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Jeju and Okinawa : the Future of the islands in East Asia

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# Okinawa, Military Bases, and the East Asian Community

니시하라 가스히사

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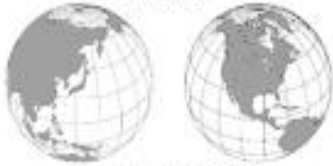
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**My latest English paper is “Intersubjectivity and Transnational Phenomenological Sociology: An Essay on Social Empathy in East Asia from the Viewpoint of Okinawan Issues” in *Journal of Asian Sociology* in Seoul.**

# 2016—19: Publication

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CURRENT STATE OF ASIAN SOCIOLOGY:  
THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE KOREAN PERSPECTIVE  
Chang-Ryong Kim and the Metamorphosis of the Korean Perspective  
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Special Issue: Social Empowerment in East Asia  
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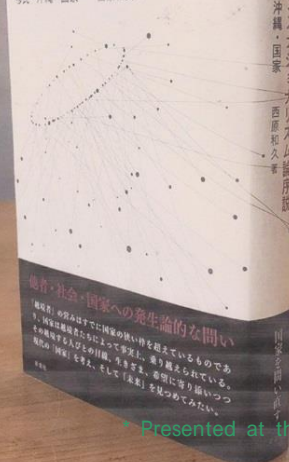
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## トランスナショナリズム論序説

移民・沖縄・国家 西原和久 著

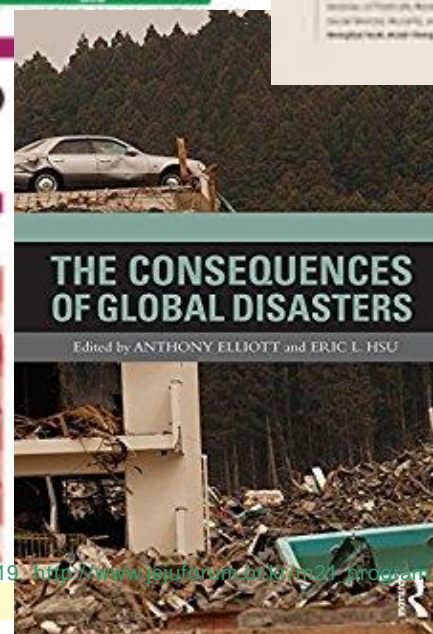


## 戦後日本社会学の リアリティ

Reality of Post-war Japanese Sociology

せめぎあうパラダイム

池田義孝・西原和久 編



The Global Perspectives on the Contemporary Socio-Cultural Movements

Edited by Kazuhisa Nishihara

Center for Glocal Studies

# Introduction:1/4

**A new sociological association called “East Asian Sociological Association” (EASA) was established in 2019.**

**As a board member, I organized an official research network (=group) named**

**“Transnational Sociology”**

**inside this academic association.**

**At this EASN inaugural congress in Tokyo, two sessions of transnational sociology were held. They were “Transnational Sociology 1: Transnational Relationship in North East Asia,” and “Transnational Sociology 2: Social Sciences and Okinawan Issues.”**

About 10 sociologists from Korea, China, Taiwan, Japan/Okinawa participated and read their papers in these sessions. They were literally transnational and regional sessions.

## 20 Research Network Names of EASA

-----

Maritime Sociology  
Social Transformation and  
Capitalism  
Sociology of Culture  
Economic Sociology  
Ethnicity and National Identity  
Family and Gender  
Social Stratification and Inequality  
Sociology of Development  
Social Theory  
Sociology of Population  
History of Sociology  
Social Movements and Civil  
Society  
International Political Sociology  
Environmental Sociology  
International Migration  
**Transnational Sociology**  
Sociology of Health  
Comparative Research and  
Methodology  
Rural Sociology and Social Policy

# Introduction:2/4

As an organizer of these sessions, I said the following remarks at the begging of the first session.

“Contemporary society in a global age has been drastically changing, especially people can easily cross some borders all over the world. These mobile people are changing society itself, so I noticed that the concept of society itself should be transformed.

So for, society mainly means “the society within the nation-state,” but nowadays society itself crosses the national border. Therefore, I think, sociology itself also must change from domestic to transnational sociology.

Ulrich Beck, a German sociologist, said in his book (Beck 1986), “Along with the de-traditionalization and the institutionalization of worldwide media-network, each individual’s biography is set free from his/her immediate life-sphere, beyond the national boarder ... While the national government acts within the frame of the nation-state, each individual’s biography is nowadays open to the world society: the world society is a part of his/her biography.”



# Introduction:3/4



Furthermore, U. Beck added,

**“Positivistic Knowledge does only reproduce the past events ‘loyally.’ But, my [=Beck’s] statement follows another request: namely...attempting to take a newly emerging future into view.”**

So, I made up my mind to name these sessions transnational sociology, not international sociology or global Sociology.

International sociology tends to put the nation-states as main subject, and global sociology tends to grasp the world from bird’s eye view.

However, I want to focus on each individual living vividly in his/her lifeworld. Contemporary People are transnationally moving and transnationally getting a lot of information from all over the world.

**Transnational sociology also tries to take a newly emerging future into view just like Beck’s statement.**

**It is, so-to-speak, “future-oriented sociology!.”**

# Introduction:4/4

Well, this presentation at Jeju University is based on these orientations. The aim is to discuss the future vision of North East Asian Societies from the viewpoint of transnational sociology.

