della Porta ed., *The Global Justice Movement: Cross-national and Transnational Perspectives*, Palgrave, 2007, *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*, University Of Minnesota Press, 2006.

43 For an original discussion of these points, see Atsushi Shibasaki, “The Japan-U.S. Student Congress in the Prewar Period,” *Kokusai Seiji*, No. 122, September 199. Atsushi Shibasaki, “Prewar Japanese-American Student Conferences,” *Kokusai Seiji*, No. 122 (September 199) and “Kotaro Tanaka's Theory of International Culture,” *Kokusai Kankei Ronkyu*, No. 13 (March 199). (March 199).



Third, we would like to obtain implications for current international, transnational, and global exchanges by verifying and discussing the first and second points. Specifically, we would like to gain a perspective on the various aspects of international, transnational, and global exchange that exist today, 10 years after the Hakone Conference, through the insights gained from the Hakone Conference. Of course, this point may take the form of an implication in the form of “current activities have forgotten what was important in the past,” or it may be in the form of “everyone is now able to overcome difficulties that they used to think of with great exaggeration, without being conscious of it”. The important thing here is not to choose between dismissing all old ideas and actions as outdated or dismissing them as frivolous. The important thing is to detect the phase difference between the Hakone Conference and the current state of international exchange, and if we no longer stick to what we should stick to, we should consider the causes and remedies, and trace it historically.

In this connection, I would like to point out one last terminological issue. That is, the scope of the term “transnational exchange”. In this paper, as with the treatment of “transnationalism,” we distinguish between “international exchange” referred to by the research object as a historical epithet and “international exchange” defined as “the movement of people, goods, money, and information across borders” in a more general and comprehensive sense, and attempt to clarify the historicity of the former. Clearly, “international exchange” in the period covered by this study did not include all other types of “international exchange” in the broadest sense, and in particular, there seems to have been an awareness of the distinction between “development cooperation” in the parlance of the time and what is now more commonly referred to as “international cooperation” in the present day. It is my position as a researcher that “international exchange” is included in “international cooperation” without expanding it to the broadest meaning, and in order to see the process of expansion, diffusion, and transformation of the area indicated by the term “international exchange,” it is necessary to consider the self-definition (whether subjective or intersubjective, conscious or unconscious) of the parties concerned and the process of research as an observer.

The three basic perspectives of this study are now made clear. To borrow a somewhat exaggerated expression, this study selects the Hakone Conference as the object of consideration as a reference point for the question of how the world of the 20 years after the Cold War can be told as history and how “Japan in the world” can be considered.

## Section 2: Basic Characteristics of the Hakone Conference

The basic characteristics of the Hakone Conference as a research subject are, first, that there have been few researchers who should have observed the conference as a research subject, and second, that the practitioners who participated in the conference have not published a comprehensive summary or discussion of the conference.

Despite the fact that the Hakone Conference is considered to have had an important significance that cannot be ignored in the history of international exchange in Japan, it has not been the subject of much research until now. Even in the literature on the history of international exchange, its treatment has been so slight as to be almost negligible. For example, the Hakone Conference was almost completely ignored in Masayoshi Matsumura's laborious work, *History of International Exchange*<sup>44</sup>, and even in *International Cultural Exchange in Postwar Japan, a summary of international cultural exchange in postwar Japan*,<sup>45</sup> by the Study Group on International Cultural Exchange led by Kenichiro Hirano, one of the most important figures of the Hakone Conference and one of the first and largest contributors to the study of international

44 Masayoshi Matsumura, *A History of International Exchange*, Jijinkan, 1996.

45 Ken'ichiro Hirano, editor, *Sengo Kokusai Bunka Koryu Kenkyukai, Sengo Nihon no Kokusai Bunka Koryu (International Cultural Exchanges in Postwar Japan)*, Keiso Shobo, 2005.

cultural exchange in Japan, there is no mention of the Hakone Conference.

In addition, although there are sporadic recollections by the participants of the Hakone Conference, no book or report summarizing the conference has ever been published, although there is evidence of a plan to do so. Furthermore, there are only a few fragmentary information sources on the web, including a homepage created by an alumnus of the conference, and no further information is available<sup>46</sup>. Thus, despite the fact that the Hakone Conference was widely attended by most of the major figures involved in international exchange in Japan at the time, and that it attracted the attention of both public and private international exchange organizations, mass media, and government agencies, there were no studies on the conference, nor have the people involved in the conference publicly published a retrospective or record of the conference.

Does this lack of reference mean that the Hakone Conference is of little significance as a research subject in the study of the history of international exchange, and by extension, in the study of international relations? The answer is, of course, no. Rather, we should consider this as highlighting the fact that the metaphor of “the dog that does not bark” (Sherlock Holmes) applies to the lack of research and reference to the Hakone Conference. In other words, the Hakone Conference has not been studied not because it is unimportant; rather, it has not been studied and has been difficult to study because it is extraordinarily important. In other words, the reason why the Hakone Conference has not been studied is directly related to the nature of the event.

First, the Hakone Conference was not an international exchange activity in itself, but a place for people involved in international exchange to interact. From the standpoint of a practitioner, if an exchange activity is conducted by some entity as its own “project,” it is only natural that it should compile its “achievements,” record them, and “report” its “results”. Since international exchange activities are conducted with the human, material, and formal support of various groups and organizations other than one's own, such records and reports are necessary before and after the event. In the case of the Hakone Conference, however, it started as a meta-exchange event, an exchange of people engaged in intentional international exchange activities and projects, with limited participants at the beginning, and “developed” in a way that went beyond the original plan and concept, so that “reporting” the conference as a “project” and keeping records of the conference are not necessarily assumed.

Moreover, from an observer's (researcher's) point of view, when conducting international exchange research, the first thing a researcher looks at is the exchange activities themselves as a project, and not the interaction of the people who were responsible for the exchange, which is basically the case in many cases. For example, recall that the study of the researchers of international politics is not as active as the study of international politics, and the study of the Japanese Association of International Politics is not as active as the study of international politics (of course, this does not necessarily mean that the study of the place of exchange, the academic society, is not important).

The second reason is that the Hakone Conference was generally an activity in which holding a conference and bringing people together was both a means and an end in itself. Usually, a “meeting” involves some kind of “decision”. In other words, the purpose is to exchange opinions on an issue and to form a consensus on a decision on the pros and cons of a certain word or action in practice, which will bring about a social change within a certain scope. However, the Hakone Conference was not necessarily a “conference” involving consensus building or decision making in the usual sense of the word, but rather, it was a place where people found meaning in the gathering itself. In this sense, the Hakone Conference was not a place where the significance can be explained only by the existence of a clear cause-and-effect relationship, such as the fact that Japan's international exchange activities explicitly changed in accordance with the decision of

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46 What is the Hakone Conference (<http://www.bananaclub.org/HAKONE/aboutsub2.htm>), Association for Interliterary Exchange (<http://www.bunsai.net/html/exchange-hakone.htm>), etc.

the Hakone Conference. Of course, the people who gathered at the conference would have had an identity as “members of the Hakone Conference,” but it does not necessarily seem that they conducted their daily international exchange activities in accordance with that identity.

If the hypothesis that the Hakone Conference had such a character is valid, it can be said that the Hakone Conference had some influence or change on the attitudes and actions of the participants and Japanese society, but it is not something that can be explicitly observed at the same level as ordinary conferences, international exchange activities and projects. The participants' awareness and actions at that time did not have any impact or change on Japanese society. Rather, it can be said that the participants found the significance of the conference in the various stimulations they received as they passed through the “venue” of the conference. In such a case, the participants would not necessarily feel a strong need to summarize and publicize the results and evaluation of the conference itself, and it is doubtful that researchers would be able to approach the “significance” of the conference to any great extent if they only followed the words of the conference.

Third, the distance between the practitioners and observers of international exchange is a further problem<sup>47</sup>. As we have already pointed out, most historical retrospectives and summaries of international exchange have been conducted by practitioners, and there have been very few rigorous and empirical studies by researchers from a position of detachment in the positive sense. Moreover, there are still fewer observers than practitioners, and these observers are often in a more or less close relationship with the practitioners. In addition to this general situation, the Hakone Conference was attended and involved by most of the major practitioners and observers who played important roles at the time and up to the present, so that there has been no researcher who could summarize the conference from a value-neutral standpoint. In a sense, the difficulty of researching the Hakone Conference may be attributed to the fact that so many important people were involved in the conference that it was difficult to make it a subject of research.

The above is the background to the fact that neither the conference officials nor the observers of international exchanges have been able to summarize or study the conference, as well as the structural factors that have hindered their research. However, the second generation of international exchange researchers, including the author, who entered universities at the time when the Hakone Conference was actively conducted and formed their academic fields of study, have finally, 20 years after the end of the Cold War, begun to see the first generation of practitioners and observers of international exchange phenomena in a value-neutral and empirically valid way. Twenty years after the end of the Cold War, international exchange researchers who entered universities and formed their academic fields of study during the period when the Cold War was in full swing are finally reaching a situation in which they can value-neutrally and empirically elucidate the first generation of practitioners and observers of international exchange phenomena. In this sense, studying the Hakone Conference may be a way of questioning the very foundations of one's own existence, of clarifying the historical circumstances behind the self-formation of the second generation of international cultural exchange researchers themselves.

### **Section 3: Research Methodology**

This study will proceed with research on the Hakone Conference based on two pillars: interviews with those involved and analysis of primary historical documents in the possession of those involved. Furthermore, the basic policy of this research is to make historical and scholarly sense of these two pillars based on the contemporaneous historical context of Japan and the world, and the theoretical framework of transnational activities such as nationalism, internationalism, transnationalism, and globalism.

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47 For an original discussion of this point, see Atsushi Shibasaki, *International Cultural Exchange in Modern Japan*, Yushindo Kobunsha, 1999.

The biggest methodological challenge for the Hakone Conference research is the absolute lack of primary sources. As of 2008, when this study was initiated, only 20 years had passed since the first conference and 10 years since the first conference, yet at this point, documents that can provide information on the operation of the conference and the actual contents of the conference are scattered and lacking. As will be discussed in the next section, much of the basic information, such as the form of operation and minutes of the preparatory stages of the conference, the official minutes of the plenary sessions, the budget, participation fees and other financials, and the exact number of participants in the conference, is also unknown at this stage. In addition, most of the images, audio, and visual records such as photographs, cassette tapes, and videotapes, which may contribute to understanding the reality of the meetings, have not been found at present, except for some secondary materials.

Various reasons can be cited for the loss of materials, but it is undeniable that the basic nature of the meetings, as described above, contributed to the fact that the meetings themselves did not pay much attention to the preservation and management of the records. In addition, the change in communication media, from handwritten, word-processing, and printing press documents to computerized document creation and storage, as well as from thermal paper-based faxes to electronic mail, also made it difficult to preserve and maintain records. Today, records can be retrieved in batches based on the files and e-mails left on the hard disks of those involved, but such simplicity is almost impossible to apply to the materials from this period.

In light of the above circumstances, this study will gradually increase the number of retrospectives and documents related to the conference, while deepening our understanding of the actual image of the conference and the roles of those involved through a series of interviews and requests for documents from those involved, in order to elucidate the entire picture of the conference over a 10-year period.

In taking this approach, it is not expected that the necessary information and materials will be gathered in the order in which they are needed. In addition, in order to conduct interviews in parallel with the collection of materials, it will be necessary to conduct multiple interviews with people involved in the conferences as needed. In order to interview a total of nearly 1,500 people involved in the conference, and to ask dozens of people involved in the conference to provide information and materials in this manner, the research must be conducted based on a long-term plan. The reasoning in particular should be rewritten based on the development of future research.

#### Section 4: Summary of the Hakone Conference

Tables 2-1 through 3 list basic information on the Hakone Conference. The following is a summary of the basic information that is currently available on each of these topics. The source of the basic information is the list of basic documents of the Hakone Conference at the end of this document. Since the purpose of this report is to provide an overview, detailed notes on the sources of the information are not included.

	year	name	date	place	side-events
1st	1988	International Exchange Activists Seminar	1988.5.13-15	Hakone	
2nd	1989	International Exchange Activists Symposium	1989.5.19-21	Hakone	
3rd	1990	International Exchange Activists Symposium	1990.6.29-7.1	Hakone	Tsuruoka, Ogaki, Utsunomiya
4th	1991	International Exchange Activists Symposium	1991.6.29-30	Sumida	Yokohama, Shizukuishi, Hakone
5th	1992	Conference of International Exchange Activist Network	1992.7.10-12	Hakone	Nigata, Izu
6th	1993	National Conference of International Exchange Activist Network	1993.7.2-4	Hakone	Toyama, Shojiko
7th	1994	National Conference of International Exchange Activist Network	1994.7.1-3	Odawara	Tokyo, Okinawa

8th	1995	National Conference of International Exchange Activist Network	1995.7.21-23	Hachioji	Musashino
9th	1996	National Conference of International Exchange Activist Network	1996.7.5-7	Gotenba	
10th	1997	National Conference of International Exchange Activist Network	1997.7.4-6	Gotenba	

Table 2-1: Name of the Conference, date, place, side-events

### (1) Date, Place, Name, and Form

First, regarding the dates and times, the meetings were basically held in May, June, or July, with participants attending for three days and two nights during the three-day session. In some cases, some participants attended only a portion of the meeting. Only in the fourth conference (1991), the format of the conference differed slightly from the others, as described below, and the “Network Conference (National Conference),” which corresponds to the plenary session, was held over two days. The first through the fourth conferences were held in the afternoon on the first day and disbanded at noon on the third day (the fourth conference was held in the afternoon), while the fifth and later conferences were held in the evening or night on the first day and disbanded in the afternoon or evening on the third day (the fourth conference was held in the afternoon). After the 5th meeting, the participants meet in the evening or night on the first day and disband in the afternoon or evening on the third day (noon on the 10th meeting).

Next is the location. Although the conference is called the “Hakone Conference,” it was actually held in Hakone from the first to the sixth meeting (the “workshop” was held in Hakone for the fourth meeting), The 7th meeting was held in Odawara, the 8th in Yoyogi, and the 9th and 10th in Gotemba.

In addition to the “National Conferences” as so-called “Plenary Meetings,” meetings were held in various locations during the 3rd through 8th Conferences. The 3rd meeting held “regional meetings” in Ogaki and Utsunomiya, the 4th meeting held “symposiums” in Yokohama and Shizuokushi and a “workshop” in Sengokuhara, the 5th meeting held a “symposium” in Niigata and a “workshop” in Izu. In the 6th, “Symposium” in Toyama and “Workshop” at Lake Shojin, in the 7th, “Workshop” at the International House of Japan in Roppongi and “Convention” in Okinawa, and in the 8th, “Symposium” in Musashino. The position of the plenary session and these conferences is as follows. The positioning of these meetings in relation to the plenary sessions varied slightly from session to session, but basically, until the 5th meeting, they were often held as a kind of pre-conference in the period before the plenary sessions, and from the 6th meeting onward, they were often held after the plenary sessions.

The structure of the meetings was as follows. Up to the 1st and 2nd meetings, there is one meeting. At the 3rd meeting, a regional meeting was held in addition to the plenary meeting, thus creating a two-part structure, and at the 4th meeting, a “Network Meeting (National Meeting)” as the plenary meeting, a “Symposium” as a regional meeting, and a “Workshop” with a limited number of participants, which seems to have been held as a three-part structure. The fourth meeting was divided into three parts: a “network meeting (national meeting)” as a plenary session, a “symposium” as a regional meeting, and a “workshop” with a limited number of participants. This three-pronged format was largely followed from the 5th to the 7th meetings, with the 8th meeting consisting of a plenary session and a symposium, and the 9th and 10th meetings consisting of only a plenary session. The 8th meeting was a plenary session and a symposium, and the 9th and 10th meetings were plenary sessions only. Thus, in terms of composition, the 3rd meeting was the first stage of change, the composition changed drastically at the 4th meeting, the 5th and 6th meetings were held in almost the same format, and the 7th and 8th meetings were held in the same format again. The 7th and 8th meetings can be viewed as a period of re-transformation, and the 9th and 10th meetings were held in

a similar format and came to an end.

Finally, let us consider the name of the event, which is in some ways the most important aspect of the event. In the early years, the name gradually changed, with the first meeting being called the “International Exchange *Ninai-te* (activists, or actors) Seminar” and the second and third meetings being called the “International Exchange *Ninai-te* Symposium. The fourth meeting was anomalous in that it consisted of three parts: “Network Meeting (National Conference),” “Symposium,” and “Workshop,” and after the fifth meeting, the official name was changed to “National Conference of the Network of *Ninai-te* of International Exchange”. Since the 5th conference to the 10th, the official name has been “National Conference of the Network of *Ninai-te* of International Exchange”. The transition from “seminar” to “symposium” to “network (national conference)” is a clue when considering the nature of the conference from its name. In addition, the consistent use of the word “*Ninai-te*,” a word that is not often used, from beginning to end requires consideration of the meaning behind it.

