

論文の内容の要旨

論文題目

Disassembling the Empire, Assembling the Nation-State:

Imagining Locality, Nation, and State among Chinese Students in Japan, 1896–1911

(帝国の解体と国民国家の編成：

在日中国人留学生における地方、国民と国家への想像 (1896-1911))

氏名 陳 飛 (Chen Fei)

The transition of the Qing Empire into a nation-state has long been an intriguing case for historians, as only China was able to retain most of the lands of its predecessor out of all the states born out of empires. This study probes into China's "miraculous" transition through an in-depth discussion of the emerging nationalism among Chinese students in Japan at the turn of the nineteenth century. I examine various endeavors made by them to conceptually reconfigure China as a nation-state.

This study focuses on four nationalist discourses produced by Chinese students in Japan: 1) discourses on local self-government; 2) discourses on Tibet; 3) discourses on the Yellow River and the Yangtze River; and 4) discourses on provincial independence. Through a careful examination of these discourses, I shed light on the peculiar approaches adopted by China to deal with two common issues faced by all empires in transition: the creation of the nation by homogenizing the population, and the regeneration of the state by centralizing its power.

Many scholars have examined the efforts of Chinese elites to construct an ethnic nation at the turn of the nineteenth century. What is missing in existing

scholarship is a nuanced discussion of the local dimension of Chinese nation. Overwhelmed by the strong nationalist sentiment shown in the early twentieth century, scholars tend to present a story of a smooth and speedy transformation of imperial subjects into national citizens. What often escapes them is an ascending local consciousness among even the most passionate nationalists—Chinese students in Meiji Japan. This study aims to bridge the gap in existing scholarship by reopening the question of China's transition. It shifts the focus from the conversion of individuals into national citizens onto the absorption of local identities into a national one. In particular, I analyze three strategies created by Chinese students in Meiji Japan to exploit local consciousness for nation-building programs. My discussion of the discourses on river-based regions shows how revolutionary students built a national identity transcending provincial boundaries by representing a certain region as China in miniature. Through an examination of the discourses on provincial independence, I reveal how local sentiment and the idea of popular sovereignty aroused ethnic nationalism among revolutionary students. I use the discourses on Tibet to expose a lesser-known program that exploited Sichuan's local interest to serve the state-making program launched by the Qing government.

Scholarly efforts have also been channeled toward the study of the process of centralizing state power in the late Qing era. Many researchers have identified a steady and permanent expansion of local autonomy in China proper since the mid-nineteenth century due to the Taiping Rebellion. They convincingly argue that expanded local autonomy translated into strong resistance against the state-building programs launched by the Manchu court in the early twentieth century. These studies, however, provide no immediate answer to explain similar tension in the ethnic frontiers of the Qing Empire, as they limit their discussion to local society in China

proper. They also encourage a tendency to understand China's transition in isolation from other parts of the world and fail to provide a detailed account of the international dimension of this transition. This study aims to fill the gap in existing scholarship by addressing the two issues that have been ignored: the restructuring of relations between the Chinese state and its ethnic frontiers, and the international dimension of Chinese nationalism. My discussion of discourses on Tibet and local self-government reveals the endeavors of Chinese students to conceptually reconfigure the state-locality structure in both China proper and the ethnic frontier. I aim to explain how the knowledge they acquired in Japan shaped their visions of China and motivated them to seek a change in existing policies.

This dissertation is composed of five chapters. After contextualizing my inquiry in a broader discussion in the Introduction, I lay down the social background for my analysis in Chapter One. This chapter examines the emergence of networks of Chinese students and journals in Meiji Japan. The former networks were mainly built upon native-place and school-based student associations. I explore how students' interaction within these networks strengthened their provincial and national consciousness, which later translated into political activism. Through an analysis of the transnational distribution networks of journals, I demonstrate that nationalist discourses produced by Chinese students not only circulated in Japan but also penetrated the bottom of the Qing Empire.

The following four chapters discuss four nationalist discourses on localities that were produced in Japan and flowed into China through the networks of journals. Chapter Two looks at the discourses on local self-government. In the 1900s, the Manchu rulers intended to centralize state power through a local self-government reform modeled on the Japanese system. Reformer students nevertheless saw this

reform as an opportunity to expand the traditional influence of local elites. I strive to explain how the latter sabotaged the former's agenda through their involvement in the reform. Chapter Three uncovers the efforts of Chinese students to recreate the image of Tibet in their discourses. Tibet had long been viewed as a strategic zone with little value for direct rule. In contrast, inspired by the Japanese study of Tibet, Chinese students imagined it as a land of opportunities under the threat of Western imperialism. I investigate how their discourses on Tibet helped transform China's once-tolerant Tibetan policy into an aggressive and rigid one. Chapter Four moves onto discourses on the Yellow River and the Yangtze River. These discourses had their inception in ancient China, but were refashioned by Japanese intellectuals to argue for Japan's superiority in Asia. I try to demonstrate how revolutionary students drew on Japanese knowledge to create a nationalist agenda for their traditional discourses. Chapter Five centers on one of the most ambitious discourses produced by revolutionaries: provincial independence. I discuss how this idea was interpreted by revolutionaries as a solution to end Manchu rule.

In the Conclusion, I situate Chinese students' endeavors within a longer time frame to examine their impact on China's path toward a nation-state. I identify their contribution to disassemble the empire and the problems they created for the assembling of a unified Chinese nation-state.