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A SURVEY OF EASTERN EUROPE FROM THE VIEWPOINT  
OF JAPANESE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS  
— AN INTERIM REPORT\* —

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So-called "East European" countries lying between the Baltic and the Black Seas have been one of those areas least known to Japanese people.<sup>(1)</sup> The reason for this is easy to surmise: Japan is neither a European local power nor a great power whose sphere of interest extends on the global scale. Japanese people have generally been indifferent to East European events since they have given relatively little impact upon Japan's situation. It is only in recent years that "reportages" by Japanese visitors to East European countries have begun to arouse concern about those countries among Japanese readers.<sup>(2)</sup>

This state of affairs, however, does not justify neglect of the study of East European affairs on the part of Japanese social scientists. Indeed, study of East European countries will not only make up the deficit of their knowledge concerning that part of the world. It will also furnish Japanese social scientists with opportunities for considering in comparative terms various problems that they have confronted.<sup>(3)</sup> It is even expected that the study of East European experiences may

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\* It is impossible in such a short report to refer to or to quote all the excellent articles written on this subject by many scholars. The author wishes herewith to apologize to those scholars who may feel that their works have been slighted or overlooked.

(1) The area concerned has generally been called "To-O" in Japanese. The word precisely corresponds to "Eastern Europe" in English. "To-Chuo," which means "East Central Europe," has not yet attained citizenship in Japan; therefore it is not so familiar in this country as its English counterpart is in the English speaking world.

(2) Among these works are;

NHK (Japanese Broadcast) Special Correspondents: *To-O o Yuku* (A Journey through Eastern Europe), 1963. The authors visited those countries in 1962. The content of the book was originally broadcasted through television.

Saito Masami: *Arashi ni Tatsu Kuniyuni* (Countries Facing the Storm), 1963. The book includes three chapters on Poland and Czechoslovakia, which countries the author visited as a correspondent of Kyodo Tsushin in 1957-8.

(3) On the one hand, Japanese students have been concerned with East European affairs in terms of similarity of social structure. In that context, various articles have referred to such matters in Eastern Europe as agrarian questions, military dictatorship between the Wars and so forth. On the other hand, remarkable differences between East European and Japanese historical experiences have also been pointed out: East European history has been characterized by checkered relationship of diversified nationalities, while much has been discussed on national homogeneity of Japanese people resulting from their relatively isolated position.

ultimately provide them with some viewpoints for reappraisal of the situation of their own country.<sup>(4)</sup>

The purpose of this essay is to contribute to the development of East European study in Japan through examining works that have been made by Japanese social scientists in their research on the area concerned. The writer will first look back upon Japanese publications on East European countries and then, as a preparatory work for his own research, give some consideration on conceptions under which those scholars have treated those countries.<sup>(5)</sup>

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Although Japanese writings about East European countries are relatively few in number, they did make their appearance during the years preceding World War II. This writer is still unable to give any solid idea of their periodization, but tentatively assumes three periods in the history of East European study in Japan: the pre-War days, the period just after World War II, and these years since around the middle of the 1950's.

The first period corresponds to the so-called Inter-War period beginning with the collapse of multinational empires, and ending with the Axis' conquest of those newly-born nations. Throughout those years East European countries remained as "another world" for the general public in Japan, though some organizations were born for the purpose of promoting Japanese friendship with such countries as Poland, Hungary and so forth. Publications by those societies more often than not complained that Japan had a history of poor intercourse with East European countries with the exception of an episode constituting a phase of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.<sup>(6)</sup> During this period only a few intellectuals, including philologists, took interest in the national cultures of East European peoples. In spite of such a poor record of mutual contact, we still have several interesting works on East European countries published by Japanese social scientists during these two decades. They can be grouped into three categories.

First, we have some works by specialists of diplomatic history. Those scholars watched closely the political development in the East European area as forming a

(4) One student told this writer that knowledge of East European history would be helpful to those who wish to shed light on the pattern of mutual relationship between nationalities in East Asia. Recently there has developed a trend among Japanese historians toward reconsidering the history of Japan in the context of East Asian history.