Furthermore, regarding the origin of the common name “Hakone Conference,” it seems that it is basically because the conference is held in “Hakone,” as there are many precedents for such a name. However, if one were to venture a guess, it would seem that the name is in some way influenced by memories of the “Hakone Conference” and the “Shimoda Conference” held in the 1960s regarding the theory of modernization and other international exchanges and conferences centered on Japan-U.S. relations.

	year	organizer	management	Supporters	budget
1st	1988	EC of the Seminar	Britannica International Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	n.a.
2nd	1989	EC of the Symposium	Britannica International Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	n.a.
3rd	1990	EC of the Symposium	Britannica International Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Japan Foundation	n.a.
4th	1991	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation	n.a.
5th	1992	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation	n.a.
6th	1993	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation	n.a.
7th	1994	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation	6,274,428
8th	1995	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation, Asia Foundation	4,798,856
9th	1996	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation, Shoyu Club, Communication Fund	3,805,689
10th	1997	Hakone Conference Ninaite (Activists) Network	Catena Intercultural Exchange Center	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Home Affairs, The Japan Foundation, Mitsubishi Bank Foundation	6,000,000

Table 2-2: Organizer, Management, Supporters, budget

**(2) Sponsoring organization, secretariat, supporting organizations, and budget**

Next, we will look at the organization, administration (secretariat), sponsoring organizations, and budget.

The first three conferences were organized by the “Executive Committee,” which was given the name of the conference. From the 4th conference onward, the “Hakone Conference” International Exchange *Ninai-te* Network has consistently served as the host. However, regional meetings and symposiums are co-sponsored by various organizations from around the country.

The “sponsoring” organization in charge of the secretariat was the Britannica Center for International Exchange from the first to third conferences, the Catena Center for Intercultural Exchange from the fourth conference onward, and the Catena Center for International Exchange from the eighth conference onward. The secretariat for the 8th and subsequent editions has been the “Hakone Conference” secretariat within the Catena Center for Interliterary Exchange. In terms of the organization in charge of the organizer and secretariat, there is a major division between the 1st through the 3rd meetings and the 4th meeting and onward, and the 4th meeting and onward are divided into the 4th through the 7th meetings and the 8th through the 10th meetings.

The Japan Foundation joined in the 3rd, the Ministry of Home Affairs joined in the 4th, and the above three organizations have been the sponsoring organizations since the 4th until the 7th. The 8th meeting was sponsored by the Asia Foundation and the 9th meeting by the Japan Foundation. The Asia Foundation joined the 8th conference, the Shoyu Club and the Communication Foundation joined the 9th conference, and the Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi International Foundation joined the 10th conference. In the leaflet of the first conference, . Otohiko Endo, Director, Cultural Affairs Division 2, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, wrote “Greetings from Supporting Organizations” and Sanpei Nakao, President, Britannica International Center, wrote “Greetings from Supporting Organizations”, but since the second conference, these greetings have not been included in the related booklet. In addition to the sponsoring organizations for the main conference, there are many sponsoring and supporting organizations for the regional conferences and symposiums. The sponsoring organizations seem to be roughly divided into the following categories: 1st to 3rd, 4th to 7th, and 8th to 10th.

Finally, the budget is the area where data is the most scarce at this point. Specific figures are available only for the last three sessions of the 7th through 10th (budget only for the 10th). In addition, the 7th meeting cost approximately 2.5 million yen for a conference in Okinawa and approximately 280,000 yen for a workshop at the International House of Japan. The participation fee is 290,000 yen for the 5th meeting and 32,000 yen for the 7th meeting, except for the 1st meeting, which is free of charge, and the 2nd meeting, which is free of charge except for those invited by general invitation, and so on, but these are only sporadically known.

	year	theme	participants
1st	1988	Attractiveness and affluence of international exchange	32
2nd	1989	How to respond the coming age of multicultural and multiethnic society in Japan	55
3rd	1990	Towards an open society	89
4th	1991	How to live together in the earth	n.a.
5th	1992	Towards a society of living together	300
6th	1993	Towards a flexible convivial society	300
7th	1994	Grand design of international exchange	211(174)
8th	1995	Grand design of international exchange II	251(218)
9th	1996	People's initiative in an independent, inclusive, convivial society	200(188)
10th	1997	Future society and the role of international exchange	210

Table 2-3: Theme, number of participants

### **(3) Themes, Programs, and Number of Participants**

As for the theme, the first three sessions were in the initial exploratory phase, the fourth through sixth sessions were based on the common keyword of “symbiosis,” and the seventh and eighth sessions were based on the theme of “the grand design of international exchange”. The 7th and 8th sessions were the “grand design of international exchange,” and the 9th and 10th sessions were the “initiative of the people,” which seems to be a further continuation of the “initiative” in the 8th session. A rough classification of the three sessions is possible.

How the themes were determined, what intentions were reflected in each theme and each word, and how the participants perceived the themes are fundamental issues directly related to the identity of the conference.

The format of the program was almost consistently divided into several parts throughout, with various combinations of two styles: (1) keynote speeches (reports) and plenary discussions, and (2) reports and discussions at the breakout session level. The first through the third sessions have been held in three different formats.

From the first to the third meeting, the three-part format is basically one of the following: discussion based on the keynote report, discussion based on the panel discussion, and group discussion. At the 3rd meeting, reports from the regional meetings are presented and connected to the plenary session, and a committee is formed to prepare the “Hakone Appeal”. The term “subcommittee” is used from the 4th meeting. A “proposal” was also prepared at the fourth “workshop”. In the latter half of the meeting, sessions for presenting various proposals similar to “Action Plans” and a session for self-introductions are held at the beginning of the meeting. In the 5th through 7th meetings, the program of the conference became more diversified, and the number of subcommittees increased, and in the 7th and 8th meetings, the diversified program was formally organized.

Although it is necessary to make a comprehensive judgment of the contents of the programs based on the titles and discussions of the reports and discussions, it seems at this point that the major trend was a shift from a philosophical and historical perspective to a more practical one, closer to the field of practice.

Finally, the number of participants. It was difficult to get a concrete figure for the 4th meeting, since there was no list of participants, and the 5th and 6th meetings, which are listed in the “Global Age,” also had only approximate rough numbers. For the 7th and 8th conferences, the analysis of the questionnaires sent to conference participants is still available, so it is possible to calculate the difference between the roster in the conference booklet and the actual number of participants, but again, there is no way to determine the difference between the number of questionnaires collected and the actual number of participants, so it is not possible to determine the actual number of participants. However, since there is no way to determine the difference between the number of questionnaires collected and the actual number of participants, one can only guess at the actual number of participants. Furthermore, it is nearly impossible to determine the number of people who were on the list but did not participate, or the number of people who were not on the list but participated in some or all of the meetings, and there is no clear way to count the number of participants in the district meetings at this time.

### **(4) Key Personnel**

The representative of the Hakone Conference organization has consistently been Kenichiro Hirano, Professor of Faculty of Arts and Science at the University of Tokyo. Hirano served as “chairperson” from the first to the third meetings and as “representative” from the fifth meeting onward, although data is missing



for the fourth meeting. The secretary general was consistently Kenjiro Mukai. Mukai was initially the director of the Britannica International Center, and from the 4th meeting onward, he was the director of the Catena Center for Intercultural Exchange. The positions of “Steering Committee Chair” and “Advisor” were created after the 8th Meeting. In addition, there have been significant organizational changes since the 8th meeting, with the establishment of the following new committee members: “Planning Committee,” “Project Committee,” “Finance Committee,” and “Public Relations and Publications Committee.

As far as can be confirmed, no “Executive Committee Chairperson” was appointed for the 5th and 10th meetings, but for the 6th through the 9th meetings, an Executive Committee Chairperson was appointed.

The above personnel changes indicate that the initial period from the 1st to the 3rd meetings, the 4th meeting was a transitional period, the 5th to the 7th meetings were held in a similar manner, and the 8th and subsequent meetings were accompanied by major organizational changes. accompanied by major organizational changes. In fact, some documents are being discovered that provide a glimpse into the process of such organizational reorganization. Such a breakdown is almost consistent with the possibility of a time division that can be discerned from the basic facts in Tables 1-1 through 3.

### **(5) Chronological Classification**

We have already begun interviewing some of the parties involved in this study, and we are gradually getting ready to conduct a somewhat in-depth verification of the meetings, together with the data on the substance of the meetings provided by the parties involved. However, this paper will not go into such qualitative analysis, but will instead focus on the direction of the analysis of the meetings based on the above summary, from the viewpoint of the classification of the time period of the meetings.

The timing of meetings has already been discussed to some extent in the previous section, but here I would like to tentatively propose two ways of classifying meetings. The first classification is as follows: the 1st to 3rd meetings are the first period, the 4th to 7th meetings are second, and the 8th to 10th meetings are the third. The second The second category is the initial stage from the 1st to the 2nd, the 3rd and 4th are the first transformation stage, the 5th to the 6th are the middle stage, and the 7th and 8th are the second stage, and the 9th and 10th are the latter stage. The two divisions are not in opposition to each other, but the former is divided only by major breakups, while the latter includes smaller breakups.

What is important about this division of the time period of a meeting is that the formation and transformation of the character of a meeting occurs partly during the plenary session itself and partly during the preparatory process of the meeting, and both must be taken into account. For example, if the first three meetings are considered as the “first period,” the process of creation and preparation for the first meeting must also be considered as the “first period,” and the process of preparation for the third meeting, which falls between the first and second periods, must be considered as the “second. The process from the end of the 3rd Conference to the 4th Conference, which falls between the first and second terms, is both the first term and the middle term. From the viewpoint of holding a district conference, the 3rd conference can already be seen as a precursor to the 4th conference, and conversely, from the viewpoint of a new attempt to hold a three-phase conference, the process up to the 4th conference can be seen as an initial phase. On the other hand, in view of the new experiment of a three-phase conference, the initial phase could be divided into two parts, the first and second meetings and the third and fourth meetings. As John Tomlinson wryly pointed out, the division of time periods should be understood as a guide to epochs with intermediate periods of transformation before and after theater than as a digital division like a time signal.

Whichever classification we use, the 3rd and 4th conferences, which coincidentally coincide with the period of the collapse of the Cold War (1989-91), seem to be the first turning point of the conference. During this period, the number of conference participants expanded significantly, the name of the sponsoring

organization was established, the governing body remained unchanged, the Ministry of Home Affairs was added as a supporting organization, district conferences were held, and the conference format underwent a major transformation, becoming a two- or three-part event.

The second turning point in the history of the conference was during the 7th and 8th conferences, which marked the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, interspersed with the Great Hanshin Earthquake and the Aum Shinrikyo sarin gas attack. The second turning point of the conference was the time of the 7th and 8th conferences, which were not held in Hakone. The Ministry of Education joined as a sponsor, and organizations other than public offices and special corporations also joined as sponsors. The position of the secretariat changed, and the organization was reorganized with the creation of a steering committee chairperson, advisor system, and various committee members.

Thus, the 3rd and 4th meetings were the first period of transformation, and the 7th and 8th meetings were the second period of transformation. The current division of the conferences into three major phases, and two slightly smaller phases of five phases each, is the division of time at the present stage.

#### Section 4: Founding Process

After the completion of the previous draft, I presented a research report at the regular research meeting of the International Exchange Subcommittee of the Japan Association for International Relations, and further conducted some interviews and researched the status of the materials<sup>48</sup>. Last summer, a reception was held under the leadership of Norihiro Ito, where we had the opportunity to receive valuable information<sup>49</sup>. In late fall, I was able to participate as a panelist in a panel discussion at a symposium held in Hakodate under the auspices of the Hokkaido International Center, which called for a “New Hakone Conference”<sup>50</sup>. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Ito and all the people involved for their cooperation.

Last fall, Mukai Kenjiro, one of the greatest contributors to the Hakone Conference, passed away. I would like to pray for his soulful rest in peace. Since I first interviewed Mukai in 2007, not only did I have the opportunity to meet him in person and talk with him over the phone for a long time, but I also received his advice on the direction of my research. In addition, he has given us guidance on the direction of our research. It is truly regrettable that with the passing of Mukai, we have lost forever the opportunity to hear from one of the founders and the person most knowledgeable about the realities of the conference from the standpoint of its secretariat management.

On the other hand, including the symposium in Hakodate mentioned above, I have heard that there is a momentum among those involved in the conference to rethink and reconsider “what the Hakone Conference was all about”. Although there are still a large number of important people who have not yet been interviewed, and the road ahead is far from over, we intend to actively conduct further interviews and request for the provision of materials.

In this paper, we will introduce the first session of the conference-related materials (hereinafter referred to as “Hirano materials” for the sake of convenience), which we believe to be the most complete documentary records at present, and which are in the possession of Kenichiro Hirano, one of the key figures of the conference from its inception (then a professor at the Faculty of Liberal Arts, the University of Tokyo, now a

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48 Introduction to the Study of the Hakone Conference (1988-97): Basic Facts and Working Hypotheses,” International Exchange Subcommittee of the Japan Association for International Relations Regular Research Meeting, January 31, 2009, at Waseda University ([http://homepage.mac.com/atsumi\\_shibasaki/090131resume.pdf](http://homepage.mac.com/atsumi_shibasaki/090131resume.pdf))

49 Round-table meeting for those involved in the “Hakone Conference” (August 7, 2009), participants included Terumasa Akio, Masaru Sakato, Norihiro Ito, and Toshihiro Menju.

50 HIF 30th Anniversary Symposium “From Grassroots to Global Symbiosis, Toward an Era of Action” (November 8, 2009). (<http://www.hif.or.jp/2009/01/2009117hif30.html>)

professor emeritus at the University of Tokyo and a professor emeritus at Waseda University). We would like to express our sincere gratitude to Hirano for graciously allowing us access to the materials in his collection and lending them to us.

It is my duty as a researcher to write a “definitive” version of the conference after having all the materials available, but in light of the scattered materials mentioned in the previous article, I have decided to organize the materials as far as they have been found at this point in time, just like excavating archaeological sites or excavating wooden letters in ancient history, and then prepare for the next “excavation”. We have no choice but to proceed with our research in the form of preparing for the next “excavation”.

Therefore, the Hirano materials that we have been able to use this time are only the “tip of the iceberg” in terms of the process of establishing and holding the conference. The verification in this paper is not only lacking the “finishing touch,” but also may not even vaguely depict the conference in many aspects. It should be noted that the intention of this paper is not to present a complete “authentic history,” but rather to serve as a springboard for the memories of those involved, so that we can grasp the overall picture of the conference, even if only a little.

## Section 6: Preliminary History of the Hakone Conference

### (1) From the “Octo Meeting” to the launch of the “Executive Committee

The earliest date in Hirano material is November 30, 1987. The earliest date in Hirano's data is November 30, 1987, but the actual process of holding the conference can be traced back to 1986-87. The shared memory of those involved is that the idea for the conference was born from discussions between Mukai Kenjiro and Yasuo Inoue at the “Octo no Kai,” an irregular gathering of people mainly involved in study abroad exchange. The founder of the “Octo no Kai” was Teruyuki Komatsu (then a full-time lecturer at Nagoya Gakuin University), and its main members were Komatsu, Mukai, Inoue, Haruo Yokoyama, Yoshikazu Ikeda, Mitsuaki Sukikara, Masaru Yamada, Manabu Horie, and Terumasa Akio. They would get together for hot spring trips and other occasions, sometimes inviting outside lecturers and interacting with people involved in international exchange in the local area<sup>51</sup>.

As for the idea of the conference, in the minutes of the preparatory process for the Hakone Conference, Yasuo Inoue explained it. Yasuo Inoue, who attended a seminar at the International Leadership Development Institute in Colorado from August 2 to 8, 1986, was inspired by the idea of holding a similar seminar in Japan, which led to the holding of the conference. The use of the word “leadership” here creates a subtle discrepancy with the expression “*Ninai-te*” of the Hakone Conference, but the discussion about the use of this word itself highlights the image of international exchange at that time. The discussion on the use of language itself brings into sharp relief the image of international exchange at that time.

What is also shared by those involved in the conference, to the extent that the author and others heard directly from Mukai and indirectly from those involved, is that Mukai, who was then the executive director of the Britannica Center for International Exchange and who was seeking to conduct some kind of public service project at the center, was looking for some kind of public service project for the Center, and he conceived of the “Hakone” Conference as a “private” conference of people involved in international exchange from the bottom up, so to speak, as a counterpart to the “Shimoda” Conference (1967-1987), which was a “public” international exchange and intellectual exchange conference attended by Diet members and people from the

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51 From the testimony of several people involved, including Terumasa Akio (April 10, 2009).

business world<sup>52</sup>. It seems reasonable to assume that Inoue's idea and Mukai's idea were born and met almost simultaneously.

Although he was one of the most experienced professionals in the field of conference planning, he did not have a specific plan for the software part of the conference, which was to discuss international exchange. He was a leading professional in the field of conference framework development. He consulted Terumasa Akio, who had established private international exchange activities in Hakodate and other parts of southern Hokkaido and had been active in a variety of fields since then, about the content of the conference.

Akio agreed with the purpose of the conference, and based on his own experience, he began to work enthusiastically to realize the conference. In order to improve the conference, Akio consulted with Norihiro Ito, who had worked for the Japan Foundation and was then a freelance editor. Utilizing his extensive network of contacts, Ito asked Kenichiro Hirano, Hiroyoshi Abe, and Masaru Sakato for their cooperation in the summer and fall of 1987, respectively, to help with the conference. After several meetings with these members, it is believed that this led to the holding of the conference dated November 30, 1987.

