

Reflections on the Life and Thought of Yanaihara Tadao (1893-1961)

LAM Yan-wing

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## Abstract

Yanaihara Tadao (1893-1961) was one of the most important intellectuals in modern Japan. He was famous for his consistency in using Christian teachings to resist right-wing leaders before and during World War II. He was also famous because he was an heir of two other important Christian intellectuals, Uchimura Kanzo, the founder of the Japanese *Mukyokai* (Non-church) Movement and Nitobe Inazo, a scholar-diplomat in the interwar democratic Taisho era. After Japan's defeat in the war, Yanaihara was elected in 1951 president of Tokyo University, the most prestigious university in Japan. In other words, Yanaihara's academic supremacy was widely recognized.

In my thesis, I begin by focussing on the early foundations of Yanaihara Tadao's ideology. What kind of circumstances enabled Yanaihara to convert to Christianity? Was the Christianity he converted to a Japanized Christianity? Although Yanaihara on the surface was Western-oriented, he, as I shall demonstrate, included some Japanese ideas, like the respect towards the *tenno* (emperor), in his ideology. I shall also evaluate the influence of his family, of his education in the Kobe First Middle School [*Kobe Itchu*], Tokyo Number One High School [*Ichiko*] and Tokyo Imperial University [*Todai*], of his mentors Uchimura Kanzo, Yoshino Sakuzo and Nitobe Inazo in his ideological development.

After exploring these questions concerning Yanaihara's early ideological development and the sources of influenced him, the second part of the thesis will concentrate on his involvement through his ideology in politics. Explorations are made into details of his political thought, throughout the periods before, within and after the so-called Fifteen Year War (1931-1945). Issues like racial equality between

the Japanese and the peoples in the Japanese colonies, attitudes towards Republican China, attitudes towards socialism and Communism, pacifism, non-violence and proper way of colonialism are included, and comparisons will be made to find out the changes in his ideology over these periods.

In the 1920s, he wrote as a scholar on colonial studies to call for better treatment to the subject people in Taiwan and Korea. He thought that the ideal of colonialism was to help these people develop so that they could rule themselves one day. However, after the Manchurian Incident, he realized that Japanese colonies could not get any help under the contemporary Japanese government. Therefore, the focus of his colonial studies changed in order to repudiate the Japanese propaganda that acquiring the colonies helped revive the Japanese economy. Yanaihara also wrote about his pacifism to resist the government in this period and claimed that the war against China was unjust. Christian teachings were also important in his ideological development. His reaction to the contemporary situation was also important and stimulated his thought.

In the fourth chapter, I will discuss the relationship between his ideology and contemporary events, including the Manchurian Crisis, the ideological conversion of Japanese Communists and Christians to nationalism, the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the pressure on him from the police and censorship. These events led him to criticize the government more severely, and eventually he was forced to resign from Tokyo University in the fall of 1937. After his resignation, he continued to write against the aggressive action of the military, but did not gain much success. Fortunately for him, he was not arrested, largely because of his prominent status as a Todai [Tokyo Imperial University] scholar, although the conservatives

treated him as one of the “most dangerous” figures in wartime Japan.

Finally, evaluation will be made of the difficulties he faced in applying his Christian teaching in Japanese society and politics. Japan underwent democratization after the war, but it seems that Yanaihara did not gain much influence in society. I shall try to analyze the difficulties he encountered.