(5) Japanese works on East European literary works, arts, music, linguistics or archeology have of course been published in number, but they naturally fall outside the scope of the present essay.

(6) At the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) leaders of various oppressed nationalities in the Tsarist Empire expected much from the "enemy of their enemy." Some of them came into contact with secret Japanese agents in Europe to buy and smuggle arms from abroad.

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zone of "danger spots" in world politics. For instance, just after World War I Shinobu Jumpei, Professor at Waseda University, wrote a book entitled "Dream of Eastern Europe"<sup>(7)</sup> and a companion volume "History of Balkan Diplomacy."<sup>(8)</sup> Both are voluminous accounts of East European international relations leading up to the eve of World War I. Shinobu, a pioneer in the field of diplomatic history as well as international law, recalls in the preface to the latter volume how Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō suggested to him the idea of studying East European affairs when Shinobu was dispatched to Vienna as a diplomat in 1910. Toward the end of the 1930's keen interest was again focused upon the situation in Eastern Europe, and some more works were published by authors who had had careers as diplomats. Among them is a short and handy guidebook of the Balkan situation by Ashida Hitoshi who was a diplomat at that time and later became Prime Minister.<sup>(9)</sup>

As the second group of writings about Eastern Europe, one can mention a few works by Japanese specialists of agrarian economy. Their topics were land reforms which took place all over Eastern Europe just after World War I. The most important work is "History of Land Reforms in Post-War Europe" published in 1935 by Tanabe Katsumasa, an official at the Tenant Section of the Ministry of Agriculture.<sup>(10)</sup> In this book Tanabe described the historical background, the process and the results of land reforms in Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, three Baltic States, Greece, Bulgaria and Hungary. In the author's opinion, those radical reforms of landownership carried within the framework of capitalism were full of suggestions for contemporary Japan in view of the fact that they could be regarded as successful cases of the policy of improving agricultural conditions through fostering freeholders.<sup>(11)</sup> Another well-known work of this type is "Land Systems and Land Policies in Central European Countries" written by Sawamura Yasushi in 1930.<sup>(12)</sup> The author examined conservative approaches toward the problem of freeholders by the German, Austrian and Hungarian Governments.

Thirdly, there appeared an interesting book which attempted a historical sketch

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(7) Shinobu Jumpei: *To-O no Yume* (Dream of Eastern Europe), 1919.

(8) Shinobu Jumpei: *Barukan Gaikoshi Ron* (History of Balkan Diplomacy), 1921.

(9) Ashida Hitoshi: *Barukan* (The Balkans), 1939. Among other works dealing with politics and diplomatic entangles are; Kimura Atsushi: *Porando Koboshi Kan* (The Rise and Fall of Poland), 1940. This is an account of Polish politics between the Wars.

Oya Kusuo: *Barukan Kinto no Senji Gaiko* (The Wartime Diplomacy in the Balkans and the Near East), 1941. A report by a journalist.

(10) Tanabe Katsumasa: *Sengo Oshu ni okeru Tochiseido Kaikakushi Ron* (History of Land Reforms in Post-War Europe), 1935.

(11) Tanabe further developed his study, and three years later published *Tochiseido Kenkyu* (Study on Land System), in which he made a comparative study of land problems in various countries including China and Korea.

(12) Sawamura Yasushi: *Chu-O Shokoku no Tochiseido oyobi Tochiseisaku* (Land Systems and Land Policies in Central European Countries), 1930.

of peoples in the Danubian basin. Orui Noburu, Professor at Tohoku University, wrote a series of guidebooks about contemporary European powers, one of which was published under the title of “East-Central Europe.”<sup>(13)</sup> Orui wrote the book with the assistance of a young historian, Haginaka Mitsuo. The book covers stories of the Hapsburg Monarchy as well as the “Succession States.” That was really the first scholarly work done by Japanese students in the field of East European history.