As described above, those involved in educational exchange and study abroad (Mukai, Komatsu, Inoue and other members of the "Okuto no Kai"), practitioners of international exchange (Akio, Ito and Sakato, although in different positions), and so-called "observers" of international exchange (Hirano and Abe) became involved in the creation of the Hakone Conference, with Mukai, Akio and Ito at the core.

## (2) Pre-Conference History or Importance of Personal History of the People Involved

As to why the Hakone Conference was born, it is necessary to understand the period from a macroscopic viewpoint, at least from the 1970s onward, and especially from the 1980s onward, in terms of how Japan's international exchanges emerged.

In order to gain such a macroscopic viewpoint, the starting point of our discussion is to clarify why the above-mentioned people participated in the Hakone Conference. When a conference like the Hakone Conference is born and nurtured, where people from various fields gather to discuss issues in accordance with one major goal, rather than one person accomplishing some task, it is difficult to explain this conference solely based on the motives and intentions of one particular individual. On the other hand, it is of course impossible to say that all involved parties followed the same intentions and motives to create a single conference based on a single understanding. There exists a strong driving force behind the desire to hold, nurture, and continue the "Hakone Conference," but the personal backgrounds that create this driving force can basically be regarded as being in a "same-bed, different-dream" relationship.

The details of this personal historical background will be discussed in a separate article, but at this point, the following is what is known.

Kenichiro Hirano, professor of the University of Tokyo, has published several papers on international cultural relations as early as 1970s<sup>53</sup>. In the early 1980s, he served as a member of the selection committee for the Japan Foundation's Prize for the Promotion of Regional Exchange and participated in the Fletcher Seminar held in Hokkaido. After studying at Harvard University in the 80's, he became more interested in

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52 "Minutes of the Preliminary Meeting of the Hakone Conference "International Exchange Leaders Seminar"" (December 1 and 12, 1987). (December 1 and 12, 1987, written by Naoko Tsunoda), p. 1. For the Shimoda Conference, see Tadashi Yamamoto (ed.), *Sengo Nichibei Kankei to Philanthropy*, Minerva Shobo, 2008, available on the website of the Japan Center for International Exchange (<http://www.jcie.or.jp/japan/index.html>).

53 Ken'ichiro Hirano, "Kokusai Kankei as Bunka-teki Kankei (International Relations as Cultural Relations)," in Mushakoji Kimihide and Royama Michio (eds.), *Kokusai Gaku: Riron to Tenbo [International Studies: Theori and Perspectives]*, University of Tokyo Press, 1976; Eto Shenkichi, Watanabe Akio, Kumon Shumpei and Ken'ichiro Hirano, *Kokusai Kankei Ron [International Relations Theory International Relations]*, University of Tokyo Press, 1982, chapter 4, etc.

the international exchange and cultural exchange in order to further his research, and he wanted to have opportunities to interact with people who were practicing international exchange. He was looking for a direction to become more involved in international exchange from the standpoint of a researcher<sup>54</sup>.

Next, Hiroyoshi Abe, while working as a reporter for the *Mainichi Shimbun* newspaper in Vietnam and Geneva, felt the need to reassess Japan in the context of the rest of the world, and since the late 1970s, he has been publishing editorials from various perspectives on the nature of international exchange and cultural exchange<sup>55</sup>. In the 80's, he wrote an editorial on the "South Asian Film Festival" sponsored by the Japan Foundation in 1982<sup>56</sup>, which led to a deeper relationship with people involved in international exchange (he also became acquainted with Norihiro Ito at that time). He also visited the site of Terumasa Akio's international exchange activities in southern Hokkaido and Kenichi Kato's karaimo (sweet potato) exchange in Kagoshima<sup>57</sup>, and deepened his friendship with these people.

Masaru Sakato has long been aware of the fact that the Japan Foundation has devoted little effort to networking among international exchange organizations in Japan, rather than to promoting Japan's culture and exchange with the outside world<sup>58</sup>. The Japan Foundation held five roundtable meetings on international exchange between 1978 and 1983 (Akio participated in these meetings)<sup>59</sup>. In 1985, the Japan Foundation established the Regional Exchange Promotion Award, and the first award was given to the activities of the South Hokkaido International Exchange Center, which Akio had started<sup>60</sup>. In the process leading up to the Hakone Conference, including the establishment of the International Exchange Advisory Office in 1989, the Japan Foundation, which was originally established for the purpose of international cultural exchange with overseas countries, has been recognized for the activation and expansion of private-sector international exchange activities within Japan.

One of the most important pioneers of such private-sector international exchange activities was Terumasa Akio. The homestay program for foreign students in Japan that Akio began in 1979 in southern Hokkaido attracted attention as a private international exchange program in a rural area, and as an exchange between students and local people, rather than the elite<sup>61</sup>. The program attracted attention as a private-sector international exchange in a rural area, and as an exchange between students and local people rather than elites. Although the program temporarily fell into financial difficulties, it attracted nationwide attention when it was introduced in the "Tenseijingo" article of the *Asahi Shimbun* in 1982<sup>62</sup>, and is now the source of HIF's various other activities in addition to the homestay program. Today, it is the source of HIF's various activities in addition to the homestay program.<sup>63</sup> Akio was also looking for a place where people involved in international

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54 Interview with Kenichiro Hirano (November 28, 2008).

55 Interview with Hiroyoshi Abe (November 25, 2008 and September 8, 2009). (September 8, 2009). Abe has been writing the column "Reflections" since 1979, and in his many articles, including this column, he has made numerous references to cultural exchanges. Those valuable records are currently being analyzed.

56 Abe, "Editorial: Young People's Eyes Toward Asia," *Mainichi Shimbun*, October 2-6, 1982. October 2, 1982. This editorial was probably the first time that an international cultural exchange activity was covered extensively in a national newspaper in Japan, and the response was very positive.

57 Abe, Hiroyoshi, "Commentary: The Man Who Transcends 'Modernity'," Kenichi Kato, "*Gurōbarizumu e no Chosen: 20-nen no Kalamodia Undo no Jyōnen (The Challenge of Globalism: 20 Years of the Kalamodia Movement)*", 2001, p. 303. Abe witnessed the activities of Kato and Akio in the field, and had a close relationship with both of them.

58 Interview with Masaru Sakato (April 24, 2009).

59 For more information on the International Exchange Roundtable, see "The Japan Foundation: 30 Years of History," The Japan Foundation, 2005, pp. 3 Page 04.

60 Ibid, p. 305.

61 See Part I.

62 Tenseijingo, *Asahi Shimbun*, March 7, 1982.

63 Hokkaido International Exchange Foundation (<http://www.hif.or.jp/>)

exchange activities throughout Japan could come together to exchange and share information. In a sense, as a practitioner of private-sector international exchange activities, Akio may have been the one who most keenly felt the need for the Hakone Conference and saw the importance of the conference's significance.

Finally, Norihiro Ito, who, like Sakato, had worked for the Japan Foundation until just before the Hakone Conference, played the most important role in bringing these people together, conceiving the idea for the conference, and putting it together. It goes without saying that he had known Sakato, a colleague at the Fund, as well as Hirano and Abe through their work at the Fund, and had already known Akio since the days of Tenseijingo<sup>64</sup>. Ito was involved in the preparation of “List of International Cultural Exchange Organizations in Japan,” the first directories of international exchange organizations in Japan, and was aware of the need for networking<sup>65</sup>. He and his colleagues at the foundation were also working on a “Chronology: Japan's International Exchange Activities”<sup>66</sup>.

According to Akio, Mukai created the “frame” for the Hakone Conference, and Ito was the “painter” who drew the “pictures” on it<sup>67</sup>. Ito made a major contribution to the creation of the framework of the Hakone Conference.

The above is only a brief sketch of some of the major figures. In the future, we would like to compile a “Hakone Conference Pre-History” by reviewing the personal histories of each person and other key persons involved in the conference.

## Section 7: Preparatory Process for the First Meeting

### (1) Draft 1 (November 3, 1987) (November 30, 1987)

According to the persons concerned, it is confirmed that the preparations for the Hakone Conference were made during the summer and fall of 1987, with several meetings held at hotels, etc. The earliest documents that remain in writing at this time are “Outline (Draft),” “Prospectus (Draft),” and “Structure of Contents (Draft)” dated November 30, 1987. The earliest documents that remain in writing at this time are the “Draft Outline,” “Draft Prospectus,” and “Draft Structure of Contents” (“Draft 1”) dated November 30, 1987<sup>68</sup>.

The first draft's statement of purpose is as follows:

It goes without saying that internationalization is becoming increasingly important for the national government, local governments, private organizations, and businesses. Internationalization, both in terms of human and material exchanges, is not just a passing fancy, but has become a reality that we can feel through our skin. On the other hand, international exchange is carried out in a wide range of fields, including international understanding, international exchange, and international cooperation, and the way each field perceives internationalization differs greatly from one field to another. However, there have not been sufficient opportunities for *Ninai-te* in each field to gather together and exchange

64 Interview with Norihiro Ito, December 18, 2008, 2 (December 18, 2008, May 1, 2009, etc.).

65 List of International Cultural Exchange Organizations in Japan, Haru Shobo, 1982, 1985, 1988. The directories themselves were also published by the Japan Foundation in 1973 and 1978 as “List of Major International Exchange Organizations in Japan”. The directories themselves were also published by the Japan Foundation in 1973 and 1978.

66 Chronological Table of Japan's International Exchange Activities” (May 1988, prepared by Norihiro Ito and Jun Tanaka, with the cooperation of Tatsuo Arai).

67 Akio's previous interview.

68 “Outline of the First Hakone Conference “Seminar for “Ninai-te” of International Exchange” (draft)” (as of November 30, 1987), The 1st Hakone Conference “International Exchange Leaders Seminar” (as of November 30, 1987), “The 1st Hakone Conference “International Exchange Leaders Seminar” (as of November 30, 1987)” by the International Exchange Leaders Seminar Planning Executive Committee. Draft” (November 1987), The following is an outline of the first draft.

information and opinions. This seminar was planned with the hope that it will provide an opportunity for information exchange and mutual study among the *Ninai-te* of international exchange in Japan, in order to explore the points that need to be reduced to a common understanding of the diversification of international exchange in Japan, to learn about the overall picture, and to consider the future direction and form of international exchange<sup>69</sup>.

From this, we can read that “internationalization” was a key word in the perception of the times at that time, that it was a “reality through the skin sense,” and that the concept of “international exchange” itself was positioned in multiple senses (the fact that “international exchange” existed within the subcategory of “international exchange” was a clear indication of this). The term “international exchange” is not a term that can be used in the same way as “international exchange”. In other words, it can be seen that the term “international exchange” was used in two different senses: a broad sense that included international understanding, international exchange, and international cooperation, and a narrow sense that differed from international understanding and international cooperation. The intention of the conference was to bring together the *Ninai-te* to exchange information and study each other's work.

The “Draft Prospectus” then confirmed that the format would be a combination of panel discussions and breakout sessions, that all participants would be speakers and discussants, that the participants would be people active on the “front lines,” and that there would be no honorarium because the purpose was “for the public good. The purpose of the conference is “to enhance the quality of international exchange in Japan and to serve as an important basis for activating a network of mutual exchange and information exchange among people (*Ninai-te*) who are active in various fields.

Next, as for the implementation guidelines<sup>70</sup>, the conference will be held in Hakone for three days and two nights (location to be decided), and the “Hakone Conference International Exchange *Ninai-te* Seminar” Planning Executive Committee will be in charge of the planning and management. The “Hakone Conference” was planned to be organized by the Asahi Shimbun, planned and managed by the “Hakone Conference” Planning Executive Committee, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan<sup>71</sup>, and sponsored by the Britannica Center for International Exchange<sup>72</sup>.

Participants were expected to include “employees of international exchange organizations, teachers and staff in charge of internationalization at universities and high schools, local government officials involved in internationalization, and other people involved in international exchange and educational exchange”. The first part, “international exchange” in “international exchange organizations,” probably has a broad meaning, while the last part, “international exchange,” could be taken to have a narrower meaning. The use of terms such as “internationalization staff” and “internationalization-related” reflects the understanding of the times. In addition, Hirano’s handwritten notes on this item include “All presenters must submit a resume” and “around 30 participants”, suggesting that the discussion was based on this outline. It is clear that the outline was almost finalized as of December.

Next, let's look at the “Draft Structure of Contents”. First, the actual theme of the conference, “International Exchange and Attractive Affluence: What kind of attractive and enriching human development, social

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69 Draft 1 “Outline (Draft).

70 Ibid. The same applies hereafter.

71 Since Hirano's note “tentatively fixed” is included, it is assumed that he had already received an informal offer as early as December 1987.

72 There is a note written by Hirano, “sponsor, bureau”.

development, and cultural creation do international exchanges aim for?” had already expressed<sup>73</sup>. As many people involved have already pointed out, Norihiro Ito was the architect of this theme, and he continued to play a decisive role in the selection of the conference theme, especially in the early stages of the conference. The conference was divided into three main parts, with the first draft having the following structure:

Part I: Lectures “What Was International Exchange for Japan?” - International Exchange in Japan's Contemporary History and Its Meaning Today

- 1 The Modern Formation of International Exchange: Japan's Isolation and Strengthening of Foreign Exchange -1923-1945
- 2 Postwar Japan's Intellectual Challenges in the International Community and the Genealogy of the Intellectuals in Japan: 1945-1960s
- 3 Japan's Economic Empowerment and the Increase in International Exchange Groups: The 1970s
- 4 Diversifying Citizens' International Consciousness and Issues for Japanese Society: From the Late 1970s to the 1980s
- 5 Plenary Discussion -The Future of Multipolar International Exchange

Part II: Panel Discussion “What is the Attractive Affluence Aimed for by International Exchange?”

- 1 Educational Exchange and Attractive Affluence: Its Role in Human Development, Social Formation, and Cultural Creation
- 2 Civic Cooperation and Attractive Affluence: Its Role in Human Development, Social Formation, and Cultural Creation
- 3 Cultural Exchange and Attractive Affluence: Its Role in Human Development, Social Formation, and Cultural Creation
- 4 International Exchange, Activation, and Attractive Affluence of Local Governments: Their Roles in Human Development, Social Formation, and Cultural Creation
- 5 Plenary Discussion - What is the future of Attractive Affluence in the international community?

Part 3: Section Meeting “Challenges and Future Responses to International Exchange” - What is the Fundamental Idea of International Exchange?

1. The increase in the number of foreign residents in Japan, the challenges of conducting full-scale research on Japan, and the possibility of creating basic information and materials for such research
2. The Multipolarization of Japan's International Exchange Activities and the Possibility of Sharing Information
3. The issue of “internationalization of education” and the role of exchange organizations

Part IV: Concluding Session

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73 Hirano's handwritten note circled “attractive affluence” and “stress-free life”. Also, “Japanese jinbun ↔ jinbun (wisdom of life) in other regions through international exchange” (the arrow may mean exchange.) “Jinbun” was later used in Komatsu's remark. The notes include: “International exchange” will no longer be used, “shared richness and difficulty,” “individual direction + selection, difference, diversity,” and so on. These probably reflect the discussions in the meeting minutes at the preliminary meeting described below.



Closing Address<sup>74</sup>

The first part is a historical understanding, the second part is “essential responses” to issues, and the third part is “fundamental ideas,” all of which are designed to understand and grasp the “essence” of what international exchange is, in chronological order: history, current situation, issues, and future prospects.

In contrast, referring to Hirano's handwritten notes, which seem to reflect the discussions at the meeting, it is possible to infer to some extent the revision process of this proposal. First, “Lecture” in the first section was crossed out and rewritten as “Report,” and a new 20-minute “Keynote Statement” was added at the beginning. In addition, the speaker for “4” was originally scheduled to be Koshiro Furuhashi (then at the Osaka International House), but the name of Masaru Nishida (then a professor at Hosei University) was also added. The title of “5” plenary discussion was changed to “What We Can Learn from History,” and Kenichiro Hirano, who was supposed to be a “commentator,” was changed to a “keynote-speaker”<sup>75</sup>.

As for the second part, “Citizens' Cooperation” in “2” was changed to “Citizens' Overseas Cooperation,” and “Local Government” in “4” was changed to “Local” respectively<sup>76</sup>. As pointed out earlier, we have attempted to structure the report in a way that encompasses all international exchange in the “broad sense,” entity by entity, while carefully removing the government-led element, as seen in the modification of “local government”. In Part III, the subtitle has been changed from “What is the fundamental idea of international exchange?” to “Who is the ‘Ninai-te’ in international exchange?” The third section was still in the early stages of development compared to the other sections, and the speakers had not yet been selected, but the purpose of the third section was changed from questioning the “fundamental idea” to questioning the “Ninai-te” of international exchange<sup>77</sup>.

As described above, the first draft presented a basic three-part structure: a theme based on “attractive affluence,” a history section, a section on the current status of each entity, and a section on networking among *Ninai-te* and future issues.

**(2) Preliminary meeting (December 11 and 12, 1987) and minutes, Draft 2. (2) Preliminary Meeting (December 11 and 12, 1987) and Minutes, Draft 2**

The following December, a preliminary meeting was held at the Tokyo Garden Palace in Ochanomizu for two days and one night. According to the invitation, there were 11 expected participants, and it is believed

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74 From Draft 1, “Content Structure (Draft),” some portions are omitted.