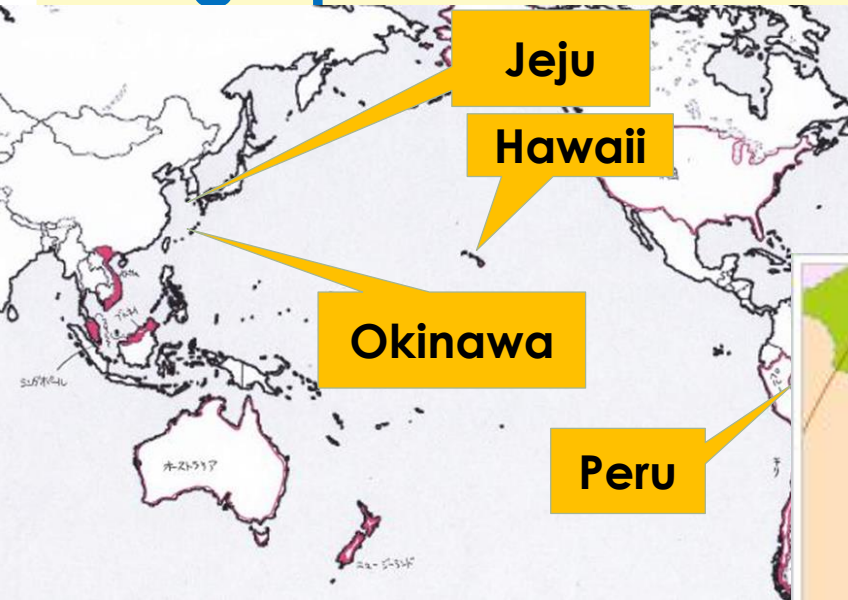
However, such vision includes many things to be discussed. So, this time, I will aim to grasp the basic matters concerning Okinawan issues and the recent trends of discussions on the East Asian Community. It will be made, taking Jeju Island into consideration.



**In addition to these introductory statements, I'd like to refer to my own standpoint of “methodological transnationalism,” and to try to discuss the perspective of “idealistic transnationalism” based on “empirical transnationalism.”**

# Okinawan Islands

## Geographical Location



**Population in the  
Okinawa Islands :  
1,440,000  
Overseas Okinawan:  
420,000  
(2016)**





# 1. Okinawa, Jeju, Hawaii, and East Asian

**First of all, I will talk about Okinawan history very briefly.**

**1: Okinawa was an independent country.**

However, Okinawa was annexed to Japan, and during the Asia-Pacific War

**2: Many Okinawan (over 100,000) people died in the battle with the US.**

Moreover

**3: After the war, Okinawa was under American rule for 27 years,**  
and still

**4: 70% of the US military base facilities in Japan are located**  
**at Okinawa.**

**However, now, about half of the people in Japan seem to accept**  
**the presence of the US military bases. What makes Japanese**  
**people think so? One of the main reasons for supporting such**  
**Japan-US policies originates from the political confrontations**  
**among the North East Asian Countries, esp. the thread of North**  
**Korea and China.**

**Therefore, I really think that the realization of ‘peace’ in East Asia is one of**  
**most important ways to solve issues regarding the bases in Okinawa.**

\* Presented at the 14th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju, South Korea, May 29-31, 2019, [http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21\\_program.php?year=2019](http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21_program.php?year=2019)

# Similarities of Jeju,(Hawaii,) and Okinawa,

**Okinawa has similarities with Jeju and even with Hawaii.** Needless to say, these similarities are mainly in the following 10 points:

- 1) these places were ‘islands,’
- 2) once independent countries,
- 3) violently incorporated into the mainland,**
- 4) once involved in war or civil war, and**
- 5) they are now facing at the military base issues,**
- 6) embedded in the US global military strategy,**

however, there are in these places

- 7) anti-base movements,**
- 8) visions aiming at developing tourism policy,**
- 9) aiming at being international cities, and finally**
- 10) aiming at being islands for peace.**

It will be clear that these similarities call for the peaceful development and collaborations of these areas. Well, what are the (social) movements going on in these areas? Let's look at the development of the movements, taking some examples in Japan and Okinawa.



Cited from peace-forum.com



# The 6<sup>th</sup> World Uchinanchu (=Okinawan) Festival, Oct. 2016



## Okinawa and Hawaii







## From South America



\* Presented at the 14th Asia Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju, South Korea, May 28-31, 2019. <http://www.asiaforum.or.kr/m21/program.asp?year=2019>



# Turning to East Asia, today

Now, among East Asian countries, economic interdependence is high and socio-cultural exchanges among people are also becoming considerably more active.

**Foreign workers, international students, immigrants due to marriage, as well as overseas tourists** are ‘transnationally’ moving across borders.

The possibility of overcoming political-military conflicts by means of socio-cultural relationships is a matter worthy of investigation.”