World War II brought about drastic socio-economic and political changes in countries between Germany and Russia. Regimes of “People’s Democracy” were established in most of these countries under the growing influence of the Soviet Union. The words “Eastern Europe” were now synonymous with the “Soviet bloc,” and East European countries became the subject of discussion in view of their post-War radical transformations. The political and legal systems of East European states were discussed as part of the study on the theory and practice of People’s Democracy. One such case is “Study on People’s Democracy,” a joint work by nine scholars.<sup>(14)</sup> The socio-economic basis of those political changes was also analyzed. For instance, Udaka Motosuke, Professor at Tokyo University, surveyed the setting, the process and the effects of East European land reforms in the post-War period.<sup>(15)</sup> As for international relations within the Soviet bloc, very few works appeared at that time. Inoki Masamichi, Professor at Kyoto University, presented his unique view on the Soviet-Yugoslav split of 1948 in a biographical essay on Tito.<sup>(16)</sup>

Events since around the middle of the 1950’s have caused the monolithic image of the Soviet bloc to fade, and Japanese people have begun to see events in “Eastern Europe” more in the light of their national variation. Although the present writer cannot exactly tell how such a situation is reflected in it, Japanese works on East European countries remarkably increased in number and variety. There has gradually appeared a trend among Japanese publications toward shedding more light

(13) Orui Noburu: *Rekkyo Gensei Shi; To-Chuo Shokoku* (History of Contemporary Powers; East Central Europe), 1939.

(14) Tozawa Tetsuhiko & Takahashi Yuji eds.: *Jimmin Minshushugi no Kenkyu* (Study on People’s Democracy), 1955-6, 2 vols. The book includes the following articles: “The Substance of East European People’s Democracies” by Yanagi Haruo (Professor at Kyushu University), “The Election System in East European People’s Democracies” by Inako Tsuneo (Professor at Nagoya University) and “The Development of Theories on People’s Democracy” by Yokogoshi Eiichi (Professor at Nagoya University).

(15) Udaka Motosuke: “To-O Shokoku ni okeru Tochi Kaikaku to Nogyo no Saihensei” (The Land Reform and the Reorganization of Agriculture in East European Countries), *Shakai Kagaku* (Tokyo University), Mar. 1956.

(16) Inoki Masamichi: “Chito (Tito),” in *Kokusai Seiji no Tenkai* (The Development of International Politics), 1956.

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upon the historical background of contemporary East European countries, or considering East European affairs more in the light of their historical singularities.

Especially remarkable were activities by philologists, archeologists and students of literature who had specialized in cultures of East European countries even from pre-War years. For instance, the first general survey of East European history ever written in the Japanese language was published in 1958 by those scholars.<sup>(17)</sup> The book treats the histories of Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, covering all the ages ranging from ancient to modern. It was written by six co-authors, all of whom had rich experiences of life in pre-War or post-War East European countries. An encyclopedic book about modern Bulgaria was also published by another philologist and archeologist, Imaoka Juichiro.<sup>(18)</sup> The author touched on almost all aspects of modern and contemporary Bulgarian life including such fields as arts, literature, politics and foreign relations.

Historians and social scientists have also begun to publish their works on various aspects of East European countries. Some scholars, who had already made remarkable achievements in their research on European Great Powers, have taken an interest in East European countries as the important peripheries of the areas that they had specialized in. Not a few younger students have begun to choose East European countries as the subjects of their area studies from the beginning of their academic careers.

To begin with works treating the historical aspects of those countries, problems of the Hapsburg Empire and the "Succession States" have been taken up by a number of scholars. For instance, Yada Toshitaka, Professor at Hokkaido University, who had been known for works on the German revolution of 1848, has recently moved to the analysis of national questions in the Hapsburg Monarchy, and has written several articles on Palacky's national movements and Renner's and Bauer's political ideas.<sup>(19)</sup> He is of the opinion that Renner's and Bauer's programs for the reorganization of the multinational empire had been doomed to failure, but that their motives and efforts should be reappraised in the light of the later development of events such as the formation of the EEC. Murase Okio, Professor at Seikei University, has made a detailed work on the political situation of the Haps-

(17) Umeda Tadayoshi ed.: *To-O Shi* (History of Eastern Europe), 1958. This was published as one volume of "History of an Individual Country Series" by Yamakawa Publisher. Other volumes treat such areas as America, Russia, Britain, France, Northern Europe, Central Europe, Southern Europe, Western Asia, and China.