75 Handwritten notes here include: “Review of ‘field’ for unassumed use,” “Contemporary → History,” “Image of Leaders: Importance of Individuals over Groups,” “...repetition of the same thing, forgetting, current situation - the price of CE (abbreviation for cultural exchange?: author's note), suffering, expansion of participation (by the masses)”. Combined with the “meeting minutes” discussed below, it is possible to decipher to some extent whose and what ideas are reflected in these memos, but many of the points that have always been problematic when discussing international exchange, both before and after this, can be found in the discussion here.

76 What is worth noting in the handwritten notes here is “How are Japanese people receiving ‘internationalization’? Bright? Repulsion - erasing the cost” and “Only accepting foreigners on a short-term basis (vs. immigration) We must change the *wakumi* of Japanese society”. From these memos, it is possible to get a sense of . Hirano's or those involved in the founding of the conference's thinking about Japanese society at the time, as well as their enthusiasm for the conference.

77 In the handwritten memo, “networking, database, and qualities” are written as individual articles, and from the content of the subcommittee meetings, it can be seen that emphasis was placed on information sharing and network building in the first place.

that a “foreign journalist” (to be determined) was also scheduled to attend<sup>78</sup>. Rarely found at this time, the minutes of this meeting have been preserved, and they provide a glimpse into the discussions of those involved at the time<sup>79</sup>. From Hirano’s notes, it is probably safe to assume that the discussions were based on the first proposal.

According to the minutes of the meeting, the participants were Hirano, Akio, Sakato, Komatsu, Ito, Fumi Nakatani (Keiyo Center for Education and Culture), Mukai, and Naoko Tsunoda (Britannica Center for International Exchange). First, Mukai introduced the aforementioned seminar attended by Inoue as the impetus for holding the conference, and explained that Ito was the main organizer of the conference proposal and the preparation process for the future. Regarding the participants of the conference, Mukai suggested that “one-third each of the participants should be university study abroad related, international exchange organizations, and local governments”<sup>80</sup>.

In the minutes of this meeting, the first thing that is noteworthy is the discussion on the distinction between the terms “leaders” and “*Ninai-te*” in terms of personnel selection. The Hakone Conference is to be given the name “*Ninai-te*” to the participating entities, and this term was originally put on the agenda as a translation of the English word “leadership. Certainly, the “front-line” people who were supposed to participate in the conference were “self-made” pioneers, and the term “leader” was appropriate in some respects.

On the other hand, as Akio said, “How do we nurture the next generation of *Ninai-te*?”<sup>81</sup> and Nakatani said, “It is ordinary people who engage in international exchange. It is important to get more people involved now, so I would like to discuss how to involve others and how to expand the number of *Ninai-te*”<sup>82</sup>; or Komatsu’s view, “The number of people involved is increasing now. It’s not so much the leaders as the people involved”<sup>83</sup>. As seen in Komatsu’s comment, “Nowadays, the number of people involved is increasing, so it’s not so much about the leaders as it is about the people (*Ninai-te*) who are involved. At this point, already in the preparatory process, both the connotation of a conference for only a few pioneers, self-made leaders in both name and reality, and the connotation of a conference that will involve a wider range of “*Ninai-te*” from there, have already appeared. This exchange seems to foreshadow the historical transition of the Hakone Conference over the past 10 years.

Second, the theme of the conference, “Attractive Affluence,” was discussed. The draft’s author, Ito, explains this as follows:

Think about why educational exchange and why international exchange from the viewpoint of yourself. I think it will enrich human development. Society may also be enriched through exchange. We may not be able to enrich ourselves, and our enrichment may not lead to the enrichment of the other party. I think it is important to think about and learn about such things. Exchange is not only a good thing. but it is also a very difficult thing. However, when we go through it, we can survive strongly. I think that is also richness. I would like to think of affluence in a variety of interpretations. If possible, I would like it to be an affluence for me, but at the same time, an affluence to be shared<sup>84</sup>.

78 The contents of the subcommittees seem to have been focused on information sharing and networking in the first place. Preliminary Meeting of the “Hakone Conference” International Exchange Leaders Seminar” (December 1, 1987) and “Hakone Conference” International Exchange Leaders Seminar Preliminary Meeting Information (2 pages) (December 1, 1987).

79 “Hakone Conference” “International Exchange Leaders Seminar” Preliminary Meeting Minutes” (written by Naoko Tsunoda), December 1, 1987, p. 2.

80 Ibid, p. 2.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid, p. 3.

83 Ibid.

84 Ibid, p. 5.

Although the concept of affluence through exchange “sounds somewhat selfish, and we need to ask who it is for,”<sup>85</sup> many of the participants seemed to agree with the idea. In the words of Mukai, “If we do exchanges to eliminate differences, it will be unattractive. It is precisely because there are differences that we can enrich ourselves through exchange. It is better to eliminate the barriers between countries [but] that barriers between cultures and also made them unique”<sup>86</sup>.

In addition, with regard to the way the conference should be organized, Hirano said:

As for the overall tone, I would prefer it to be one in which all participants are on equal footing. He suggested that the invitational tone of the letter of intent be changed to a call to action with a joint intention, and that we stop referring to each other as “Sensei (Sir, Madame etc)” and start addressing each other as “Hirano-san”<sup>87</sup>.

One of the characteristics of the Hakone Conference, such as the use of “san,” has already been proposed here.

Third, the program of the conference. The first part of the program is a historical perspective: “Let's look at what it meant for Japanese society to be involved in the international community from the prewar period, and let's raise the question of whether we are ignoring the points that have already been pointed out and doing the same thing here”<sup>88</sup>. The underlying concern is that “the logic of the concept of international exchange has one pitfall both before and during the war. There was a sense of crisis about being isolated in the international community, which led to calls for international exchange, but in the end, it lacked the perspective to look at oneself objectively”<sup>89</sup>. This historical perspective is a point that Ito and Hirano particularly emphasized.

In the second part of the paper, “The Price of Exchange,” Sakato makes the following points.

For my part, it is difficult to speak on this theme. If we consider exchange as equivalent to “attractive affluence,” we are stuck. Exchange is the same as “peace,” a concept that any human being would have to agree with. There is a lot of debate over “peace” and how to pay the price that must be paid to maintain it. It is the risk of armaments or nakedness. Prime Minister Nakasone's comment about “sound nationalism” caught the attention of foreign scholars because it was interpreted as an extension of his postwar introspection. Theories of Japanese culture and Japanese identity are the antithesis of internationalization. It is also characteristic of a mentality that wishes for a theory of culture. If we consider the cost of exchange in a variety of ways, it will expand. For example, the promotion of internationalization will lead to an influx of foreigners. How will we respond to this? It is fine in the short term, but what about the long term, when they form their own group within Japanese society? This will change the framework of Japanese society. How will we respond to international contact within our society?<sup>90</sup>

In response to this point, Komatsu said that we need to rethink the “strong self-serving aspect of international exchange theory,” and Ito commented that we need to include “the cost of gaining affluence” as a theme, as it is necessary to take a viewpoint to understand the negative aspects of international exchange

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85 Ibid, pp. 4-5.

86 Ibid, p. 5.

87 Ibid, p. 6.

88 Ibid, p. 6.

89 Ibid, p. 4.

90 Ibid, p. 7.

together with “attractive affluence”<sup>91</sup>. Ito commented on the need to include “the price of affluence” as a theme. The two-sided nature of the coin that Japan's international exchange possesses also came into view at this stage of the discussion.

In addition, the relationship among various fields, such as educational exchange, overseas cooperation such as NGOs, and cultural exchange, was also examined. As mentioned earlier, it became clear during the exchange of opinions that the “international exchange” of the Hakone Conference was based solely on a broad definition, but the inclusion of various activities would continue to be an issue in the years to come. The conclusion here, to borrow Hirano's remark, is that “international exchange is a broader concept than cultural exchange, and that the broad *Ninai-te* of international exchange is everyone, while the narrow *Ninai-te* of international exchange is the leader”<sup>92</sup>.

As for the third part, the necessity of building a data base, creating courses at universities, exchanging information and networking, and training successors was confirmed, and the “fundamental idea” in the first proposal was not mentioned here.

It is assumed that the “Draft Outline” and “Draft Structure of Contents” were prepared on December 17 (hereinafter referred to as “Draft 2”) following the above discussion<sup>93</sup>.

The second draft “Outline (Draft)” states the following objectives, which are more concise than those in the first draft “Prospectus (Draft).

The “Hakone Conference” International Exchange *Ninai-te* Seminar will bring together those who are actively and proactively promoting international exchange, to consider from the starting point the direction and ideal state of international exchange, which has diversified to include educational exchange, cultural exchange, and overseas cooperation, and to study what the *Ninai-te* should be, exchange information, and create a network. The purpose of this conference (seminar) is to discuss the future direction of international exchange, to exchange information, to network, and to think together about guidelines for future international exchange. This conference (seminar) will be held on an annual basis, and this first conference in particular will not focus on a specific target, but rather will take a broad view of “exchange” in general, learn from each other about the current multi-polarized and popularized situation, and discuss how to deal with it in the future<sup>94</sup>.

Compared to the first proposal's “Prospectus,” the leadership expressions such as “front-line” and “high-level” participants have been dropped (“front-line” is used as an adjective for the participants to be invited), and “*Ninai-te*” have come to the forefront. The concept of continuing to hold conferences, which had not appeared in the past, appears for the first time. Furthermore, the perspectives of “multipolarization” and “popularization” are also ideas that had not been included in the past.

The theme of the seminar remains the same, but the three parts have been renamed as follows.

Part I: “Learning from History” - International Exchange in Japan's Contemporary History and Its Meaning Today

Part II “Understanding the Multipolarization and Popularization of International Exchange” - The Price of Exchange and Attractive Affluence

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91 Ibid.

92 Ibid, p. 9.

93 Draft Outline of the 1st Hakone Conference International Exchange Leaders Seminar” (as of December 17, 1987) and “Draft Structure of the 1st Hakone Conference International Exchange Leaders Seminar” (as of December 17, 1987). Hereafter referred to as Draft 2 “Outline (Draft),” etc.

94 Second Draft “Outline (Draft).

Part III: “For Better Leadership” - Networking and Succession Planning<sup>95</sup>

The subject of Part I was changed from “What Was International Exchange for Japan?” and Part II was substantially changed to reflect the discussions in the December meeting minutes: “Multipolarization and Massification” and “The Price of Exchange. Part III was also substantially changed.

In the detailed program section, a de facto keynote-like “problem statement” by Hirano was incorporated as the beginning of the first part, and the program of the third part was packed with more details, thus solidifying the overall specifics of the program.

**(3) Drafts 3 and 4, Conference Resume, and Plenary Session**

Detailed records of preparatory activities during this later period do not exist at this time. All that remains after the second draft was a “Draft Outline” (hereinafter referred to as “Draft 3”)<sup>96</sup> as of February 19, 1988. In Draft 3, the venue was decided to be the Senshu University Hakone Seminar House, the sponsor was changed to the “Hakone Conference” “International Exchange *Ninai-te* Seminar” Executive Committee, and the name of the Asahi Shimbun, which had been scheduled, was dropped. The name of the second part was changed from “Understanding the Current State of Multipolarization and Popularization of International Exchange: The Price of Exchange and Attractive Affluence” to “Understanding the Meaning of Multipolarization and Popularization of International Exchange: Attractive Affluence and the Price of Exchange”. Other than that, there are no significant changes.

One thing that should be noted is that Hirano's handwritten note reads “Publication - Gakuyo Shobo” and the date and time of the meeting with the editor (April 8)<sup>97</sup>. At this point, it was not previously known that it was planned to publish the outcome of the meeting as a book.

In the fourth draft, dated March 8, an “outline (draft)” and a detailed draft of the program were compiled, and the framework of the meeting was solidified<sup>98</sup>. At the same time, based on the assumption that all participants would submit resumes<sup>99</sup>, drafts of each participant's resume were submitted during March and April. A detailed discussion of the contents of each resume will be left for the next article.

The first meeting was held from May 13 to May 1-5, 1988. In addition to the participants listed in the pamphlet at the end of this document (Fig. 2-1), the actual participants included two from the Mainichi

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95 Ibid.

96 “Hakone Conference, “International Exchange Leaders Seminar” Outline (Draft)” (as of February 19, 1988). (as of February 19, 1988).

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 (Conference resumes) Hiroyoshi Abe and Terumasa Akio, “Part III, Group B: Creating a Successor Training Program,” (Conference resume) “Group Discussion on Action Program,” (Conference resume) Norihiro Ito, “Part I Report (I) Modern Formation of International Exchange,” (Conference resume) “Part II Report (I) International Cultural Exchange from the Cultural Exchange Program to the International Cultural Exchange Program,” (Conference resume) From the Cultural Exchange Program with China to the Era of the International Cultural Promotion Association”, (Conference Resume) Tatsuya Tanami, “Part I Report (II) Return to International Society and the Role of the Intellectual Elite”, (Conference Resume) Yoshinori Yamaoka, “Part I Report (III) Japan's Becoming an Economic Power and the Role of the Intellectual Elite”. (III) Background of Japan's Economic Gigantism and Increase in International Exchange Groups: The 1970s -(Conference Resume) Michio Ito, “Part II Panel Discussion (II) Citizens' Overseas Cooperation and Attractive Affluence”, (Conference Resume) Kenichiro Hirano, Manabu Horie, “Part III Group A International Exchange Networking and Database of Groups”, (Conference Resume) Jiro Mukama, “Part II Panel Discussion (I) Educational Exchange and Attractive Affluence”, (Conference Resume) (Kojiro Furuhashi?) International Exchange and Regional Revitalization and Attractive Enrichment of Local Governments” (handwritten, on a note for the Osaka International House Foundation)

Shimbun, two from the Asahi Shimbun, and one each from the Yomiuri Shimbun, the Tokyo Shimbun, Kyodo News, NHK, and the Foreign Press Center. The pamphlet is dated May 16, and therefore, it is assumed to reflect the actual number of participants. (Since this is dated May 16, it is assumed to reflect the actual number of participants<sup>100</sup>.)

On the day of the conference, the Mainichi Shimbun reported on the conference in an article titled “International Exchange Networking: First Hakone Conference to Begin Today” (written by editorial board member Nobuo Matsumoto, who was also included in the list of conference participants)<sup>101</sup>.

The article also noted that in this era of “internationalization,” which has led to Japan becoming an “international nation,” “international exchange activities are diverse, including cultural and educational exchange, citizens' overseas cooperation, and local sister city exchanges, and that there is a need for nationwide contacts across fields and regions. In this age of “internationalization,” “international exchange activities vary from cultural and educational exchanges, overseas cooperation of citizens, local sister city exchanges, etc., and no nationwide liaison organization has yet been established across fields and regions,” “the first conference to discuss the current status of international exchange, which has been event-driven, the multipolarization of exchange, the significance of popularization, and to find future issues and prospects, was held behind closed doors. The first conference, which was not open to the public, was a significant first step in creating a broad network of people involved in improving the quality of international exchange. This first Hakone Conference will provide various materials for reflection for the industrialized international exchange industry, which tends to be profit-driven,” he concluded. Aside from the networking aspect, Matsumoto's remark here, especially in the conclusion, does not necessarily seem to match the thoughts of the parties involved that have been identified so far, but it does help us understand how the conference was received by relatively interested third parties.

Further changes were made to the program at the actual conference, and the third and final part was titled “Future Challenges for *Ninai-te* of International Exchange: How to Enhance Their Expertise and Establish Them as a Profession”.

Since there are no minutes of the meetings, the details of the discussions at the first meeting are not known. However, we do have a copy of a booklet or pamphlet that was probably distributed to those involved in the conference beforehand, from which we can learn some of the details of the presentations made at the conference (along with the resumes mentioned above).

In his “Opening Remarks,” Kenichiro Hirano, the chairperson of the conference, explains that the significance of holding the conference was (1) the need for the *Ninai-te* to exchange opinions and explore how to carry out their own activities, and (2) the need to consider the significance of the changes in international exchange, which is not limited to Japan but is global and historical in nature. The conference's purpose was (1) to explore how to bring out and solve problems and difficulties in international exchange, and (2) to discover the new significance of international exchange (Fig. 2-2).

## Section 8: Movements after the First Conference

On May 25, immediately after the conference, Hirano made a broadcast on NHK's International Broadcasting System titled “International Exchange Activities in Japan Today: What Kind of Activities are Needed?”<sup>102</sup>. In the broadcast, Hirano pointed out that current international exchange activities are in a state of “confusion in the midst of prosperity,” and that only activities are flourishing without a clear meaning or

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100 “List of Participants in the First 'Hakone Conference'” (May 16, 1988).

101 Mainichi Shimbun, May 13, 1988, same as below.

102 Kenichiro Hirano, “International Exchange Activities in Japan Today: What Kind of Activities Are Needed?” (May 2, 1988, p. 5), hereafter cited as follows.

purpose for the activities. In the broadcast, Hirano recalls that “what was most impressive in the seminar discussion was that, as I mentioned earlier, these people who have created the axis of international exchange in Japan themselves are now harboring deep doubts about international exchange activities”. In other words, they have doubts about the one-way, Japan-centered approach to international exchange that Japan has taken since the end of World War II, in which it has sought to have the rest of the world understand Japanese culture.