Filipino  
Rural Village  
in Nagano



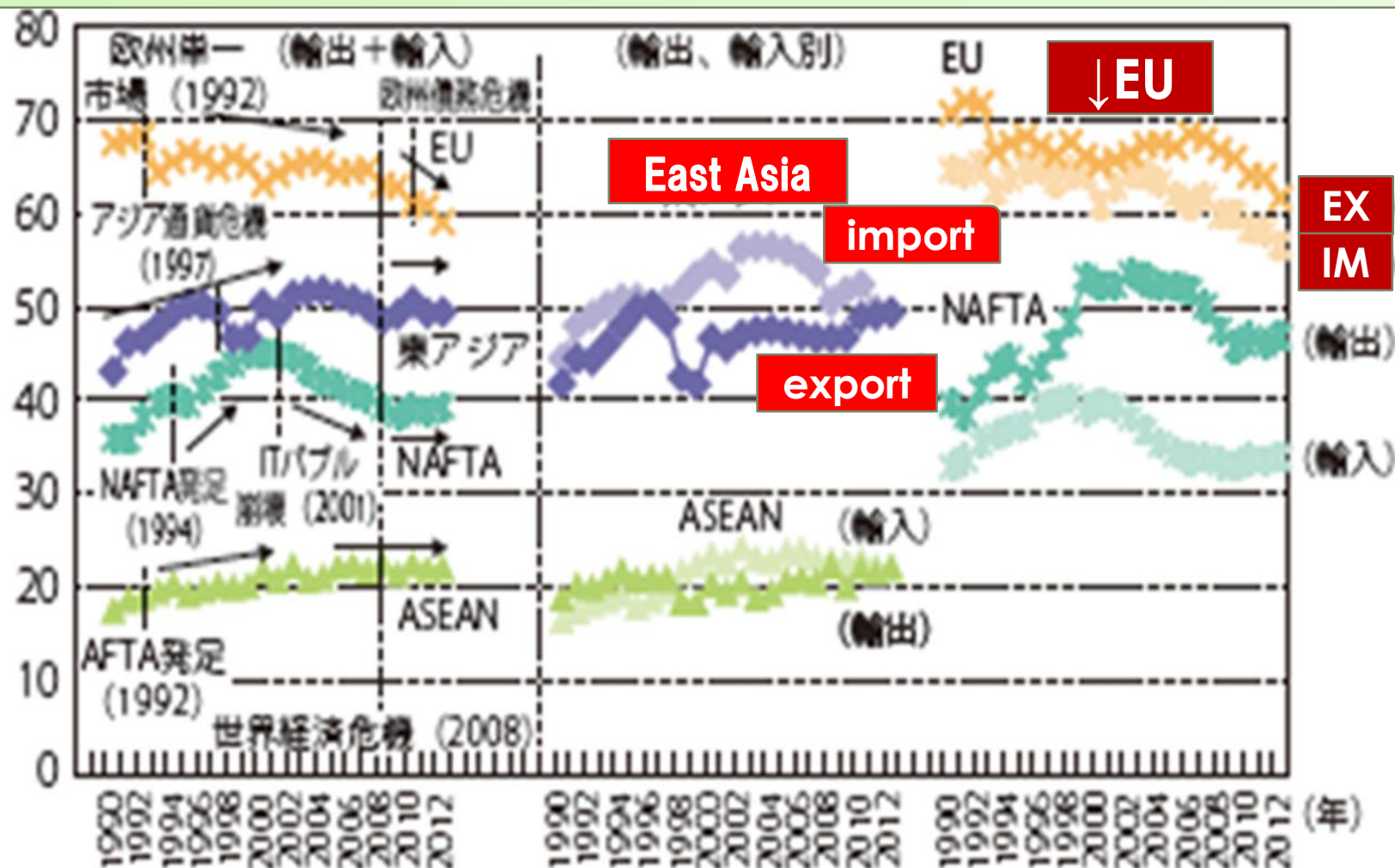
Chinese  
Rural Town  
in Miyagi

After Tsunami



# Japan and East Asian Countries

## High Economic Interdependency within East Asia



\* Presented at the 14th Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju, South Korea, May 29-31, 2019, [http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21\\_program.php?year=2019](http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21_program.php?year=2019)

Source: Ministry of International Trade and Industry in Japan, 2014

## 2. Some Visions discussed in Okinawa

Now, there are four main social movements as follows:

- 1) **Constitution Movement**: Draft of Constitution of Ryukyu Republic Societies represented by Shin-ichi Kawamitsu,
- 2) **Independence Movement**, or **ACSILs' Movement**: 'The Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans [=people in Okinawa],' :a new independence movement led by Yasukatsu Matsushima,
- 3) **EAC Movement**: East Asian Community (EAC) advocated by two main groups, Institution of EAC and Association of EAC. (As the forth important movement, I can point out

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### 4) Taking the US Bases back to the mainland as a Anti-US

Military Base Movement: moving the US Bases in Okinawa to the mainland Japan, criticizing severely "Japanese Colonialism," (but I don't refer to this movement and other movements because there isn't enough time).



# Kawamitsu's constitution draft:1

First, here, I can pick up an Okinawan intellectual's discourses.

It is Shin-ichi Kawamitsu's thought and and esp.

his 'constitution draft' written in 1981 **Draft of  
“Constitution of Ryukyu\* Republic Society.”**

\*Ryukyu = old name of Okinawa

The discourses of intellectuals in Okinawa are still very stimulating and challenging. This constitution draft by Kawamitsu had an idealtransnational orientation, namely 'de-national' orientation.

For example, he declared **“abolishment of the nation-state”** in the first article, or he stated in Article 11 that not only people who live in Okinawa, but also everyone who agrees with the purpose of this constitution and wishes to become a member of the Ryukyu Republic Society, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender or nationality, **can be qualified as the members of this Society** (Kawamitsu 2010: 109).

Kawamitsu thought that the national border was not so much meaningful, but **a network society spreading to the world-wide was more important**. (Cf., Ben Takara's plan was named 'Network Constitution of Ryukyu Federal Republic Societies which means network society without (geographically national) border (Kawamitsu, et al. ed., 2014)).