(18) Imaoka Juichiro: *Burugaria* (Bulgaria), 1962.

(19) Yada Toshitaka: "Paratsuki to Osutoria Surabushugi ni tsuite (On Palacky and Austrian Slavism)," *Hokudai Hogaku Seijigaku Ronshu* (Hokkaido University), 1960; "Osutoria Shakai Minshuto to Minzoku Mondai (The Austrian Social Democratic Party and the National Question)," *Slavic Studies* (Hokkaido University), 1963.

burg Monarchy as the background of Adolf Hitler's ideological development. That work constitutes a part of his substantial biography of Hitler.<sup>(20)</sup> Political problems of the Empire during and at the end of World War I have been discussed by Toda Misato, a graduate student at Tokyo University. She has especially written about the Austrian socialists' attitudes toward the problem of peace and war.<sup>(21)</sup> The rise and fall of the Hungarian Soviet Republic was described by Saito Minoru, a member of the Association of National Economy.<sup>(22)</sup> The socio-economic aspects of the Danubian states have also been analyzed. Shindo Bokuro, Assistant Professor at Kanazawa University, has studied the problem of Czech nationalism, which he has regarded as a key to understanding the history of the growth of German capitalism.<sup>(23)</sup> Hinada Shizuma, Assistant Professor at Ibaraki University, has discussed the land reforms in Czechoslovakia in comparison with those in Russia and Japan.<sup>(24)</sup>

As for other regions, Toriyama Shigeto, Professor at Hokkaido University, who has majored in the political history of the Tsarist Russia, has recently been concerned with the history of the Polish Sejm and problems of the Polish-Lithuanian confederation.<sup>(25)</sup> Bando Hiroshi has published an informative article on the recent trends in Polish historical researches.<sup>(26)</sup> The history of Rumania has been studied by Hagiwara Tadashi, Lecturer at Hitotsubashi University, who has written a biographical essay on a Rumanian revolutionist, Nicolae Bălcescu.<sup>(27)</sup> The problem of Ukranian nationalism has also been considered by younger scholars. Kimura Hiroshi, a graduate student at Kyoto University, analyzed the strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks on the eve of the Sovietization of Ukraine.<sup>(28)</sup> Saito Haruko, a gra-

(20) Murase Okio: *Hitora; Nachizumu no Tanjo* (Hitler; The Birth of Nazism), 1962.

(21) Toda Misato: "Osutoria Kakumei no Shozentei o megutte—Doitsu Osutoria Shakai Minshuto o Chushin ni (On the Background of the Austrian Revolution—With Special Regard to the Austrian Social Democratic Party)," *Shiso* (Japan Women's University), 1964.

(22) Saito Minoru: "Hangari-Sobieto Kyowakoku (1919) —Sono Seiritsu to Hokai— (The Hungarian Soviet Republic; Its Birth and Collapse)," *Rekishi gaku Kenkyu*, Aug. 1960.

(23) Shindo Bokuro: "Shihonshugi Seiritsu Ki ni okeru Cheko Minzokushugi (The Czech Nationalism in the Period of Growing Capitalism)," *Kanazawa Daigaku Ho-Bungakubu Ronshu Ho-Kei Hen* (Kanazawa University), 1964.

(24) Hinada Shizuma: "Higashi Yeroppa no Nochi Kaikaku ni kansuru Kenkyu (I) (A Study of Land Reforms in Eastern Europe)," *Ibara'i Daigaku Nogakubu Gakujutsu Ho-roku* (Ibaraki University), 1959.

(25) Toriyama Shigeto: "Porando no Kizoku Kyowasei (The Polish Aristocratic Republicanism)," *Hokudai Shigaku* (Hokkaido University), 1960; "Porando no 'Renmei' to Mibun Daihyosei (Polish Confederations and Representation of States)," *Slavic Studies* (Hokkaido University), 1965.