In addition to the need to reconsider this outward-looking approach to international exchange, Hirano points to the domestic effect of international exchange activities as a catalyst for change in declining regional conditions, including depopulation. In other words, “I believe that the power to change this impoverished state of economy-first lies in culture, and that international exchange can bring about such new cultural power. This stems from the point of view that “such a way of thinking has become stronger among those *Ninai-te* in charge of international exchange, and local international exchange activities have been flourishing in various parts of Japan. He also points out from his own experience that the poor policy of accepting international students is also problematic from this perspective.

In short, “unless the Japanese society and culture change so that the Japanese government and people value education more and enrich it more, desirable international exchange will not be realized,” and the conclusion of the participants of the first Hakone Conference was that “if desirable international exchange activities are promoted, it will be possible for Japanese schools and rural areas to become more and more prosperous in their rural areas. If we proceed with these activities, we will be able to achieve a truly attractive richness in both Japanese schools and rural communities. And desirable international exchange should not be limited to the Japanese nation or the Japanese people, but should provide attractive enrichment to each and every one of us”.

On May 25, a notice of the 2nd Hakone Conference Executive Committee meeting was sent out<sup>103</sup>, and a preparatory meeting was held in June, at which plans were presented and preparatory activities were underway<sup>104</sup>. As for the publication plan mentioned earlier, preparations were made in early fall to publish a book tentatively titled “Japan's International Exchange for Attractive Affluence,”<sup>105</sup> which would basically follow the contents of the conference, and in December, the secretariat sent a request for manuscript writing<sup>106</sup>. However, the book was never published.

## Section 9 Subsequent Developments

The following is a tentative overview of the Hakone Conference's subsequent activities.

The first period is from 1988 to 1990, from the first to the third meeting. The key phrase of this period was “international exchange and Japanese society”. The number of participants was about 30 to 80, gradually increasing but less than in later periods, and the participating members were people who had been developing activities from various positions in various parts of the country, or who had supported or observed such activities. The participants were people who had developed activities from various positions in various parts

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103 Notice of the “Hakone Conference” Executive Committee Meeting” (May 25, 1988) and “Second Conference Planning” (May 13, 1988), as follows. Second Conference Planning” (May 25, 1988), as follows.

104 Norihiro Ito, “Comments on the Second Hakone Conference” (September 20, 1988), “Hakone Conference PART 2 - International Exchange Leaders Seminar - “Internationalization from Within and Attractive Human Resource Development,”” and Hiroyoshi Abe, “The Second Hakone Conference: A Tentative Plan for 'Attractive Human Resource Development'” (September 20, 1988). It is worth noting that the key term “attractiveness” continued to be employed.

105 (Publication proposal?) (Tentative title: “(Tentative title) Japan's International Exchange for Attractive Affluence”, (proposal (handwritten by Norihiro Ito, night of 88.10.13 Shinjuku w/ Mukai, Abe, Ito, Horie) “On the Publication of 'Japan's International Exchange for Attractive Affluence'.

106 Request for Manuscript Writing” (Dec. 1988).

of the country, supported or observed such activities, They were, so to speak, leader-like *Ninai-te* in their own right.

The conference was held behind many backgrounds: the activities of Akio in Hakodate, Kenichi Kato's "Karaimo Koryu" in Kagoshima<sup>107</sup>, Yoshiko Nagato's "Ikkura Kokusai Bunka Koryukai" in Utsunomiya, etc., discussed in Chapter 4, which were developed from the late 70s to the 80s. The Japan Foundation has been working to promote international exchanges through the "second civilian" grassroots international exchange activities that developed in the late 70s and 80s, the significant increase in the number of sister city exchange partnerships that continued until the early 90s, and the progress of exchanges based on these partnerships. There was also a growing need for networking among the "regional international exchange" and "internationalization from the region" movements, as symbolized by the Japan Foundation's holding of the International Exchange Roundtable Conference (1978, 80-83), the establishment of the Regional Exchange Promotion Award (1985-, now the Global Citizen Award), and the opening of the International Exchange Consultation Office (1989).

In addition, the concept of "international exchange" was much broader than it is today, with members from a variety of fields that would now be classified as international cooperation or international (understanding) education. In this sense, the discussions during this period can be considered to have been general and principled discussions by leading pioneers from the perspective of what "international exchange" was and what impact it could have on "Japanese society". However, at the 3rd Conference, moves leading to the expansion phase from the 4th Conference onward had already begun to emerge, such as the holding of "district conferences" in Tsuruoka, Ogaki, and Utsunomiya.

The second period was from 1991 to 1993, from the 4th to the 6th Conference. Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of participants in the 4th Conference at this time, many side events were held, including symposiums in Yokohama, Shizukuishi, and Sumida-ku, and the number of conference participants quickly grew to around 200-300. In addition to the leader-like *Ninai-te* of the past, many "people" *Ninai-te* who have not necessarily had much experience in international exchange but who have started working on international exchanges are now participating in the conference. In addition, the proportion of participants from the fields of international cooperation and international education has relatively decreased, and those involved in international exchange activities in a narrower sense have come to make up the majority.

In addition to the aforementioned increase in the number of sister-cities, the establishment of the NGO Activity Promotion Center and the JET Program (both in 1987), the establishment of the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations (CLAIR) (1989), and the Ministry of Home Affairs' "Guidelines for the Formulation of a Regional International Exchange Promotion Program" (1989) as well as the Cabinet Office's "Regional Councils on International Exchange" (1991), have all contributed to this trend. All of which actively promoted local international exchange activities, resulted in a trend of local governments actively embarking on international exchange activities, apart from the "second private sector". This also meant a gradual increase in the number of "novice" participants.

The concept "Kyosei (conviviality, living together)" or "multicultural conviviality" was "discovered" by the conference participants during this period. The concept of "symbiosis" or "coexistence" itself had existed for some time, but as the themes of the 4th through 6th conferences show, after the first phase of the search for what "international exchange" was and what it could do, a common ideological goal for the *Ninai-te* of international exchange was developed. It remains to be seen how the concept of "symbiosis" was developed as a result of specific discussions. However, according to a study of the period around the end of the 5th Hakone Conference by Abe, who was one of the key figures in the Hakone Conference, structural changes

107 Kenichi Kato, "20 Years of the Calamodia Movement" (upper and lower volumes), Mainichi Newspapers, 2001. The first volume of this book includes a "Commentary" written by Hiroyoshi Abe, one of the central figures of the Hakone Conference.



in world politics, that occurred around the time of the 3rd Hakone Conference in 1990, such as “the collapse of Eastern socialist regimes, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the development of EC integration, the Gulf War, and UN rule and reconstruction in Cambodia” had a major impact on the outcome.

The events (of these) have had a major impact on the “state” and the “nation”. According to Kenichiro Hirano, professor at the University of Tokyo's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and representative of the Hakone Conference, “There has been a global reorganization of the molecular structure, and it has become clear that nations and governments are not the only agents in charge of international relations, but that private organizations and other multiple factors are intertwined in international relations” (National Conference). In addition, the concept of the Earth as a small and dear community of destiny (Prof. Takashi Ishiwata, Iwate Medical University, “National Conference”) aroused strong interest in the global environment. As a result, the theme of the Hakone Conference in 1991 became “Seeking the Wisdom of Human Symbiosis,” which advocated that all people on earth should interact with each other beyond the framework of nations, and in 1992 the theme was changed to “Toward a Symbiotic Toward a Society--The Significance and Role of International Exchange”. Based on the premise that the interests of individual nations are no longer necessarily the common interests of their people, much less the common interests of humankind, it called for people of different backgrounds to “respect each other's differences, change, and live together” (Professor Hirano, *Ibid.*)<sup>108</sup>.

Although the Hakone Conference “narrowed down” its theme to “symbiosis,” this led to a renewed questioning of whether the conference could achieve its goal by “simply remaining a network for exchanging and discussing opinions,” according to Abe. Takamichi Kajita, who was one of the speakers at the plenary session of the 5th Conference, said, “The era of idyllic international exchange is now over,” which, in Abe's opinion, symbolizes this.

In fact, since the first conference in 1988, the Hakone Conference has been a place to discuss “pastoral exchanges” in a pastoral manner, and has continued to be a network without an organizational chart. It has continued to be a network without an organizational chart. For this reason, the conference has refrained from any overt social expression or action. Is this no longer the case? Furthermore, should we consider not only the Hakone Conference but also Japan's international exchange as a whole to be at a major turning point?<sup>109</sup>

Abe also points to the process of organizing “spontaneous grassroots international exchange groups,” as mentioned above, and in particular to the active efforts of the government and corporations to organize international exchange, as well as to the fact that the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Japan Foundation, as well as the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, Trade and Industry, and the National Land Agency have all begun to use the keyword “internationalization”. He also asks whether the Hakone Conference must “change its original character as a network of free and equal exchanges by citizens themselves to create a symbiotic society filled with diversity.

I do not think so. If a network of independent citizens is established, and if the idea that international exchange is nothing more than an activity for the symbiosis of opposites, which is far removed from

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108 Abe, Hiroyoshi, “Hakone Conference at a Turning Point: After the 5th “Hakone Conference” International Exchange Leaders Network Conference,” *Global Age*, November 1992, Keizai Shunju-sha, Inc. November issue, Keizai Shunju-sha, Inc., p. 64.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

discrimination and dependence on force, takes root in the heart of each individual, in other words, If many people believe that the humanization of international relations and the various systems of society is important, then the coordinates of the Hakone Conference will naturally be set, regardless of the circumstances. As Representative Hirano stated in his “Summary” of the National Conference, we must always review our surroundings and consider the meaning of exchange, for it is a never-ending journey<sup>110</sup>.

Abe's expression clearly shows the transformation between the first phase of the Hakone Conference and the second phase of the Hakone Conference, as well as the challenges they faced. And, just as he cannot find a clear answer to his own question, throughout the Hakone Conference, the tension between the “idyllic,” “free and equal exchange network by the citizens themselves” whose purpose is exchange itself, and the “achievement” of concrete intentions and actions to realize “symbiosis” remains unresolved. The conference continued without a clear resolution of this tension.

The guiding concepts presented in the third period, “grand design” and “initiative,” can be considered to have emerged in the context of these changes in the second period, namely, how to consider the setting of the goal of “symbiosis” and the “transformation” that would accompany it. The “grand design” theory, which is also the subject of Part 3, was written at the time of the 7th Conference, and contains both the most comprehensive typology of international exchange in the broadest sense possible, by issue and by subject, in the form of a social scientific typology, and Ito's original “Catalyst” theory. The former part, at least, seems to have contributed to the Hakone Conference participants confirming their own position at the “turning point”.

As for the concept of “initiative,” the subtitle of the 10th and final conference was “Private Sector Initiative and Tomorrow's Society,” which suggests that the Hakone Conference as a “citizen's network” should be a key element of the international exchange led by the government, local governments, and corporations, while cooperating and collaborating with them. The Hakone Conference is considered to have functioned in the context of how the Hakone Conference, as a “citizens' network,” could play a proactive role in international exchange led by the government, local governments, and corporations, in cooperation and collaboration with them. For example, the 8th Conference, titled “Grand Design for International Exchange II 1995: A New Starting Initiative,” was held in the context of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, and the rise of volunteer practices, and was based on proposals from the areas affected by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. One example is the session titled “Multi-Ethnic Mixed Society and Volunteer Activities” based on proposals from the areas affected by the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. A workshop entitled “Tips and Methods for Spreading Volunteer Activities” was held to provide a guide to specific activities, including study tours, overseas support projects, fundraising and signature drives, lectures, study groups, debriefing sessions, publication and report writing, human resource development, operational funding, how to hold management meetings, and how to set up an administrative office. It can be seen that the workshops are increasingly becoming a training program for new *Ninai-te* with little experience, rather than a conference for traditional *Ninai-te III*. In addition, a mini-symposium for young people, “Simulation of the Earth Federation Conference,” was held<sup>112</sup>, indicating that emphasis has begun to be placed on passing on activities to the next generation, as suggested by the summary of the plenary session titled “Signs of Expectations for the Successor Generation.

Thus, after the 7th conference, although the conference was called the “Hakone” conference, it was held in Odawara (7th conference), the National Olympics Memorial Youth Center (8th conference), and the National Central Youth Center (9th and 10th conferences), and the nature of the conference also changed. According

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110 Global Age, November/December 1995 issue, Keizai Shunju-sha, pp. 14-15.

111 Ibid, pp. 20-43.

112 Ibid, p. 46.

to the testimonies of those involved, this change in the nature of the conference, namely, the exchange and networking among the *Ninai-te* of international exchange in Japan, had been achieving a certain degree of success, and so at the 7th conference, a discussion was held regarding the future of the conference. The 7th meeting was held to discuss the future of the conference, and it was decided to close the conference at the end of the 10th meeting<sup>113</sup>.

The tenth and final meeting was titled “International Exchange Opens the Future: People's Initiatives and Tomorrow's Society,” based on the premise that this would be the final meeting. The subcommittees discussed “The Future Opened by International Exchange,” including “The People's Initiative to Support an Internationalizing Civil Society,” “Reexamining 'Borderless': International Awareness among Generations,” “Ten Years of International Exchange '65, '75, '85, '95, and 2005,” and “The Future of International Exchange: The 'People's Initiative and Tomorrow's Society, '95, and 2005,” “Paradigm Shift to a New Era: Gender, Community, Education Perspectives and Future Civil Society,” and a workshop titled “Networking for Tomorrow's Society,” which focused on ecology, goods, aid, and Gender, strengthening women's groups and supporting education, corporations and citizens, exchange magazines and newspapers, foreign citizens, policy advocacy, regional development, and the future of international exchange networks were the topics of discussion.

In his “Summary,” Norihiro Ito, a key member of the early stages of the conference, stated that (1) we, as *Ninai-te* of international exchange, must determine the principles of what we are responsible for, (2) we must reconstruct the concept of international exchange, and (3) since human history is made up of international exchange, we must deepen our awareness of history. (4) Be wary of the fictional nature of language, as human beings are prone to “fictional causes” (5) “International exchange with the Japanese as the market” does not provide enough “serious competition” to test oneself brutally in the relationship between the international community and Japan. These considerations are closely related to the Catalyst theory discussed in Chapter 6. In 1999, two years after the conference ended, Ito published her own discussion of gender-equal society and NPOs in relation to Japanese mythology and the concept of celebrants and celebrated women<sup>114</sup>.

In his summary of the conference titled “Toward the Realization of True 'Internationalism,’” Kenichiro Hirano said that the Hakone Conference was “an invaluable learning experience for me” and that “I cannot express in a few words how much my thoughts on international relations, my specialty, have deepened”. He also commented that the discussions at the Hakone Conference anticipated the theme of how the increase in international exchange would change and affect people, which was later taken up by UNESCO's Management of Social Transformation (MOST). The conference could be described as “the first of its kind in the world. As for the conference, he says, “In its tenth year, the Hakone Conference has reached its limits both administratively and organizationally. At the same time, however, I think it is fair to say that we have achieved our initial goals. In that sense, it seems to me that putting an end to the conference at this point is in line with the end of an era,” he said. I believe that your international exchange activities in this era and in various parts of Japan were the greatest advocacy of all<sup>115</sup>.

The Hakone Conference has been “a place to read the times” and “a place to confirm our direction,” and has disseminated the new concept of “multicultural conviviality” and explored “what a network is”. Hirano then states, “In the sense of breaking away from Japan-centered unilateralism through international exchange, I think we can say that we have been conducting an experiment to break away from modern international relations”. Furthermore, he says, the significance of the conference is that it demonstrated the

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113 From the above interview with Hirano, Akio, and Abe, as well as a trilogy discussion among the three (December 11, 2015).

114 Norihiro Ito, “Gendai NPO Ronko,” *Global Age*, Summer 1999, pp. 4-15.

115 Ken'ichiro Hirano, “Summarizing: Toward the Realization of True 'Internationalism,’” *Global Age*, September 1997, Keizai Shunju-sha, p. 51, and the same below.

existence of international exchange that is conducted on a daily basis within Japan, rather than the traditional international exchange that is directed toward the outside world.

What is needed in the future is for international exchange to be “an activity that has a delicate balance between advancing globalization on the one hand and respecting the uniqueness and diversity of each culture on the other, taking into consideration the tension between universal and unique cultures,” and this is “true internationalism”.

I believe that international exchange has the meaning of realizing “true internationalism”.

Today, there is a movement of nationalism and nationalism as a reaction against internationalism all over the world. It seems as if we are standing at the crossroads of internationalism and nationalism. I believe that the members of the Hakone Conference and the *Ninai-te* of international exchange are standing on the front lines of “true internationalism” in their respective regions. I believe that the most powerful thing in continuing such a “struggle” is the sharing of aspirations<sup>116</sup>.

One of the proposals made at the 10th Conference, jointly signed by the entire Executive Committee, is as follows

We see in those who are involved in international exchange a constant effort to improve themselves as people who are open and open themselves up to others. Only those who recognize and encourage each other to work together to become a force for social change as a result of exchange can be said to be the *Ninai-te* of exchange that enlightens people, opens up society, and opens up the future<sup>117</sup>.

Thus, the Hakone Conference ended its decade of activity. The second conference was held in 2001 and 2002, but has not been held since then.

## **Section 10: Historical and Contemporary Significance of the Hakone Conference**

Finally, the significance of the Hakone Conference is discussed in two parts: historical significance and contemporary significance. In this section, three historical significance and three contemporary significance are hypothetically proposed.