# Kawamitsu's constitution draft:2

Kawamitsu's plan tried to go beyond the notion of the modern nation-state itself  
(cf., Nishihara, 2010, 2018).



In 1995, a girl rape incident by US Marine Corps occurred in Okinawa. This incident gave a great shock to the people of Okinawa that led to cause extensive social movements against the US military bases. During these movements,

his constitutional draft in 1981 gained attention again.

This constitution draft received a great deal of attention also in the 2010s (when Henoko issue started to be discussed) and several books and journals including this constitutional draft were published.

(Kawamitsu 2010, Kawamitsu and Nakazato 2014)

# The Declaration of Independence in 2010: 1

**Second**, there is another important movement to seek independence. Yoshikatsu **Matsushima** is a leader of this movement, he wrote

**“The Declaration of Independence” in 2010** and organized ACSILs.

He showed the following sentences in the Declaration:

**“In this year of 2010, we declare independence of Ryukyu as a Federation of Autonomous Republics of Ryukyuanesia**

[=Ryukyu Islands]. At present, the prefecture of Okinawa that is but 0.6% of the national landmass of Japan is compelled to host 74% of the U.S. military bases. Clearly, this is

**a discrimination**.....Ryukyuanes [=Okinawan people] have continuously demanded the withdrawal of the U.S. military bases since before the reversion of Ryukyu to Japan in 1972.

But the bases still stand in proximity to Ryukyuan communities...

# The Declaration of Independence” in 2010: 2

He added;

[i]n order not to allow any more land of Ryukyu to be used for U.S. military basing, we declare independence from Japan. And on attaining independence, we will at once return the existing U.S. military bases to Japan.”

In addition to this declaration, we can read the following sentences in this ACSILs’ Charter (issued in May 15, 2013). “... By gaining independence from Japan and removing all military bases from our islands we Lew Chewan wish to achieve our long sought-after goal of becoming a sovereign island of peace and hope that exists in friendship with other countries, regions and nations of the world.....We do not hesitate at the possibility of independence, but want to take it seriously as both an object of study and a political project.”

Third and final movement is closely related to the East Asian Community, which is mentioned in the next section.

### 3. Recent Developments of the Visions for Regional Community in Okinawa/Japan

◦ **Here, I briefly review history of the discussion over the East Asian Community (EAC).** In the field of thought of modern Japan, while intertwining with problematic “Asianism,” some orientations to the world were also seen, which occurred at the end of the Tokugawa period and in the age of the free civil right movement in Meiji era, and even as the theory of colonial management in the era of Taisho democracy. However, **during the fifteen-year war (the Asia-Pacific War), very strong imperialistic idea of “East Asia Cooperative Community”**

**(東亞協同体)** with Japan as a leader came to the front. **This idea should be critically considered as a negative legacy.** After the war, through the time of “lack” of exchanges in North East Asia in the period of East-West Cold War, “exchange but conflict” during the post-Cold War period since around 1990 started. Thus, the problems of East Asia, especially of North East Asia, still exists for Japanese nationals as difficult ones to see under the Japan-U.S. core regime.



# On East Asian Community: 1

The new discussions of **Contemporary**

**“East Asian Community” (東アジア共同体)**  
**have arisen from places other than Japan.**

The starting point was the advocacy of East Asia Economic Group (EAEG) by Prime Minister Mohamad **Mahathir of Malaysia in 1990**. After that, the first ministerial conference of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) was held.

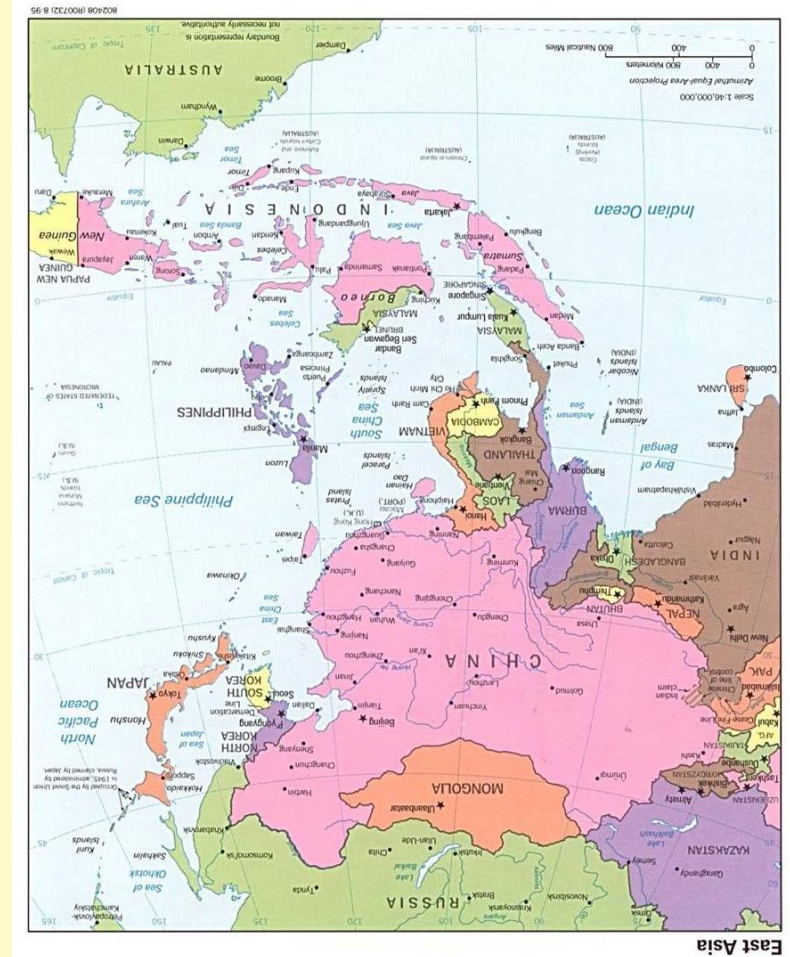
Then, **in 1997, the first “ASEAN+3” Summit was also held**. In this period, the establishments of EU in Europe and NAFTA in the North America, and there were the development of Asian NEIS and the outbreak of the Asian currency crisis.