(26) Bando Hiroshi: "Porando Rekishi Gaku no Ayumi (Polish Historical Researches in Perspective)," *Shigaku Zasshi* (Tokyo University), July 1964.

(27) Hagiwara Tadashi: "Nikorae Baruchesuku ni okeru 'Neshon' to 'Nodo Kaiho' no Mondai (Nicolae Bălcescu on the Question of 'Nation' and 'Liberation of Serfs'," *Slavic Studies* (Hokkaido University), 1962.

(28) Kimura Hiroshi: "Ukuraina no Sovetoka (1917-20) (The Sovietization of Ukraine)," *Hogaku Ronso* (Kyoto University), July 1962.

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duate student at Tokyo University, discussed the problem of national self-determination in the Russian Revolution of 1917 through examining the character of the Ukrainian Rada.<sup>(29)</sup>

To turn to works on contemporary affairs of the area concerned, a pertinent guidebook dealing with the general history of the post-War Eastern Europe has been written by Harago Rinjiro, a journalist and specialist on Communist affairs.<sup>(30)</sup> Problems of individual East European countries have occasionally been treated in such periodicals as "Kyosanken Mondai (Problems of the Communist Sphere)," "Kokusai Seiji (International Politics)" and so forth. Imaoka Juichiro wrote a monograph on the background and significance of the Hungarian revolt of 1956.<sup>(31)</sup> Articles on international relations in Eastern Europe have increased in number. Problems of the COMECON, the Warsaw Pact and the like have been discussed by various specialists. Among those works is a brilliant essay on the foreign policy of Yugoslavia by Kido Akira, a member of the Japan Institute of International Affairs.<sup>(32)</sup> Kido described the formation of the policy of "positive neutralism," tracing the "trial and error" courses the Yugoslavian leaders had taken since their expulsion from the Cominform.

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Now that in the above there has been made a rather arbitrary use of the words "Eastern Europe," a question may arise as to whether there are any theoretical grounds for treating those countries as a whole under a single conception such as "Eastern Europe." Or, the question may be put as follows: what are the specific features of the area concerned? Thus we naturally come to the problem of the framework for research.

The authors of the above mentioned "History of Eastern Europe" are frank to admit that the geographical scope of their subject as defined in the book was actually fixed for the sake of convenience. In the introduction it reads: "Eastern Europe here is a general name for European countries bounded on the west by the Adriatic and the line of approximately 15 degrees of east longitude. To put it simply, we mean those countries bounded on the west by Italy, Austria and Germany, on the north by the line of 55 degrees of north latitude or by Lithuania and

(29) Saito Haruko: "Ukuraina Rada ni tsuite no Jakkai no Kosatsu--Roshia Kakumei to Minzoku Jiketsu no Mondai (Some Considerations on the Ukrainian Rada; The Russian Revolution and the Problems of National Self-determination)," *Shiron* (Tokyo Women's University), 1964.

(30) Harago Rinjiro: *To-O no Jusan Nen; Shakaishugi Katei no Bunseki* (The Thirteen Years of Eastern Europe; An Analysis of Their Courses to Socialism), 1956.

(31) Imaoka Juichiro: *Hangarii Kakumei; Kyosanshugi ka no Seikatsu* (The Hungarian Revolution; Life under Communism), 1958.

(32) Kido Akira: "Yugosurabia no Churitsushugi (Yugoslavian Neutralism)," in *Churitsushugi no Kenkyu* (Studies on Neutralism), I, Nippon Kokusai Mondai Kenkyujo (Japan Institute of International Affairs), 1960.



Latvia, and on the east by the Soviet Union . . . . [However,] It is not necessarily appropriate to make a bundle of those countries under the single name of East European. In our 'History of an Individual Country Series,' the history of Russia was treated independently and the volume of 'Central Europe' failed to include Poland. As a result, remaining countries have artificially been bundled together into this one volume i. e. 'History of Eastern Europe.'<sup>(33)</sup> As those writers contend, the area lying between the Baltic and the Black Sea can never be regarded as a geographical unit, nor does it form any homogeneous region in the sense of ethnology, culture or religion. For all these facts, however, the present writer is still tempted by the idea that one may point out some common features covering the whole area. As a partial effort to examine this assumption, he will give consideration on some conceptions of "Eastern Europe" which have been presented in various Japanese publications.