## 中文摘要

矢內原忠雄 (1893-1961) 是現代日本最重要的知識分子之一。他因在第二次世界大戰之前及期間，用基督教中的教義去反抗右翼領袖而聞名。他也是兩個重要基督徒知識份子——內村鑑三（日本無教會的始創者）及新渡戶稻造（大正民主時代的著名學者及外交家）思想的繼承人。日本戰敗後，矢內原被選為日本最高學府——東京大學的校長。換言之，他的學術地位得到廣泛認同。

在這篇論文，我首先會探索矢內原忠雄思想的根源。為甚麼矢內原會信奉基督教？他所信奉的是否一個日本化的基督教呢？雖然從外表看來矢內原是一個非常西化的學者，但我亦發現他的思想中亦有富日本傳統色彩的一面，例如對天皇的尊敬等。我亦會討論他家庭、在第一神戶中學校（簡稱神戶一中）、東京第一高等學校（一高）及東京帝國大學（東大）的教育、及他的老師內村鑑三、吉野作造及新渡戶稻造對他思想發展的影響。

在討論矢內原的思想發展背景後，第二部份的論文會集中討論他的思想與對時政之批評，由所謂十五年戰爭（1931-1945）爆發前至戰後的歷程。我討論其思想包括：日本及其殖民地人民之間種族平等的問題、對當時中華民國的態度、對社會主義及共產主義的批評、非戰論及殖民地統治理想等，並會對各時期的思想作若干比較。

在一九二零年代，他是一個殖民地研究學者，他提倡日本政府須善待台灣及朝鮮人。他認為殖民主義的理想是幫助那些未發展的民族，培養他們將來自治的能力。但是，在九一八事變爆發後，他發現在現有的日本政府下，殖民地根本不會從日本中得到任何的幫助。因此，他殖民地研究的重心便轉以對抗日本政府對其殖民地政策的宣傳，並推翻所謂開拓新的殖民地會使日本經濟復甦的說法。矢內原並撰寫文章宣傳他的非戰

論，認為對華的戰爭並不是「聖戰」。如前所說，基督教教義對他思想發展影響尤深，但當時環境對他的刺激亦不容忽視。

在第四章裏，我會討論他的思想與當時的事件的關係，包括九一八事變、日本共產黨及基督徒的思想轉向而投向國家主義陣營、中日戰爭全面爆發及當時警察及審查對他施壓等。這些事件激化了他對政府的批評，最後在一九三七年冬天被逼辭去了東京大學的教職。辭職以後，他繼續批評軍部的侵略行爲，但不大成功。雖然當時的保守份子視他爲「最危險」人物之一，但幸好由於他是一個東大著名學者而不致被拘捕。

最後，我會討論矢內原將基督教教義套用於日本社會及政治時所面對的困難。戰後，雖然日本推行民主化，但矢內原的思想並未因此而擴大對社會的影響力，我會討論其困難所在。



## Chapter One

# Introduction

**Y**anaihara Tadao (1893-1961) was one of the most famous economists and non-church, *Mukyokai* Christians in Japan. He was born in 1893 in Ehime Prefecture on Shikoku Island, the fourth son in the family of a medical surgeon.<sup>1</sup> He received his education at the Kobe First Junior High School [*Kobe Daiichi Chugakko*, more familiar known as *Kobe Itchu*], Tokyo First High School [*Daiichi Koto Gakko*, abbreviated as *Ichiko*,] and the Law Faculty of Tokyo Imperial University, from which he graduated in 1917. After graduation, Yanaihara worked in the Besshi Mining Company of the Sumitomo Group. In March 1920, when his mentor, Nitobe Inazo, went to the United States to work for the League of Nations, Yanaihara succeeded him and became the Assistant Professor of Colonial Policy in the Economics Department of Tokyo Imperial University. He continued to work in Tokyo University for the remainder of his life, except for a period during World War II when he was expelled from the faculty because of his “prophetic pacifism.” In the postwar period, Yanaihara occupied important administrative posts such as Head of the Institute of Social Science (*Shakai Kagaku Kenkyu Shocho*), Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Dean of the College of Liberal Arts. In 1951, he succeeded Nambara Shigeru, another disciple of Uchimura Kanzo, as president of the university. He died in Tokyo on the Christmas in 1961 of stomach cancer.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yanaihara Tadao had three elder brothers, Yutaka, Kensuke and Yasumasa. However, Yutaka and Kensuke died soon after their births. Therefore, Yasumasa became the eldest son, and Tadao the second in reality. (Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, [*Biography of Yanaihara Tadao*] Tokyo: Misuzu Shobo, 1998. p.29) In this thesis, the family name of Japanese authors of Japanese materials will be put before their given name in the footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*. p.3; Wakao Fujita, *Yanaihara Tadao: Disciple of Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo*, in John F. Howes and Nobuya Bamba, *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition*. (Kyoto: Minerva Press, 1978) p.206