# On East Asian Community: 2

In Japan, **the government-based East Asian Community plan**

(Japan took a main part of the initiative) started to move from the beginning of the 2000s.

**“The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC)”** (President: Ex-prime Minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone) **was founded in Tokyo in 2004** (Council Asia Community, 2010). **However, these were “economic-based movements.” On the other hand, there were some significant movements occurring among Japanese intellectuals since this time.**



# On East Asian Community: 3

When entering the twenty first century,

Michio Morishima, Sang-jung Kang, and other Japanese liberal intellectuals began to speak seriously and positively about EAC.

It was very impressive that **Morishima**, a professor at the University of London at that time, advocated the establishment of EAC with the capital of Naha, Okinawa in his lecture in China (Morishima 2001). The idea of Kang Sang-jung's 'collaborative/ cooperative house in North East Asia' was also interesting (Kang 2001).

Furthermore, other Japanese intellectuals also published their introductory books on EAC as follows.

# Books having the title of EAC since 2001

## ■2001: 2

- 2001.10.23 森嶋通夫 『日本医できることは何か—東アジア共同体を提案する』岩波書店  
2001.11.21 姜尚中 『東北アジア共同の家をめざして』平凡社

## ■2002: 0

## ■2003: 1

- 2003.08.18 和田春樹 『東北アジア共同の家—新地域主義宣言』平凡社

## ■2004: 1

- 2004.11.19 谷口誠 『東アジア共同体—経済統合のゆくえと日本』岩波新書

## ■2005: 5

- 2005.01 猪口孝 『アジア学術共同体 構想と構築』NTT出版  
2005.04.02 大城浩詩 『時代の選択—沖縄発！東アジア共同体』閣文社  
2005.09.22 小原雅博 『東アジア共同体—強大化する中国と日本の戦略』日本経済新聞社  
2005.10.25 伊藤成彦 『東北アジア平和共同体に向けて—今こそ、日米安保体制の転換を』御茶の水書房  
2005.11.25 青木保ほか 『東アジア共同体と日本の針路』NHK出版

## ■2006: 8

- 2006.01. 東海大学平和戦略国際研究所編 『東アジアに「共同体」はできるか—分析と資料』社会評論社  
2006.03.30 滝田賢治編 『東アジア共同体への道』中央大学出版社  
2006.07. 佐藤東洋士ほか編 『東アジア共同体の可能性—日中関係の再検討』御茶の水書房 -  
2006.07 進藤榮一編 『東アジア共同体を設計する』日本経済評論社  
2006.08.15 中遼啓示編 『東アジア共同体という幻想』ナカニシヤ出版  
2006.06.12 松本健一 『日・中・韓のナショナリズム—東アジア共同体への道』第三文明社  
2006.11.10 大矢吉之他編 『EUと東アジア共同体—二つの地域統合』萌書房  
2006.11.10 吉野文雄 『東アジア共同体は本当に必要なのか—日本の進むべき道を経済の視点から明らかにする』明友社  
2006.12.26 毛里和子・森川裕二編 『東アジア共同体の構築4—図説ネットワーク分析』岩波書店