Most generally in Japan "Eastern Europe" has been identified with those six European countries which have experienced revolutions of "People's Democracy," with Yugoslavia and/or East Germany sometimes included in it. There is of course some warrant for this identification in view of the fact that those countries have similar political structures and that they ally themselves to each other through such international organizations as the Warsaw Pact, the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance and so forth. Yet it seems to the present writer that this framework is too restricted even for those who wish to consider contemporary affairs in countries of "People's Democracy." When one refers to works by specialists, one realizes that "Eastern Europe" has been conceived from two different aspects.

First, the conception of "Eastern Europe" has been proposed in contrast with the conception of "Western Europe." This classification has been made on the one hand in terms of differences in religious, cultural or political heritages. To give one example, Inoki Masamichi, Professor at Kyoto University, once referred to the distinction between Communism of the "East European" type represented by Leninism and Communism of "West European" type represented by Rosa Luxemburg's political ideas.<sup>(34)</sup> According to Inoki, the idea of proletariats-peasants alliance and the theory of the vanguard party — the two factors characterizing what he called Communism of "East European" type — had essentially derived from the special features of the Tsarist autocracy. The Tsarist Russia, Inoki says, had fundamentally differed from the western states in the sense that it was not the real bearer of the Greco-Roman heritage and that it had adopted Greek Orthodoxy and had remained outside the realm of the Roman Church. On the other hand, the

(33) Umeda ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

(34) Inoki Masamichi: *Roshia Kakumei Shi* (History of the Russian Revolution), 1951, p. 53.

contrast between "Eastern" and "Western" Europe has been mentioned from the point of view of the socio-economic history, attaching importance to the fact that the system of the "second serfdom" had prevailed in the regions east of the Elbe. For instance, Hinada Shizuma, Assistant Professor at Ibaraki University, has used the framework of "Eastern Europe" including Russia in his comparative analysis of land reforms.<sup>(35)</sup> Hinada finds difference in the types of "original accumulation of capital" which Western and Eastern Europe have respectively experienced. In contrast with "Western Europe" where the original accumulation of capital took place in the section of agriculture and all other sections of production concurrently, capitalism developed in "Eastern Europe" even with incomplete disintegration of the peasantry. Such features of East European countries have also been shared by Japan, and this fact, Hinada says, has caused him to make a comparative study of land reforms in Russia, Czechoslovakia and Japan.

The conception of "Eastern Europe" under discussion may have otherwise been conceived by specialists of different branches of study, though very few have ever attempted to put the problem squarely. The above two examples are only the cases that the present writer has arbitrarily taken out from among the several views that have been expressed in relatively clear terms. This writer avoids in this short essay examining other possible cases, but he wishes to make some remarks within the sphere of our present concerns. First, the geographical scope of "Eastern Europe" presented by those students, while generally including Russia, varies according to the specific concerns of the individual scholar, which occasionally leads to the conclusion that the area lying between Germany and Russia is itself divided, or that some parts of the very area are regarded as belonging to "Western Europe" and disitnguished from the remaining "East European" parts. Second, the conception of "Eastern Europe" proposed in contrast with that of "Western Europe" necessarily bears a somewhat artificial character so far as there has actually been no such single-ness of "Western" or "Eastern" Europe as has so often been assumed beyond discussion in various publications.<sup>(36)</sup> While he admits that each individual proposal is itself interesting, this writer tends to the opinion that the present conception of "Eastern Europe" can only be useful when one has a clear idea of the limits of its application.

Second, the conception of "Eastern Europe" has also been discussed within a more limited geographical scope, which precisely corresponds to that belt of the land extending from the Baltic coast to the Balkan Peninsula. One scholar who has come to grips with this conception of "Eastern Europe" is Hagiwara Tadashi,

(35) Hinada Shizuma, "A Study of Land Reforms... (I)," pp. 164-6.