Yanaihara became famous because of his service as President of University of Tokyo between 1951 and 1957 and as an educator and education theorist. He had many publications including *Colony and Colonial Policy [Shokuminchi to Shokumin Seisaku]*(1926), *On Population[Jinko Mondai]* (1928), *Taiwan under Colonial Rule [Teikoku Shugika no Taiwan]* (1929), *The Manchurian Question [Manshu Mondai]* (1934), *Race and Peace [Minzoku to Heiwa]* (1936) and *Studies on Imperialism [Teikoku Shugi Kenkyu]* (1948). Most importantly, he was praised for his bold resistance to the propaganda of the wartime militarist authority. In 1937, he was forced to resign his professorship in the Faculty of Economics, because of his enmities toward the right-wing professors in the Faculty, and toward other right wing scholars of the time, especially Minoda Muneki.<sup>3</sup> Yanaihara was also praised for his wartime resistance to the Home Ministry and the Department of Education.

Yanaihara was primarily concerned with colonial studies. He suggested that Japan should adopt a fairer colonial policy toward its subject people. The Japanese government should avoid implementing its assimilation policy because this would destroy the cultural identity of the colonial peoples and lead to rebellion. He argued that the purpose of colonization was not to bring benefits to the Japanese people, but to the people in the colonies.

Yanaihara was also famous for his pacifism. He became an outright pacifist after the Manchurian Crisis in 1931. Yanaihara used both the Bible and his colonial studies to justify his pacifism. The Bible told that the war was “unjust” and his colonial studies were used to repudiate the military propaganda that colonization would bring benefits to Japan. His

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<sup>3</sup> Minoda Muneki, *Shinri to Senso: Tokyo Teidai Kyoju Yanaihara Tadao shi no “Shinri to Senso” no hihan ni chinamite, [Truth and War: on the Critics of “Truth and War” by Yanaihara Tadao, the professor of Tokyo Imperial University]* (Tokyo: Genri Nihonsha, 1937)

resistance to imperialism grew after Japan launched its war against China in 1937. Because of his pacifist articles and lectures, he was finally forced to resign his university post.

Yanaihara was anti-socialist, although he had participated in Christian socialism when he was young. He thought that Christianity might be easily confused with socialism in the eyes of the public, but he thought that socialism would not bring people happiness because socialism only emphasized materialistic satisfaction. To him, Christianity was the only key to happiness, because spiritual satisfaction was more important.

In spite of his Christianity, Yanaihara did not negate Japanese tradition. He thought the Japanese tradition and Christianity could be merged. Christianity was not an enemy of Japanese tradition; rather it could help enrich Japanese culture. Referring to the supremacy of the Emperor, he thought that the Emperor was superior within Japan, but not to the Christian God.

This thesis will discuss several main issues. First, I shall discuss Yanaihara's most influential teachers. I shall argue that Uchimura Kanzo and Yoshino Sakuzo influenced Yanaihara as much as Nitobe Inazo did. Most of the political ideas of Yanaihara were similar to those of either Uchimura or Yoshino. Second, although Yanaihara's colonial studies in the 1920s overlooked Korean and Taiwanese nationalism, he adopted a more realistic view after the Manchurian Incident and this led him to become a more devoted pacifist. Third, although Christianity explains his bold action against the military during the World War II, it was his real experiences and observations in the 1930s that forced Yanaihara to oppose the militarists.