## ■2007: 7

- 2007.01.10 進藤榮一 『東アジア共同体をどうつくるか』筑摩書房  
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- 2015.04.25 東アジア共同体研究所編『なぜ、いま東アジア共同体なのか』花伝社
- 2015.08. 坂井一成編『地域と理論から考えるアジア共同体』芦書房
- 2015.08. 竹歳一紀他『アジア共同体の構築をめぐるアジアにおける協力と交流の可能性』芦書房
- 2015.09.10 殷燕軍・林博史『アジア共同体と日本——和解と共生のために』花伝社
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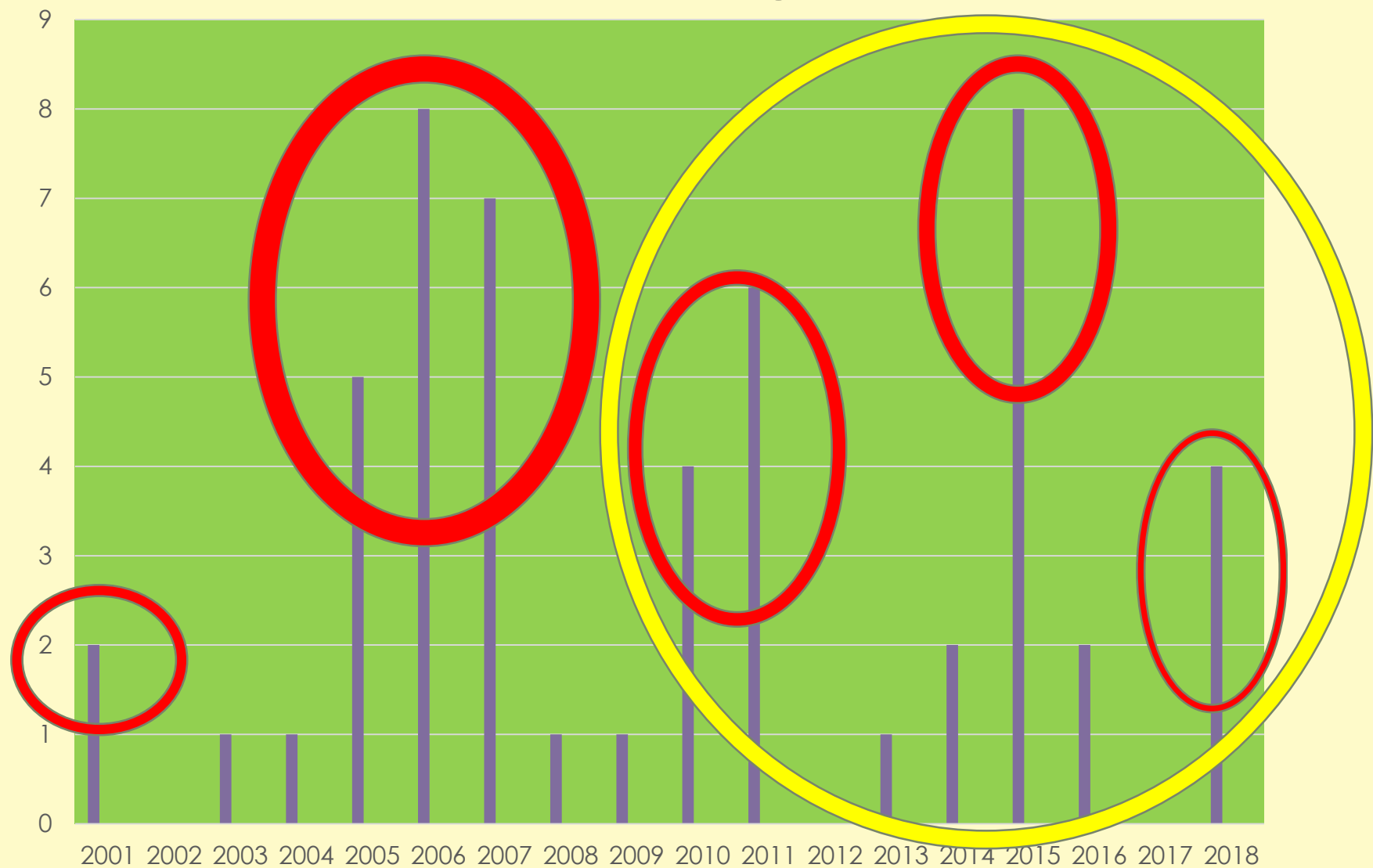
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- 2018.03.31 朱永浩編『アジア共同体構想と地域協力の展開』
- 2018.09.14 金泰旭他編『アジア共同体構築への視座 単行本 - 2018/9/14
- 2018.10.15 佐藤優・金恵京『北東アジア市民権構想』第三文明社

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- 2019.4.12 豊嘉哲学編『リレー講義 アジア共同体の可能性』芦書房
- \* Presented at the Jeju Forum for Peace and Prosperity, Jeju, South Korea, May 29-31, 2019. [http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21\\_program.php?year=2019](http://www.jejuforum.or.kr/m21_program.php?year=2019)

# Number of Books having the title of EAC



# Two Study Groups on EAC

On the development of these Intellectuals' proposals, Yukio **Hatoyama, previous prime minister** of Japan, established

①“Research Institute for the East Asia Community” in Tokyo (2013) and in Naha, Capital of Okinawa (2014), and

**Akira Kimura** and others established

②“The Academic Society of the East Asian Community and Okinawa (the Ryukyus)” in 2016, which includes many members from Matsushima's Association and Hatoyama's Institute.

Originally and theoretically, constitutional draft movement and independence movement seen to have different vectors, but there are many common orientations, because

both have **peace-oriented thinking, unarmed orientations, anti-war thoughts, and anti-base ideas.**

Another important point is that the problems in Okinawa are not only local or national issues, but also regional or global issues.

「東アジア共同体・沖縄（琉球）研究会」設立三周年記念

## 第20回公開シンポジウム（沖縄開催）

# 「沖縄から発信する東アジアの平和と共生！」

### ●プログラム●

（共同代表からの開会の挨拶）13：30～13：40

挨拶：島袋 純（琉球大学）予定

司会者：木村 朗（鹿児島大学）

## I 基調報告：米軍基地問題の根源を問い直す（13：40～15：40）

【基調報告】各35分

・西原和久（成城大学教授・名古屋大学名誉教授）

「トランスナショナル社会学からみる東アジア共同体論の課題—沖縄発の“憲法案”と“独立論”の展開をめぐって—」

- ・乗松聡子（Peace Philosophy Centre代表）「南北朝鮮から沖縄へ：日本の植民地主義を問い直す」
- ・コメント：佐々木 寛（新潟国際情報大学）
- ・フロアの参加者を交えての質疑討論

休憩（10分）

## II 沖縄と戦争・基地の記憶（15：50～17：30）

【個別報告】各30分

- ・北上田源（琉球大学非常勤講師）・・・「沖縄をどう教材化するか—米軍基地と核兵器の問題」
- ・村岡敬明（九州大学大学院博士課程後期）・・・「読谷村でのデジタルアーカイブズ活動について」
- ・フロアの参加者を交えての質疑討論

## IV 閉会の挨拶（17：30～17：40）池上大祐（琉球大学）



# Discussions in the North East Area

◦ So, what we want to know now is **the discourses of intellectuals in other North East Asian countries (mainly in China, Korea, and Taiwan)**. Unfortunately, there seem to be not so many discourses there.