(36) The present writer has learned much from the following article. Henry L. Roberts: "Eastern Europe and the Historians," *Slavic Review*, Oct. 1961.

Lecturer at Hitotsubashi University. He has been concerned with the recent trend among some historians in the Soviet Union and East European countries toward examining the idea of "East European history." Especially taking interest in a view developed by Niederhauser Emil, a Hungarian historian, that East European peoples in the first half of the 19th century had a dual task in common—abolition of serfdom and national liberation—, Hagiwara applied that hypothesis in his own research on Bălcescu's intellectual development.<sup>(37)</sup> Other scholars have also focused interest upon national problems in that area since the 19th century. One example is an article written by Yada Toshitaka on Austrian socialists' attitude toward national questions. Pointing out how the problem of nationalism had been made light of by Western social democrats prior to 1914, he wrote in the introductory part of the article: "However, there had been exceptions in Eastern Europe. I mean Tsarist Russia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where socialists of different national origins had to cope with serious national questions even during the years preceding 1914."<sup>(38)</sup> Saito Minoru, who treated the subject of the Hungarian Soviet Republic,<sup>(39)</sup> regarded national questions as significant features of Eastern Europe.

In this connection, it should be noted that Eguchi Bokuro, Professor at Tokyo University, has referred to "Eastern Europe" in his theoretical consideration on the history of nationalism.<sup>(40)</sup> In Eguchi's opinion, "East European" nationalism on the eve of World War I displayed some specific features of that period in terms of the world wide historical process of nationalism. Nationalism as the straightforward expression of a people's will, he says, had essentially shown itself in progressive and revolutionary movements, as one could see in the American and the French Revolutions. Toward the end of the 19th century, however, it increasingly developed a warped character. Newly rising nationalities at that time were often used as pawns of great powers, and, as a result, chauvinistic nationalism grew among them. Eguchi saw the prototype of such nationalism of that period in conflicts between Balkan nationalities quarreling with each other with such slogans as "Greater Serbia," "Greater Bulgaria," "Greater Greece" and so forth.

It is interesting that those Japanese scholars have discussed "Eastern Europe" not as a regional unit, but as a group of regions that could be dealt with as a whole because of their sharing of certain specific common problems. Indeed, the problem of "Eastern Europe" in this sense emerged in the process of the economic, social and political change that took place during the 19th century in those regions

(37) Hagiwara, "Nicolae Bălcescu . . .," p. 43ff.

(38) Yada, "The Austrian Social Democratic Party . . .," pp. 15-16.

(39) Saito, "The Hungarian Soviet Republic."

(40) Eguchi Bokuro: "Gendai ni okeru Minzoku oyobi Minzokushugi (Nation and Nationalism in Contemporary World)" in *Rekishi no Gendankai* (The Present Stage of the World History), 1958.

lying between Germany and Russia largely in response to the challenge of the modern ideas and technologies coming from the west. Although the process of change varied with an individual nationality or the regional unit to which it belonged, one can still discern some common features of development throughout the whole area concerned.

First, the process of change was accompanied with a national integration which, because of the traditional lacking of homogeneity in those regions, could only be attained by redrawing political boundaries in conflict with neighboring nationalities. Second, that process took place under specific international circumstances that had shown themselves after the Napoleonic War. The situation could briefly be described as the gradual increase of power differentials between great and small powers. The development of modern technologies transformed the structure of international society decisively in favor of a country with a large economic realm and powerful military equipment. Small powers lacking in a broad territory, a large population and enormous natural resources could scarcely enjoy their freedom of action as well as remarkable achievements of economic development unless they joined together or created some large international units. Such a state of affairs redoubled the difficulties faced by newly-born nations deprived of their former relationship of interdependency. The problem became the most serious when the long process of European "balkanization" culminated in the disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire in 1918. Third, modern developments in those regions have been under the influence of various organizing principles presented by centrifugal outside powers in terms of power politics. All such conditions, it seems to the present writer, have produced the specific problems common throughout the regions concerned, which have caused those students to deal with them as the "East European" *area*.

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