### **(1) Historical Significance**

The first historical significance is its significance as the first networking activity by the “*Ninai-te*” of the “private sector” in Japan. As the leader-like *Ninai-te* in the field of “international exchange,” which includes international cooperation, aid, and education for international understanding, were actively developing their activities in their respective fields, the need for a forum for mutual exchange was the impetus for the conference to be held. The conference was not meant to be an advocacy event, but rather a forum for general discussion and meta-exchange, where information could be exchanged, mutual understanding could be gained, and the groundwork for collaboration could be solidified. This first significance was especially significant for those who had already been involved in ongoing activities during the first and second phases of the project.

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116 Ibid.

117 Ibid, p. 52 (this document has not been seen at this time).

The second historical significance is its significance as a place for exchange among those involved in international exchange, including not only practitioners but also observers, i.e., as a festive place where gathering itself is not a means but an end. As many of those involved in the Hakone Conference recall, the significance of the conference is that it is an activity where meeting and spending time together can “energize” one's spirit, which is the “outcome” of the conference. This second significance increased especially during the second and third phases, as many new *Ninai-te* joined the leader-like *Ninai-te*, but at the same time, it also brought difficulties in evaluating the conference as a “conference” with objective outputs. The “Hakone Conference Graffiti” in Fig. 5-3 depicts the 5th Hakone Conference, a time when the conference was, in a sense, the most diverse, with participants from various positions working together to create the conference. The enthusiasm and liveliness that can be read from this scene clearly symbolize the second significance.

The third historical significance is that in addition to being a place where experienced leader-like *Ninai-te* could interact with each other, it was also a place where young and new “*Ninai-te*” could be nurtured. This is a trend that gained importance from the second to the third period, reflecting the quantitative expansion seen in the boom in internationalization and international exchange in Japan, including among local governments and government-related organizations, as already mentioned. As a result, however, the conference was forced to respond to the spread of international exchange in a limited format, rather than the “all-inclusive” type of international exchange that was originally intended, and this is where the divergence from the original concept of the conference can be seen to have occurred. At the same time, however, this was the result of the development of the conference along with its first and second significance. In a sense, it can be said that the Hakone Conference has fulfilled its mission and completed its mission once and for all, in the form of using up its own significance in a depreciating manner as it achieved the goals it set for itself.

## (2) Contemporary Significance

The first contemporary significance is that the “*Ninai-te*” of the Hakone Conference were the first multitude-like group in the history of international exchange in Japan. The networking of the elites who attempted to interact with the rest of the world in a “national diplomacy”-style mission, basically in a “government” capacity or indirectly on behalf of the government to varying degrees, was the mainstream from the prewar to the postwar period until the end of the 1960s. On the other hand, since the 1970s, the “national diplomacy” has been a “government” mission. On the other hand, since the 1970s, people have emerged from the “private sector” to promote exchanges within Japan on a local basis, not completely independent of the “public sector,” but on an autonomous basis. The Hakone Conference was a networking forum for these “*Ninai-te*”.

This composition can be considered the same type as that presented by Negri and Hardt in the form of the relationship between “empire” and multitude<sup>118</sup>. Their “empire” is a multilayered network of domination, and its counterpart is the multitude, a network of resistance, which “provides a means of encounter and a world in which differences do not matter,” a “developed and open world in which all differences can be expressed freely and equally,” and “allows us to work and live together. It is a network of people who seek to realize “a world where differences do not matter”. And in Negri-Hardt's scheme, multitude is given the character of realizing “the common” through “collaboration” and “communication” and a global absolute democracy that “co-creates and maintains society” through “governance by all of the members.

In the case of the Hakone Conference, the main focus was on the activity of international exchange and its participants' understanding of the significance of their own activities, as well as the emergence and evolution of a new understanding of themselves and others through the exchange of the Hakone Conference,

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118 Hereafter, Shibasaki, “Empire' and Multitude,” from Shibasaki, “Kokusai Kankei no Shiso Shishi: Gurōbaru Kankei Kenkyū no Yosei ni tsuite,” Iwanami Shoten, Chapter 7.

and therefore, the multitude significance of their own activities and their own. The main significance of the conference was as a place to confirm and realize the multitude of possibilities of our activities and our own multitude of possibilities. In addition, emphasis was placed especially in the latter half of the event on supporting people who are newly trying to engage in international exchange. In this sense, it is difficult to say that there is a complete parallel to global absolute democracy, but it is significant as an activity that pioneers the search for the kind of subject that Negri and others have posited in the 21st century.

The second contemporary significance is the “affluence” of the exchange itself. This is the recognition that many participants still feel the “energizing factor” and “affluence” of participating in the conference itself. Oda Makoto once said, “The weakness of a movement always appears in its results, and the results always take revenge on the movement. No, in the first place, is there such a thing as “results” in a movement? The movement is like a perpetual revolution that continues forever”<sup>119</sup>.

It must be clearer if we really think so. The “result” of a movement is also a movement, and therefore, they have something in common, and therefore, what was not in the movement (or what was discarded) cannot exist in the “result”. On the contrary, what was present in the movement is also present in the “result”. For example, if there had been no effort within the movement itself to eliminate relations of power and domination, if the movement for freedom and equality had been dismissed as unnecessary (not as a matter of principle, but of principle), then it would not have been possible. If the movement for freedom and equality is dismissed as unnecessary then it is only natural that the revolution that results will be a poor one<sup>120</sup>.

This idea is directly connected to the guiding principles of the “people's movement,” “do what you want to do and what you can do,” “take the initiative in doing things,” and “don't complain about what others do,” which were spun out of Oda's experience in the Beheiren (Japan *Peace-for-Vietnam* Citizen's Alliance)<sup>121</sup>. Whether or not the Hakone Conference and the Beheiren can be compared in the same breath, the “movement” of the Hakone Conference, which had networking of networks, advocacy for advocacy's sake, and exchange for the sake of exchange “Ninai-te” as the substantive meaning of the conference, was also a “result” of the “affluence” inherent in the movement itself. It is undeniable that this “result” was inherited as a “permanent revolution” in the subsequent lives of the conference participants. Verification of this fact through concrete, individual “proof” will be an issue to be addressed in the future.

The emphasis on the richness of the movement itself also overlaps with Negri Hart's emphasis on “love,” “laughter,” and “joy” in the multitude. Negri and his colleagues emphasize “love” in the sense of “the expansion of human encounters and the joy that comes from constant collaboration” as an essential condition for absolute democracy.

The new movements demanding global democracy not only value the singularity of each as a fundamental organizing principle but they also pose it as a process of self-transformation, hybridization, and miscegenation. The multiplicity of the multitude is not just a matter of being different but also of becoming different. Become different than you are! These singularities, ac in common and thus form a new race, that is, a politically coordinated subjectivity that multitude produces. The Primary decision made by the multitude is really the decision to create a new race or, rather, a new humanity. When love is conceived politically, then this creation of a new humanity is the ultimate act of love.<sup>122</sup>.

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119 Minoru Oda, *Yonaoshi no Rinri to Ronri (Ethics and Logic of World Reconstruction)*, Iwanami Shinsho, vol. 1, pp. 39-40.

120 Ibid, p. 40.

121 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 230.

122 Antonio Negri, Michael Hart, translated by Sachiko Ikushima, *Multitude*, vol. 2, NHK Publishing, 2007, p. 261.

Immediately after the above quote in the “Summary,” Kenichiro Hirano concludes his “Summary” with the words, “You may be faced with a difficult situation, but I hope that you will be more and more active with deep contemplation of other cultures and, ultimately, with the goal of love for others as Lee Ki-ai (Shibasaki Note: a Hakone Conference participant) has said”<sup>123</sup>. If the significance of the Hakone Conference is reconsidered in this context, together with the “mutual recognition” and “mutual encouragement” in the aforementioned proposal at the 10th Conference, we can understand that it is more than a cliché, superficial or romantic and naive.

The third significance of the Hakone Conference, in terms of comparison with more concrete phenomena, is that it was an attempt to create a “World Social Forum” of sorts that emerged in Japan. As is well known, the World Social Forum (WSF) is a gathering of civil society organizations (CSOs) from around the world that was created in 2001 as a response to the Davos Forum<sup>124</sup>. While the Davos Forum is a forum for political and economic elites to discuss the economy of the “North,” the World Social Forum (WSF) was created as “Another World is Possible” with all civil society organizations and individuals as participants, excluding political parties, military organizations, and government agencies. The conference aims to prevent widening inequality, environmental destruction, suppression of human rights, discrimination, war, and destruction of local communities and traditional cultures. Basically, however, the conference itself has not made a significant impact by making any proposals as a whole, but has focused on interconnections among issues, between the local and the global, and between identities as a network of networks. This is a distinctive feature.

However, over the course of the meetings, there have arisen a number of issues, such as whether the holding of the meeting itself has meaning, whether individual participants find significance in participating in the meeting and whether it is sufficient for the meeting to function as an arena for discussion, or whether the “outcome” of the meeting itself has an impact, and conflicts over leadership, etc., have arisen and the WSF. The WSF has also diversified, with forums organized against the “mainstream,” a number of regional and national forums appearing derivatively, and the WSF itself being held simultaneously in various parts of the world in some years. Even today, there is an ongoing debate over the WSF’s continued self-definition as an open meeting space<sup>125</sup>.

The WSF continues, in a sense, to achieve some of its original objectives. On the other hand, the Hakone Conference ended its activities after 10 years, recognizing that it had achieved its original objectives. This is a major difference between the two. It is very difficult to say which of the two decisions, to continue or to stop, was more appropriate, but if the Hakone Conference had continued with its original philosophy, it would not have been able to avoid the criticism mentioned above, while allowing diversification and division by continuing to draw on its original character code, as the WSF did. In order to avoid such a situation, a new concept that would fundamentally redefine “international exchange,” “*Ninai-te*,” and “networks” would have been required, but this would not have been an easy task. The fact that the second Hakone Conference ended after only two years may be an endorsement of the difficulties involved.

The fact that the second Hakone Conference ended after only two years may have confirmed the difficulty. As Makoto Ikeda of HIF (see Part I), who experienced and was attracted to the Hakone Conference

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123 Kenichiro Hirano, “Summary,” above, p. 51.

124 On the WSF, William F. Fisher, Thomas Bonnier, and Tetsuro Kato, editors; Sadaharu Oya, So Shirai, Hibiki Yamaguchi, and Chigaya Kinoshita, translators, *Another World is Possible: World Social Forum and the People’s Alternative to Globalization*, Japan Economic Review, 2003.

125 For examples of recent criticism, see Francine Mestrum, “The World Social Forum is dead! Long live the World Social Forum?” (Friday 23, March 2018) (<https://www.alterinter.org/?The-World-Social-Forum-is-dead-Long-live-the-World-Social-Forum>), Roberto Savio, “Farewell to the World Social Forum?” (15.10.2019) (<https://www.pressenza.com/2019/10/farewell-to-the-world-social-forum/>).

when he was young, advocates “Revisiting the Hakone Conference,” the significance of reconnecting the various connections and expansions created by the Hakone Conference in the context of the 21st century, with “international exchange,” “*Ninai-te*,” and “networks” under such guiding concepts as multicultural conviviality and diversity. Although this paper has only provided a brief overview of the vast volume of the Hakone Conference, I would like to conclude with the hope that a more empirical and concrete examination will provide some clues to elucidate the relationship between the current “people's movement” and the “people's movement” of the past.

### **Part III From “Grand Design Theory” to “Catalyst Theory”**

#### **Section 1 “Catalyst Theory” as a Philosophy of International Relations**

This chapter will focus on the ideas concerning international cultural exchange that emerged during the period between the late 1990s, when the Hakone Conference (1988-97) was born as a gathering place for such activities, and their activities came to an end. Namely, I would like to discuss the creation and development of Norihiro Ito's Catalyst Theory.

Needless to say, there were many discussions on international exchange and international cultural exchange during this period. As already mentioned above, and as will be discussed below, the concept of “international exchange” during this period encompassed a very broad range of content, and there was no clear distinction between “international cooperation” and “international exchange”. Therefore, it is fair to say that all discussions that developed under the banner of “internationalization” as the key concept of the time had some form of direct or indirect relationship with international exchange and international cultural exchange.

In this sense, the “Catalyst Theory” is only one of the arguments that emerged in this context, and it is not the only absolute example that represents Japanese thought on international cultural exchange. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the subject of this thesis as a whole is the period from the late 1970s to the mid-1990s in Japan, when pioneering activities were generated by the private sector without necessarily relying on the state or government, and the government's public international exchange and international exchange activities were also supported by the private sector. This essay deserves to be considered as a unique argument that has emerged in a way that is distant from the government's official understanding and recognition of international exchange and international cultural exchange.

The ideas and philosophies of a person are, of course, an outgrowth of his or her personal experience, perception, and understanding, as well as inner concerns, but they are also formed from the particular historical context and position in which he or she was situated. His Catalyst theory is based on the historical process of the transformation of international cultural exchange in modern Japan, with the Hakone Conference at its core, into a “global” cultural exchange, which is the author's concern in this paper and others, and on his interaction with Akio and other people involved and participating in the Hakone Conference, as discussed in Part 1, and on his activities in the conference that played a role in transmitting the conference's philosophy. In this sense, it has significance to be included in the analysis.

Norihiro Ito's background is as follows: Born in 1946, he lived with his family on the West Coast of the U.S. during his junior and senior high school years, and after returning to Japan, he completed his graduate studies at Keio University's Graduate School of Law. In 1973, he began working for the Japan Foundation, from which he left in the mid-1980s to become the Executive Director of the Asia-Pacific Human Rights Information Center, and the Director of the Japan International Contribution School. He is currently the director of the International Exchange Joint Research Institute and a researcher of masks, and in recent years



has participated a tripartite discussion on the subject of masks<sup>126</sup>.

Ito has been involved in a wide range of international exchange and cultural exchange activities, making use of his excellent English and communication skills cultivated during his stay in the United States. Among them, he was the founder and initiator of the Hakone Conference (1988-9), Japan's first networking forum for private-sector international exchange group activities, together with Terumasa Akio, Kenjiro Mukai, Kenichiro Hirano, and Hiroyoshi Abe, all of whom are discussed in Part I. He is especially known for his contributions in setting the basic direction of discussions and agenda setting of this conference. This contribution has already been mentioned in part in another study<sup>127</sup>, but in this Part II, we will focus on the development of Ito's argument and examine it from the front.

The author's aim in considering Ito's argument is as follows. As this is not limited to the topic of international exchange or international cultural exchange, but when discussing, quoting, and referring to new and original theories, ideas, and philosophies on international relations or global relations, we tend to depend too much only to introduce works of foreign, especially English-speaking countries. Modern Japanese academia is fundamentally import-oriented, and the frequent use of imported technical terms "translated" into katakana and Chinese characters (Akira Yanabu) has become a means to an end in many cases, not to mention the criticisms of Yukichi Fukuzawa and Masao Maruyama. In the field of international relations thought, which is the author's area of specialization, there has been a slight increase in recent years in the number of studies of Western thinkers and researchers, but not necessarily in the number of studies of Japanese thought.

In the field of international exchange and international cultural exchange, this trend has basically continued unabated, from soft power to diversity. Of course, it is not necessary to deny this fact entirely, but it is important to examine the "internal" understanding and speculation in Japan, and to open it up in a global context by taking up the "Japanese" (I have discussed elsewhere that this adjective itself has various problems<sup>128</sup>) "idea" of international exchange and international cultural exchange and making it a projection of this "Japanese" idea. I believe that taking up the "idea" of international exchange and international cultural exchange and examining its scope and significance will serve as an important reference point when considering the nature of current and future exchanges.

As for Ito's essay, I began to pay attention to its originality as I continued my research on the Hakone Conference, and I reprinted his two major papers, "Grand Design" and "Catalyst," which had been difficult to obtain at the time, with their explanatory titles<sup>129</sup>. In addition, over the past 10 years, we have intermittently interviewed Ito and sometimes invited him to our seminars and classes to discuss these papers as subjects. Although there are still many issues to be addressed, this study is an interim report, presenting the results of our analysis up to this point.

The structure is as follows. First, in Section 2, we analyze the first major paper, "Grand Design Theory". Next, in Section 3, we examine the second major paper and representative work, "Catalyst Theory". Finally, we synthesize the findings in Sections 2 and 3 and present our conclusions.

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126 Norihiro Ito, Yuto Tomoeda, and Shinichi Nomura, "'Mask' Confesses," *Mita Review*, No. 1207 (January 2017) issue), pp. 50-60.

127 See Section I.

128 Atsushi Shibasaki, "Discipline's International Cultural Negotiations," in Aya Kuzutani and S. Shibasaki (eds.), *Is 'International Politics' Over? Reply from Japan*, Nakanishiya Publishing, 2018, chapter 3.

129 Norihiro Ito, "Introduction to Catalyst Theory," *Journal of Global Media Studies*, No. 19 (2016) (November), pp. 1-40, and "The 'Grand Design' of International Exchange: Dialogue between self/community and others/other world," *Journal of Global Media Studies* No. 20 (March 2017), pp. 1-23. Hereafter abbreviated as "Catalyst Theory" and "Grand Design Theory," respectively.

## Section 2: “Grand Design” Theory (1994)

### A. Background of the Emergence of the “Grand Design” Theory

The “Grand Design” theory was originally published in the May/June 1994 issue of *Global Age*, published by Keizai Shunju-sha. The Catalyst Theory, which is treated in the next section, was published two years later and is positioned as a potential preparation for the Catalyst Theory.