**Bai Young-Seo**, South Korean historian, reflected on the possibility of EAC, and at the same time he asked whether Chinese intellectuals had the viewpoint focusing on East Asia. But, I can also pay attention to the following scholars:

**Sun Ge** in China who often mentioned the dilemma of talking about East Asia and the negative legacy of the Japanese Empire, and

**Chen Kuan-Hsing** in Taiwan who developed the theory of de-imperialization from Asia as method.

# Tasks for establishing EAC

However, these movements at least in Japan have just begun.

-It is still unknown quantity how these movements will spread. The most important thing is whether these movements will spread throughout (North) East Asia. At this point, it is encouraging that some researchers mentioned above in China, South Korea and Taiwan aim for the same direction.

-Although it cannot be said that they have the same thoughts, it is common for them in **criticizing** the problems of former (prewar period) imperialistic East Asian Corporative Community (東亞協同体)

by Japanese Empire and in trying to build a new community in East Asia as they severely criticize the current imperialistic movements.

-But, unfortunately, there has been no place where many researchers including the aforementioned liberal intellectuals from different countries discuss the issues of EAC together.



-The creation of this place is also a major challenge for the future in East Asia.

## 4. What should be (re-)considered for future North East Asia?

- As shown above, so-far main EAC trials were economic-based and Japanese Government-based movements. However, there were some significant movements occurring among Okinawan/Japanese intellectuals.
- First of all, we should listen to their voices, and we should discuss the following points:

1) **The East Asia Community should be considered not only for political and economic side but also for social and academic side.**

And especially we have to pay special attention to

2) “**Living Together** or Conviviality” (共生)  
**with people under different culture & system,**

**From International Relationship  
To Intersubjective Relationship**

3) therefore, a kind of paradigm shift **from international exchange to intersubjective exchange** based on socio-cultural level among people in North East Asian Regions should be focused, and finally

4) **last but not least, expansion and development of these solidarities must be done in corporation with main people** (some parts of ASEAN + Trans-Pacific Area's people) and we should recognize that

**esp.**

**Okinawa and Jeju (and Hawaii) are very important**

**key stones to combine these people together.**



# Henoko!



Recently the Okinawan governors who claim to reduce or eliminate the US military bases have been elected in Okinawa.

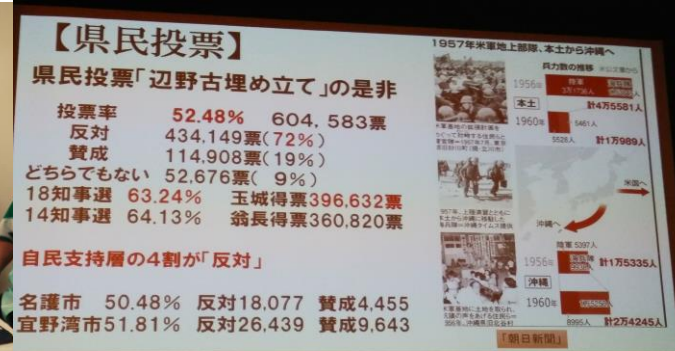
However, both Japanese and US governments ignore the wishes of the governors and people in Okinawa.

About half of Japanese people support such governmental policy. One of the biggest reasons for such support, which I've already mentioned, comes from the threat of China and North Korea.

- Indeed, there are many confrontational relationships in North East Asia and its surrounding waters. Needless to say, there is a division line between the following two countries/areas: Russia/Japan, North Korea/South Korea, North Korea/Japan, North Korea/The US, South Korea/Japan, Okinawa/Japan, China/South Korea, China/Taiwan, China/The Philippines, China/Vietnam, and China/The US.



**G: Tamaki**



**The majority (72%) of Okinawans were against the construction of a new military base. (Prefectural Referendum)**

**How can we overcome these difficulties?**

# East Asia !

In order to solve the US base issues of Okinawa, it is necessary to resolve the conflict relations related to these dividing lines in this area.

They come from the remnants of **the old Cold War regime** and/or from the **newly emerging Cold War** system accompanied by the economical-political rise of China.



- ① The US military base issues in Okinawa is not only in local level or national level, but also regional level or global level.
- ② Therefore, in order to reduce the base burden of Okinawa (and even of Jeju), a security system construction for peace in this area is now required.
- ③ The realization of sustainable peace in this region is an important way to solve the base issues in Okinawa (and Jeju).  
For that end, a lot of dialogues beyond the nation-states will be required at least among people even in the academic world.

# 《skip》

- Nowadays, cross-border interactions become in fact more active even outside the economic and political fields.
- They are realized by the mobilities of people and the exchanges of cultures beyond the nation-state (Nishihara 2019). Thus, national border is de facto overcome by a lot of people moving in this area.
- These people may create intersubjective relationships beyond cultural differences. Mutual communication cannot be a relationship based only on each original cultural background.
- It is, however, based on more fundamental, common/universal, corporeal human culture just like “mutual tuning-in relationship” which Schutz pointed out (Schutz 1964).
- This is a kind of transcultural situation. At the same time, it can give birth to a new socio-cultural relationship which is beyond the individual original culture.
- Of course, there are various pressures to accommodation in each local/national level, but the possibility of the creation of a new hybrid, the third culture itself is also of another decisive importance.
- Therefore, I tried to emphasize that trans-culturalism is much important rather than multi-culturalism or inter-culturalism. Transculturalism goes beyond the conception of reified, fixed, typified culture which multiculturalism or interculturalism presupposes.