The historical background of the Grand Design Theory is as follows. First, the Grand Design Theory is closely related to the discussions at the Hakone Conference. The Hakone Conference, which started in 1988, can be roughly divided into four phases: the first phase from the 1st to the 3rd meeting, the second phase from the 4th to the 6th meeting, the third phase from the 7th and 8th meeting, and the fourth phase from the 9th and 10th meeting. The term “grand design” was first used as the theme of the 7th conference (1994). The “Grand Design for International Exchange: Toward the Transformation of Civil Society” (1994) and the “Grand Design for International Exchange: Toward the Transformation of Civil Society” (1995) were the first two conferences to use the term. According to the back matter of this issue of *Global Age*, it was published on June 10, 1994, and the 7th conference was held in 1994. Therefore, this paper was written to present the keynote of the Grand Design Theory at the Hakone Conference. This issue of “*Global Age*” is prefaced by this paper by Norihiro Ito and “Six Perspectives on International Exchange” by Takashi Ito (then at the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership), which are respectively entitled “Discussion (1)” and “Discussion (2)”.

The use of the term “grand design” in the third phase of the Hakone Conference can be attributed to a change in the character of the Hakone Conference itself. The conference had initially focused on a small number of leaders, but as the number of conference participants expanded quantitatively, many less experienced participants became involved, and at the same time, there was a movement to go beyond simply exchanging opinions to presenting specific ideas and presenting the direction of Japan's international exchange as a result of the conference. While the first phase of the conference discussed general themes such as “international exchange and Japanese society,” the second phase was one of the earliest in Japan to engage in full-fledged discussions on the main theme of “Kyousei,” or “coexistence,” and was followed by a series of practical discussions on how to develop international exchange strategically in a certain sense. The concept of “grand design” is closely related to the direction of the conference, along with “civil society” and “initiative” (which will be key concepts in the fourth phase), which also came to the fore in this third phase. The grand design theory presented by Ito, who has been deeply involved in the conference since its early days, has historical significance as an argument put forward in response to the dynamic development of the conference.

### B. “Grand Design” Theory

The “Grand Design” is structured as follows.

- 1 Introduction: Why is a long-term comprehensive strategy beginning to be called for - Five Background Reasons
- 2 Main Discussion How to move toward the 21st century: An exploration from eight perspectives
- 3 Conclusion Dialogue between “Self/Community” and “Alien/Other World”

In the introduction, it explained, first, the background behind the emergence of the need for a “grand design,” and second, the necessity of a grand design for the creation of a grand design for the Japanese Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs) active in the field of international exchange and cooperation. Second, the purpose

of the “grand design” theory is to provide the necessary perspective for the creation of a grand design. As already mentioned, the juxtaposition of “international exchange and cooperation” is a characteristic of this period's understanding. Ito defines the Grand Design as a “long-term comprehensive strategy” and a “comprehensive perspective map”<sup>130</sup>.

The first section is an explanation of the background: (1) the change that it has become necessary to “change, create, and develop the situation by ourselves,” rather than passively, (2) the increase in the types and forms of international exchange and cooperation, as represented by the diversification of actors, as represented by the increase in the number of international organizations and organizations. (3) The qualitative and spatial complexity of themes, and (4) The fact that international exchange and cooperation, which used to be categorized as domestic, international, or both domestic and international, must now always focus on both domestic and international activities and must be directed toward “a direction that can be shared with people around the world. (5) The increasing importance of “NPOs involved in international activities” and their growing social responsibility have brought about the need for a grand design<sup>131</sup>.

The argument in the introduction, which may seem obvious nowadays, reflects the image that people involved in “international exchange and cooperation” activities had in the early 1990s, when these activities were steadily expanding and diversifying, and the need for a grand design was brought about by the rapid acceleration of globalization. It is possible to read the historical contemporaneous image of the time when globalization was accelerating at a rapid pace. On the other hand, at a time when the diversity of activities had not been expanded and established to the extent that it is today, he designed a mixed image of various entities, including foreigners living in Japan, refugees, indigenous peoples, and even “sex workers, *yakuza*, gangsters, foreigners, mafia, and foreign squatters,” as shown in Table 3-1, and it is a unique point of view of his argument.

Based on this recognition, it is necessary to consider “who, for what (why), what, how, to/with whom, and where and for which region” In addition, the formation process of the “grand design” is to determine when and under what conditions to formulate strategies and tactics in the midst of changes on the domestic and international sides<sup>132</sup>.

In the following essay, while noting the danger of ideals turning into “fictions,” the author states that while ideals are necessary, they should not be “forced on others as the only universal and infallible one,” and should be made as soft as possible. In particular he argued that we should not be overly conscious of the idea of “Japan and the Japanese,” but should take the attitude of “I am--” and “We are--”. He then argues that new views should be explored in the eight areas of society, people, culture, education, civilization, science, history, and citizenship<sup>133</sup>.

The first view of society is based on peace, “social justice,” and in particular, an understanding of the nature of “multicultural society” in which diversification and integration are at odds with each other. Regarding his second view of the human person, he emphasizes an understanding of the perception of the “other” based on “the otherness” of the human person, the illusory nature of the other. The third view of culture is an understanding of “cultural differences and commonalities” and the preservation of the fundamental culture that has been traditionally inherited, which he calls “the seeds of culture. The fourth view of education examines the need to nurture ideas about human values such as (1) economic wealth, (2) personal cultural richness, (3) richness of human relationships, (4) worthwhile work, (5) a place of peace on which to depend, and (6) human life as basic human values<sup>134</sup>.

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130 Grand Design Theory, p. 1.

131 Ibid, pp. 1-4.

132 Ibid, pp. 5-7.

133 Ibid, p. 8.

134 Ibid, pp. 9-13.

The fifth concept of civilization is the need for a view of civilization that includes “a society in which diverse peoples can live peacefully without killing each other,” “how human beings can live together with others,” and “the coexistence of not only human beings but also nature and human beings”. The sixth view of science points out that science has the power to heal the various “sufferings” and “pains” of humankind, and that, as shown by the progress of communication technology, we can now share these pains and sufferings on a global scale in a contemporaneous manner and develop our own value judgments<sup>135</sup>.

Regarding the seventh perspective on history, Ito suggests that we should gain insight into the positive and negative legacies of various historical perspectives, and that we should regenerate humanity by reevaluating the “Ijin” (i.e., the “aliens”) who have moved human society and created culture, as well as the “Ijin” in terms of historical awareness. The eighth view of citizenship is that the internationality of citizens is defined by (1) being attractive as human beings themselves and having a “heart that resonates,” (2) being “internationalists” who can act internationally, (3) standing between “what is inside” and “what is outside” and acting as a catalyst for both, so to speak, and being “a person who is a catalyst for both” In other words, he defines “Catalysts” as “a free humanity that can always think as a human being and has a self unbound by anything,” and explains how difficult this is because one cannot easily free oneself from the “most troublesome spell” of “one's own feelings”.

It is worth noting that he states that “internationalists” do not necessarily possess the attributes of (1)<sup>136</sup>. In other words, one can be an internationalist even if one is not an attractive human being, and just because one works in a foreign country, speaks a foreign language, and is familiar with a foreign culture and society does not necessarily mean that one has an attractive human nature and a “heart that resonates” with others<sup>137</sup>.

The eight perspectives that make up this part of the essay include not a few references that seem to be close to a kind of cliché, both from the present and from a contemporaneous perspective. Among them, what deserves special attention are the ideas presented in terms such as aloofness, phantasmagoria, aliens, resonance, and catalyst, which are gradually beginning to develop in the second, the second half of the seventh, and the eighth part of the book.

In the second part of his view of human beings, Ito explains that “international exchange is basically conducted within the structure of 'self' and 'foreigners/nationals,’” but “when we think about the relationship between human beings on a deeper micro level, people who are different from ourselves are 'others,' in other words, a kind of 'aliens'. If it is a foreigner, it is an international exchange”. If the other person who is different from you is an “alien,” then naturally you are an “alien” to the other person. In other words, we can say that human beings are always “alien” in any situation. He goes on to say, “People can only recognize people with whom they have no direct contact through their imagination, a kind of assumption, or the greatest common denominator. This means that others must always be a kind of illusory existence,” and the “distortion and trivialization” of this illusory nature has led to conflicts and misunderstandings in human relationships<sup>138</sup>.

In many ways, this argument goes beyond the conventional conception of international exchange and international cultural exchange. International exchange in the socially accepted sense is a good thing, a wonderful thing, in part, because it is given authority as a special, privileged boundary that distinguishes it from other ends. However, Ito's contention is that both alienness and illusion exist equally between the self and the other in all kinds of inter-boundary relations, including the international. In other words, the “fundamental perception of human beings” has “more than just the bipolar structure of 'self' and 'foreigner/

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135 Ibid, pp. 13-15.

136 Ibid, pp. 15-16.

137 Ibid, pp. 17-18.

138 Ibid, pp. 10-11.

ethnic group”<sup>139</sup>.

Then, as now, many of those interested in and involved in international exchange and cooperation have, to a greater or lesser extent, regarded the boundary of “international” in a positive sense as special, and have felt a kind of longing and attraction that is different from other boundaries, and the same is probably true today, even though “global” is still prevailing. In addition, during the period of the Hakone Conference, when “internationalization” was being called for, the degree of longing and attraction was no less than that of the present day. Under such circumstances, it was in a sense groundbreaking that the Hakone Conference was able to present an argument that strongly criticize against the trend of wanting to think only of the “international” as the basis for blackmailing the “international” as nothing more than an alien and illusory nature. This is evident in comparison with articles in “Global Age,” which published various materials on the Hakone Conference, and “World Plaza,” which reflected the international exchange boom of the time, which were mainly based on the premise of yearning for such “internationality,” but at the same time, from a contemporaneous point of view, Ito's thought itself was also a reflection of the context of such “internationality. At the same time, however, it also means that Ito's thought itself clearly showed an opportunity to break through and deviate from the context of such “international” and was deviating from the context of the prevailing ideas of his time.

Moreover, although the paper mentions the term “Catalyst” but does not go into it in depth, the reference here became the source of the subject matter of the following discussion. In addition, the discussion of “resonance” based on illusory nature will be developed again in the “Catalyst Theory”<sup>140</sup>.

In the final “Conclusion,” Ito states that the grand design should be diverse, although it is necessary to have a philosophy, and that what is important is “how to go between 'the self and the community surrounding the self' and 'others, aliens, and their other worlds,’” and that “aliens are extraordinary people outside of our everydayness”. In principle, therefore, it is not necessary for the alien to be a foreigner or a different ethnic group, nor is it necessary to think of the otherworld as a foreign land or culture<sup>141</sup>.

Here, the grand design theory based on a certain Western civil society typology or classification in the first half is rather left behind in the concluding part. In the end, the “Phantasmagoric nature”<sup>142</sup> that sees through the essence of human beings and phenomena, the “one-place-absent nature” that has a free and pluralistic perspective, and the “discovery of the otherness of the self” that not only the other but also the self can be the other, are rather important, which, historically speaking, is the origin of the “*Hogahibito* [ , beggar],” a catalyst-like existence that dates back to the Manyo period (710-794)<sup>143</sup>.

### **From the Theory of International Exchange to the Theory of “Alien, Alien World” and Hogahibito-Theory**

Thus, with the “grand design” as the theme, he developed a kind of dry social scientific typology. However, he suddenly showed his thoughts on the view of human beings in the middle of the discussion, and it became his major turning point. Reflecting the discussions in the seventh section on historicity and the eighth section on the view of citizenship, He did not stop by showing his “Grand design thory” and finally proceeded to his own “Hogahibito-theory”.

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139 On this point, Shibasaki, “The History of International Relations Ideology: For the Study of Global Relations,” Iwanami Shoten, 2015, Introduction.

140 Grand Design Theory, above, p. 10.

141 Ibid, p. 20.

142 The word “phantasmagoric” was inspired by Akita Akihiro's “Genshi Ko (Phantasmagoric adventure): Kukubari Zo Konoiono Uta” (1970) (interview with Ito Norihiro, March 2, 2016).

143 See “Grand Design Theory,” pp. 19-21, above.

This “exceptional” development, so to speak, seems to indicate the footprints of Ito's thinking. What is more important is the attitude toward boundaries, and the “international” is not an exception to this rule. This view is in line with the author's awareness of the issue of “from the study of international relations to the study of global relations,” in which I argue that the boundary nature of international relations is losing its privileged character and that we should rather view all kinds of relations surrounding boundaries as global relations, regardless of the validity of their nomenclature. At a time when the cassette effect of “international” was even stronger than it is today, the author was presenting a framework that relativized and included “international” in a conference where leaders of international exchange and cooperation gathered<sup>144</sup>. Perhaps the first half could have been material for discussion, but it will be interesting to see how the second half was understood.

What his point about the attitude toward “boundaries” means, to put it another way, is that people who are engaged in “international” do not automatically resonate with each other simply because of that, and that people who advocate “international” do not necessarily have a rich humanity. Thus, the two perspectives of not privileging the boundary of “international” and being on the “international” scene (internationalist) and being able to realize a rich resonance do not necessarily coincide are extremely important.

### Section 3 “Catalyst Theory” and Mask Theory

#### A. Process of Establishment of “Catalyst Theory

Ito's discussion does not stop at a narrowly defined theory of international exchange, but moves in the direction of further developing the “grand design” theory. The “Introduction to Catalyst Theory” was originally published in *Introduction to International Exchange* (supervised by Katsutoshi Enokida, ALC, 1996). The book was edited and published based on omnibus lectures given at Aichi Shukutoku University in 1995. Ito was inspired to write this paper during a question-and-answer session after a lecture at Aichi Shukutoku University, when he was asked, “What kind of person exactly do you mean by 'Catalyst', Ito? The question “What kind of person exactly do you mean by 'Catalyst'?”<sup>145</sup>

This paper is divided into three parts: Part 1, Part 2, Part 3, and Part 4-6, and Part 7 is a tentative conclusion. The paper is roughly divided into two parts, with the first half focusing on Catalyst theory in general, and the second half focusing on Catalyst theory in particular. The first half of the paper is a comprehensive account of Ito's own thinking on Catalyst theory in general, based on his lectures, with little or no citations. The second half is an overview of the “Hogahibito” theory of *Manyoshu* and other works that form the background of the Catalyst theory, based on previous studies by Orikuchi Nobuo, Naramoto Tatsusaburo, Tsuchihashi Hiroshi, Yoshida Shusaku, and others. In this second part, the author draws on his experience of studying *Kojiki* and *Nihonshoki* with students of the Faculty of Letters under Matsumoto Nobuhiro in graduate school after his return from the U.S. The first half of the paper on catalyst, is an overview of the theory of international exchange. The catalyst theory in the first half of the book alone is original enough, but when combined with the “hogahibito” theory in the second half, it makes up a whole volume, a style of discussion unparalleled in the history of Japanese international exchange and international cultural exchange theory.

According to an interview with Ito, he had originally planned to follow this essay with “Part III,” in which he would discuss how the second part, “Hogahibito” and the first part, “Catalyst,” are connected, and how they should be connected, but the deadline for the manuscript has already been exceeded. However, the deadline for the manuscript has already been exceeded, and the project has been abandoned.

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144 Atsushi Shibasaki, “The Future of International Exchange Studies: From the Study of International Relations to the Study of Global Relations,” Annual Report of Political Science 2015-I, Kotakusha, 2015.

145 Interview with Norihiro Ito (March 2, 2016).

## B. Introduction to Catalyst (1996)

The structure of “Introduction to Catalyst” is as follows.

### Part 1

Section 1: Who is Catalyst?

Section 2: Perspective of Catalyst Theory

Section 3: Attributes of Catalysts and their Structure

### Part 2

Section 4: Catalysts and “Hogahibito”

Section 5: Various Essays on “beggars” and their “poems”

Section 6: Illusions and Realities of “Hogahibito”

### Conclusion

Section 7: Why we need the Catalyst in Contemporary Society Again?

In Section 1, based on the etymology and usage of the term “Catalyst,” we define a Catalyst as “a person who acts based on new noble ideas, intentions, values and plans to inspire people and society and to bring about change”. The purpose of the paper is to “trace the meaning of catalytic action back to its depths and pursue its principle,” starting from the observation of “surface phenomena” visible to Catalyst, and “clarify from a comprehensive perspective what kind of structure of people is capable of catalytic action,” and to “identify the structure of people who are capable of catalytic action, and how this structure can be used as a catalyst for change”. The paper will also “consider what this means for each of us and for our society and culture in the present and future”<sup>146</sup>.

In line with the theory of “alien/other worlds” presented in the “Grand Design Theory,” in which international exchange can be analyzed within this framework, the Catalyst is a catalyst for relations with alien/other worlds, and a mediator between the everyday and the extraordinary. By using these concepts, which have been discussed in folklore, cultural anthropology, and history, he hopes to help construct a “comprehensive paradigm for international exchange” through the catalyst theory, which “at first glance seems to be a logical leap” from the perspective of international exchange theory. In other words, by examining the “alien and the otherworldly,” we can “understand what international exchange is inquiring into in principle”<sup>147</sup>.

Starting from the limited and illusory nature of human recognition, and relying on Tamio Hojo's “The First Night of Life” (1936), he argues, “Recognizing human beings depends on how each person perceives the ‘human echo’”. In the second section, he discusses the catalyst theory and its implications for the “resonance of resonance”<sup>148</sup>.

In Section 2, the typology of Catalyst Theory is presented in a style similar to the first half of the “Grand Design Theory”. In other words, (1) Social Transformation Catalyst, (2) Cultural Creation Catalyst, (3) Historical Inheritance Catalyst, (4) Multicultural Arrangement Catalyst, (5) Intercultural Exchange Catalyst, (6) Boundary Mediation, (7) Religious Catalyst, (8) Spiritual Catalyst, (9) Intellectually Inducing Catalyst,

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146 Catalyst Theory, pp. 1-2.

147 Ibid, pp. 3-4.

148 Ibid, p. 5.

(10) Information Transmission, and (11) Community Transformation. Of these, we place particular emphasis on (1), (2), and (11)<sup>149</sup>.

The Social Transformation Catalyst “deciphers the horror that undermines human dignity, awakens people, improves and changes the situation, and nudges people in the direction of removing the horror”. To do so, one must have the ability to “have a sense of curse and festivity to heal pain,” “have a view of history and human nature that understands human dignity,” “have individual ideas that maintain one’s own attributes but are not bound by spells,” “have appropriate expression and persuasive power,” “have a “stomach” to carry the problem,” and “have warmth and generosity as a human being. It is necessary to have “warmth and generosity as a human being. Here, he refers to the qualities of the so-called “inclination,” especially with regard to the curse and festivity, which will be connected to the discussion in Part 2<sup>150</sup>.

The following cultural-creative catalyst is a person who “engages in a sincere dialogue with the culture that humans have created so far, reads it, revives what it symbolizes under contemporary conditions, explores the boundless world of humans anew, expresses that world with his/her whole personality based on his/her own sensitivity, awareness, and ideas, and, with the appearance of his/her revelation, creates a new world in which people can live in harmony with the past and the future”. Through the expression of these ideas, he or she will bring people into contact with the depth and richness of the human condition that they have never been able to experience before, and will work with the times to restore and revitalize the views of humanity and culture of those who are touched by these ideas, as well as their own humanity. Such human resources are needed under a crisis against the decline of the “cultural species,” as mentioned in the “Grand Design Theory”. The cultural situation is such that “ordinary Japanese are being produced every day who have nothing to say about Japanese culture, and who have no appeal in the international community,” and who “cannot be treated as mature individuals in the international community unless they can at least talk about their own culture. If they cannot at least talk about their own culture, they cannot be treated as a mature human being in the international community. We are concerned that we do not have the cards of exchange to establish and perpetuate dialogue in the international community”<sup>151</sup>.

In the “Catalyst for Historical Inheritance,” the storyteller who tells the stories of peoples and people and the listener who listens to them must recover from the loss of the situation; in the “Catalyst for Multicultural Exchange,” the minority must face and overcome the history of oppression and resentments; and in the “Catalyst for Intercultural Exchange,” the minority must “take the role of a catalyst for the rites of passage between peoples and cultures”. In the “Intercultural Exchange Catalyst,” the catalyst is a “priest of rites of passage between people and cultures” who creates new cultures by transforming heterogeneity through exchange; in the “Boundary Mediation Catalyst,” the catalyst restores the power to mediate between the principle of human existence in the extraordinary and everydayness; in the “Religious Catalyst,” the catalyst mediates between the sacred and the profane through festivals and curses. The “spiritual catalyst” is a “floating person” who belongs to the lineage of celebration, and whose presence and actions impress the viewer and influence human development<sup>152</sup>.

Concerns about the current “decline” of Japanese culture and the Japanese people can also be seen in the discussion of intellectually-induced catalysts. The tendency toward “manual methods of learning and thinking,” “poor vocabulary and expression,” and “too little endurance for not having the answers,” are all seen in the discussion. They are trying to find the answer only in the quick and easy way. And they want someone else to provide the answer. Manuals may be necessary to some extent for the operation of opportunities. However, “in order to decipher the various symbolism and metaphor surrounding human

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149 Ibid, p. 7.

150 Ibid, pp. 8-11.

151 Ibid, pp. 11-13.

152 Ibid, pp. 13-19.



beings and to have one's own insight based on the workings of human beings, the various aspects of society and the role of culture, as well as the view of history, it goes without saying that there are no answers and no manuals. And there is no manual for human life anywhere in the world. This discussion of the culture-creating and intellectually triggering type will be connected to the conclusion of Section 7<sup>153</sup>.

The remaining “Information Transmitting Catalysts” discuss the importance of consciously controlling the “catalytic effect of information” in the information society, while the “Community Transforming Catalysts” again discuss the role of “foreigners in a *mura* society. Here, Ito mentions the international exchange meeting in the first section as follows.

More than ten years ago, I heard a story about a person who revitalized a depopulated village in southern Hokkaido through international exchange activities. Kenichiro Hirano, a professor at the University of Tokyo at the time, remarked with an unintentional sincerity, “Marebito(almost same as Hogahibito/alien: author notes) are necessary to bring catharsis to a *mura* (village), aren't they? The person who was talking about revitalizing the *mura* (Akio: Shibasaki's note) was also a stranger and a foreigner to the *mura*. It was also the foreign students who had a great catalytic effect on the *mura* community<sup>154</sup>.

Section 3 describes the attributes of the Catalyst, such as the curse of festivity and curse-ness, chanting, vision, deviation, judgment, figuration, and illusion, in addition to the concepts of absence from one place and stranger-ness, which were also mentioned in the “Grand Design Theory”<sup>155</sup>. In addition, sections 4 to 6 trace the original form of “Hogahibito” in the Manyoshu through literary criticism, in an attempt to prove that “Hogahibito” is the original image of the Catalyst<sup>156</sup>.

Of course, “contemporary Catalysts cannot be aware of such things,” but “Hogahibito” raises “more fundamental questions about the human condition” in the first place, and given the affiliations described in Section 3, we conclude that the international recognition of “transformative ones” alone is conclude that it is not necessarily sufficient<sup>157</sup>. Strictly speaking, the discussion in Sections 4 through 6 led to the attribution of “Hogahibito” in Section 3, and more strictly speaking, the attribution of catalyst can be expressed in terms of the attribution of “Hogahibito” in Section 3. In other words, it is necessary to discuss whether “Hogahibito” can be said to be the original image of Catalyst, but it is difficult to say that we have gone into this part sufficiently. We will deal with this point later.

Section 7, the conclusion, once again sounds the alarm about the crisis of humanity.

If we are asked why we are so concerned about Catalyst and Hogahibito, frankly speaking, there is only one answer. It is because I feel a sense of crisis and a sense of regret that the fertility and freedom that human beings were originally meant to possess is slowly and inexplicably fading away. This is especially true in Japan. Despite having such a wonderfully fertile human culture, it has not been handed down to the next generation, and the number of people who can dexterously respond to situations has increased, and I do not feel the diverse resonance of humanity. Human beings are becoming boringly serious. We are becoming monotonous. What will happen if things continue as they are? There is such a sense of anxiety.

People are becoming less interesting. We are becoming less attractive. I feel as if something very

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153 Ibid, pp. 19-21.

154 Ibid. p. 21.

155 Ibid, pp. 22-26.

156 Ibid, pp. 26-38.

157 Ibid, p. 38.

important is being cut away. And they don't notice it. Am I the only one who feels this way?<sup>158</sup>

This is a collective expression of the argument that has already been partially mentioned in Section 2. Ito attributes this decline in humanity to the fact that people no longer open themselves to the “original landscape of humanity” (i.e., the relationship with the “other world and other people”). This is because many people have fallen into a state in which “to treat the other world as the other world is the same as shrinking the human world,” and by confining themselves to their self-evident daily lives, they have drifted away from understanding the extraordinary world of “other people and other worlds,” which is the source of “human richness and the possibility of unlimited human freedom”.

Yes, people are good. They rarely do anything to mock others. They have a certain sense of justice. They are kind. But the original landscape of human beings has become too homogeneous.

Where do they find the reason for their existence? What do they have as speakers? When I asked them what makes them Japanese, their answers were mostly vague. If they can continue to live with that, it may be all right. I am not saying that they should be proud of being Japanese. If you happen to have been born and raised in Japan, I wanted to ask you what kind of views on people, culture, history, and society you have developed through your experiences there. People in every country have developed their own views while thinking about these issues. They are also trying to exchange and dialogue about their experiences, perceptions, and knowledge in the international community and, on the basis of these experiences, to think about the future of human beings and human society with the people of the world<sup>159</sup>.

Thus, behind the Catalyst theory was the sense of cultural crisis that Ito was feeling at the same time that internationalization was being called for and international exchange activities were rapidly expanding. This sense of crisis may also reflect Ito's observations of the Hakone Conference as it underwent a transformation from its original role as a forum for discussion among a small number of experienced international exchange and cooperation specialists to a forum for exchange among a large and diverse group of participants, regardless of their level of experience, who were all involved in international exchange and cooperation.

Ito did not develop a straightforward theory of international exchange after that, but rather, in parallel with his catalyst theory, he began to examine the mask theory, which had been the subject of his research for a long time. Although these studies were connected to some extent to the “Hogahibito” theory, they were basically a genealogy of masks in historical context<sup>160</sup>.

## Conclusion

The “Grand Design” theory and the “Catalyst” theory were developed by Ito, who was at the core of the Hakone Conference, a network conference of international exchange leaders held in response to the growing number of democratically led international exchange activities throughout Japan, including the HIF, and the Hakone Conference, which was organized in response to this trend.

First, he pointed out that it is not possible to be a “Catalyst” simply by transcending national borders, and second, “International” is not the only boundary, but “International” is also only one of the boundaries in the sense of Hogahibito. Put another way, there are and can be many people in this world who are involved

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158 Ibid.

159 Ibid. p. 39.

160 Norihiro Ito, “The Cosmology of the Mask Culture in Japan” (2), Plaza No.76 (2006), pp.40-41, “The Cosmology of the Mask Culture in Japan” (4), Plaza, pp. 34-35. Written in both Japanese and English, (1), (3), (5) and following have not been seen.

in something international but are not able to stand between the boundaries, and there are and can be many people in various places that have nothing to do with something international at all, who stand on the boundaries that should be needed in the international and have great power as catalysts. This is to say that there are and can be many people in this world who are excellent catalysts.

This point can be a strong criticism of the situation in which people often assume that something is more wonderful if it is “international” than if it is only domestic, and they often use this assumption to use “international” as an authority figure for themselves. In this sense, Ito's argument is like a severe questioning of the assumptions of those who, in the late 80's and early 90's, felt that “international” had a more cassette-effective appeal than it does today, and gathered together to discuss the issue. It seems to me that Ito's argument contained something like the following. Moreover, in response to the viewpoint that “international” is superior to “domestic” in the sense that “international” has something wonderful that “domestic” does not have, I would rather present the viewpoint that “international” is just one of the phases included in the alien-Hogahibito theory, and in this respect, “international exchange. It seems that in some respects it is difficult to say that a discussion that went so far out of its way in the midst of the “international exchange” boom was welcomed, understood, and accepted without reservation at the time.

However, as the changes that have taken place over the 40 years of the HIF show, we are now in a situation where international exchange is being transformed into a global exchange, in which “international” is being downgraded to a one of a kind inter-boundary relationship. In the current situation in which international exchange is being transformed into global exchange in such a way that “international” is downgraded to one of a kind, his discussion of how to create rich inter-boundary relations that encompass the “international” in accordance with the pre-modern Japanese tradition may take on a more actual significance. This is an idea that reflects his own experience of standing in the gap between cultures since his youth, and of working on various human rights issues at the Asia-Pacific Human Rights Information Center, and that resonates with the practice based on “a society that supports diversity together” as presented by HIF.

## Epilogue

In Part I, I examine the formation process of the “International Exchange Gathering,” a groundbreaking private-sector international exchange activity during the 40-year period from the late 1970s to the present, and the process of HIF's transformation from an organization engaged only in international exchange in the narrow sense to one that aims to create a “society that supports diversity together,” and how this development can be seen as a shift from “international” exchange to “global” exchange.

Part II discusses the historical and contemporary significance of the Hakone Conference (“International Exchange Leaders Network Conference”) held from 1988 to 1997, focusing on the process of its establishment. The historical significance of the Hakone Conference was that it provided a forum for collaboration to explore and derive the idea of international exchange, which expanded and promoted the practice, in the process of the quantitative expansion of international exchange in the formative years of civil society activities in Japan around the end of the Cold War. The symbiosis, exchange, and festive elements of the Hakone Conference contributed to the cultivation of Negri-Hart's multitude of subjects who realized “togetherness” through collaboration and communication, and the exchange itself had elements that created what Kant called “Kunst” in the sense that it enriched, brought joy, and deepened daily life. In this sense, it had a contemporary significance in forming a network of civil society connections within Japanese society, as seen later in the World Social Forum, which was established as a response to the Davos Forum.

In Part III, through the analysis of the “grand design” and “Catalyst” theories published in the early to mid-1990s, I argued that Norihiro Ito's theory of international exchange deepened from a narrowly defined theory of international exchange to a theory of human liberation that focused on seeking ways to overcome the

oppression and suffering of people based on the existence of a wide range of boundaries. The development of this theory can be seen as a shift from the idea of “international” exchange to the idea of “global” exchange.

Through these three examples of practice and thought, we have shown that both the practice and thought of international exchange in Japan have produced original thought and practice on the issue of how to tackle the problems posed by the existence of diverse differences and the boundaries that give rise to them, starting from the international and including the international. These speculations and practices were a process of trial-and-error in dealing with various artificially formed boundaries that did not deny the “international,” but were not to be subsumed under the “international. In this sense, the transformation from the 1970s to the 1990s can be regarded as an embryonic process of reorganization of thought and action from international cultural exchange to global cultural exchange.

Of course, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, HIF, Akio, the Hakone Conference and its participants, and Ito were not the only ones who had this perspective, but various people at various places in that period engaged in various activities and speculations. This paper is an attempt to discover the seeds of the transformation from “international” to “global”.



Figure 1-1 Hakodate(8.19.1979)



Figure 1-3 Tour Schedule on Aug. 25th



Figure 1-2 Gathering at Onakayama Elementary School



Figure 1-4 Picture of the 1st Tsudoi







Figure 1-11 Cover of the picture book, “Me and Brother Alves”



Figure 1-12 Website of HIF





Figure 2-1 Leaflet of the 1st Hakone Conference, 1988

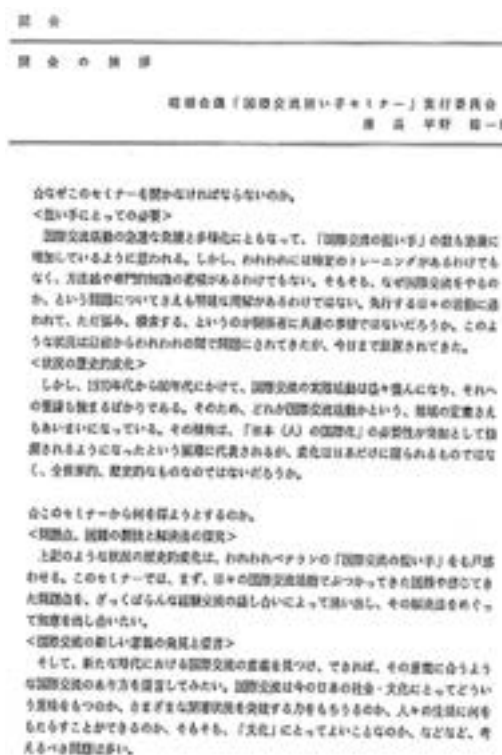


Figure 2-2 Opening Remarks by Kenichiro Hirano



Figure 2-3 Graffiti of 5th Hakone Conference

国際交流の動機・理念・形態・内容を総合的に考慮してそれらの類型（タイプロジー）を再構成してみると以下の図の通りとなる。



●それぞれの国際交流活動には、一つの側面だけでなく、はじめから多面性を持っているものもあり、また同時に一面面しかかったものでも事業活動の進展とともに、他の側面が追加され複合的になってきて、一つのカテゴリーだけにおさまることとはできなくなってきている。つまり、ますます複合化ようになってきているのである。

Figure 3-1 Typology of International Exchange

Organizations		Individual Actors
1. International Organizations	11. General Private foundations	21. Teachers, Scholars, Intellectuals
2. Government-related cultural organizations	12. Religious Groups	22. Artists, Performers, Athletes
3. Government-related foundations	13. Religion Related Foundations	23. Pupils, Students
4. Municipalities	14. General NPOs	24. Citizens, Farmers, etc...
5. Municipality-related private sectors	15. Grass-roots International NPOs	25. Sex-industry related people, Yakuza, Gangsters, International-Gangsters, Mafias, Wanderers
6. Corporations	16. General Private NPOs	26. Permanent/Non-Permanent/Temporal foreign Residents, Refugees
7. Media	17. International NPOs	27. Indigenous Peoples, Ethnic Minorities
8. Corporation-related international foundations	18. Educational/Academic/Research Institutions	28. Discriminated Peoples, Cultural/Social Minorities
9. Corporation-related foundations	19. Cultural Organizations	29. Individuals in the organizations
10. Private international foundations	20. Museums, etc.	

Figure 3-2 List of Actors in International Exchange Activities and International/Intercultural Contact