# Brief Concluding Remarks

In my presentation, I argued the past and present situations of the vision of East Asian Community and showed its significance even if it was just a part of this vision. The final results of my investigation are that (1) this vision should be discussed all over the Asia and by many people there, (2) this vision should not be confined only in East Asia (regionalism!) and (3) finally, it will be open also to Transpacific Area and to the world. This seems to be contemporary situation and also shows a kind of limitation.

**First**, theoretically stating, although I haven't touched it enough this time (cf., Nishihara 2019), social solidarity is based on fundamental intersubjectivity.

**Second**, social solidarity should be actual in practicing transnational vernacular cosmopolitanism in the glocal area (cf., Turner 2006, Beck 2002).

**Third**, at the same time, social solidarity should aim to create a concrete common place called the East Asian Community, which is

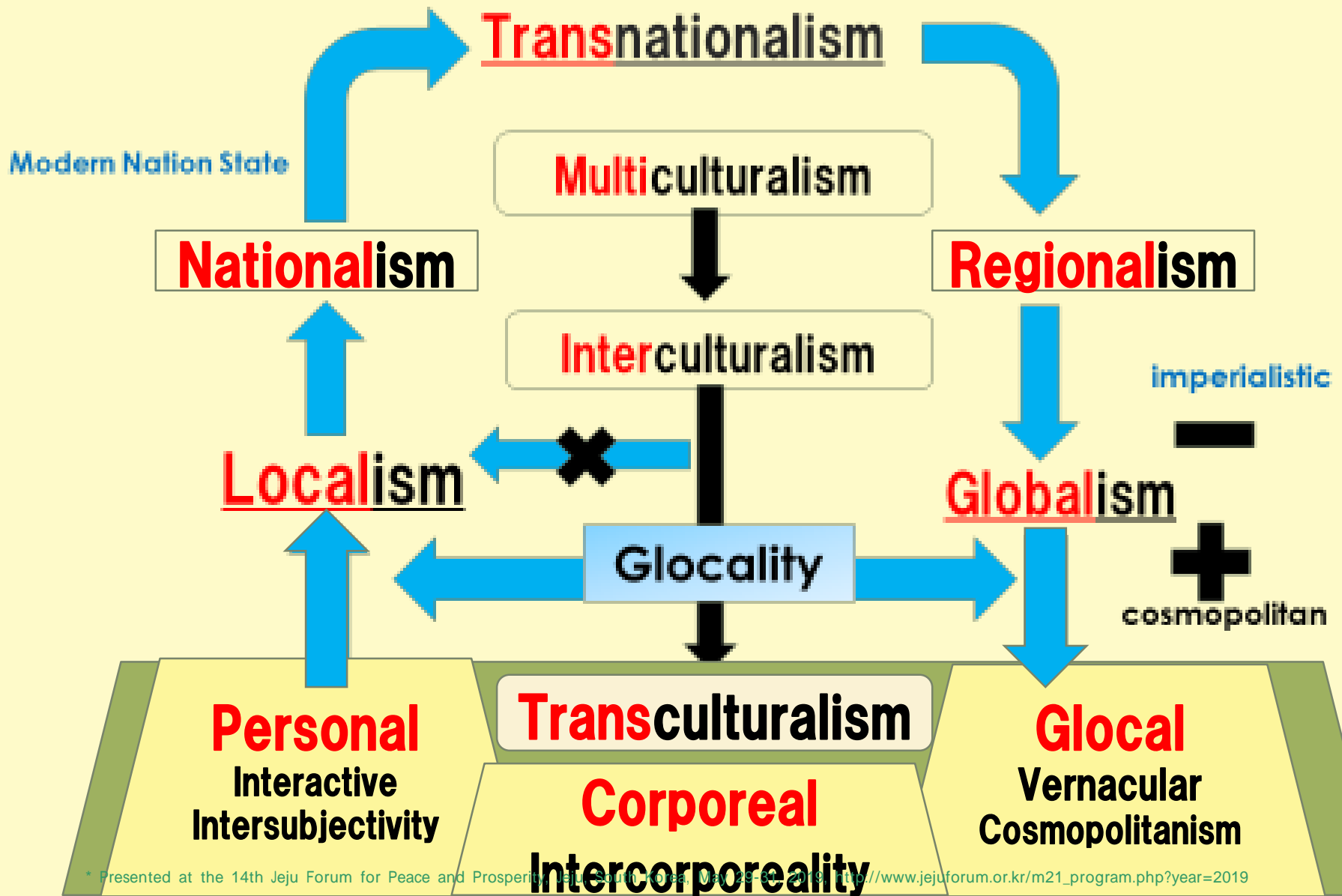
not only for **①Sustainable Economy**, but also for

**②Peace Building, and ③Intersubjective Exchange**

In North East Asia, for the time being, the vision of East Asian Community must be considered in these three points, and the permanent fields/places **discussing EAC for peace at least among social scientists should be created just like this forum. This is a provisional conclusion and at the same time a kind of proposal for the future.**



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# Thank you for your attention!!

## 감사합니다



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