Studies concerning Yanaihara Tadao are few, considering the importance of Yanaihara. These studies mostly come from Japanese scholars. Relatively few come from the Western academic sphere. Some studies concern Yanaihara's early intellectual development.

Wakao Fujita, one of Yanaihara's students, gave a relatively detailed account of Yanaihara's life from his childhood to his adulthood and showed how his childhood experience affected his ideological development. Special emphasis was placed on describing the period when Yanaihara studied in the Number One Junior High School in Kobe [*Kobe Itchu*] and Number One High School [*Ichiko*] in Tokyo. Yanaihara first met Nitobe Inazo, who was the principal of *Ichiko* at that time. From that time on, Yanaihara's fate was changed because of his encounter with a man whom he had admired since middle school.

Most studies of Yanaihara, however, are concerned with his colonial studies. The representative work is that of Asada Kyoji, a historian who has written extensively on prewar academic colonial studies. Asada made an intensive study of Yanaihara's view, in which he wrote that no postwar scholar has made an overall critique of Yanaihara's colonial theory. Asada suggested that the main weakness of Yanaihara's colonial theory was his lack of understanding of the contemporary situation in China. For example, Yanaihara overestimated the power of Chiang Kai-shek's government and underestimated China's anti-Japanese movement. I think that his critique of Yanaihara is not completely fair to Yanaihara because Asada used a postwar perspective while probably no contemporaries in the prewar period could objectively observe the real situation of China. Asada also criticized Yanaihara for overlooking the nationalism in the colonies and its concomitant revolt when discussing colonial policy. Yanaihara could not reconcile the dilemma between maintaining Japanese 'humanitarian' rule in the colonies and satisfying the rising demands of nationalism and independence movements.<sup>4</sup>

Some studies focussed on a comparison between Yanaihara's colonial policies and those

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<sup>4</sup> Asada Kyoji, "Yanaihara Tadao no Shokuminron" [Yanaihara Tadao's View over Colonialism](I), (II), (III) in *Komazawa Daigaku Keizaigaku Ronshu*, (Tokyo: Komazawa Daigaku Keizai Gakkai, 1988) vol.20 no. 1 pp.21-82, no.2 pp.1-69, no.3 pp.1-75. He had also published a similar type of study concerning Yamamoto Mino, in

of other Japanese progressives. Asada Kyoji, in a different article than that mentioned above, made a comparison of Yanaihara's views with those of Hosokawa Karoku, the other of the two famous intellectuals of colonial studies.<sup>5</sup> Oguma Eiji has demonstrated how Japanese intellectuals such as Izumi Tetsu, Yanaihara Tadao and Nitobe Inazo reacted to the contemporary French ideas, such as *l'assimilation*, *l'association* and *rattachement*, in discussing colonial policy. According to Oguma, despite the fact that these Japanese scholars in colonial studies were influenced by French thinking of equality, they all failed to recognize the rights of self-determination of those ethnic groups in the colonies. When considering the particularities of different ethnic group, it was better for the colonial government not to implement *l'assimilation* policies which affected the native culture and consequently led to revolt.<sup>6</sup> Other historians, like Tanaka Kazuo, Ishiwatari Shigeru and Imaizumi Yumiko, tried to view Yanaihara's colonial policies in the perspective of area studies and international relations.<sup>7</sup> Takenaka Yoshihiko also wrote about Yanaihara's views of Japan colonies in the Nan'yo area, that is, islands like those in the Mariana archipelago, which were entrusted to administrate after Germany's defeat in the First World War.<sup>8</sup>

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the same journal two years before.

<sup>5</sup> Asada, "Senzen nihon ni okeru Shokumin Seisaku Kenkyu no nidai Shoryu ni tsuite," [On the two Main Trends of Study over Colonial Policies in Prewar Japan.] in *Rekishi Hyoron [Historical Critics]* no.513 (Tokyo: Rekishi Kagaku Hyogikai, 1993) pp.16-31.

<sup>6</sup> Oguma Eiji, "Sabetsu soku Byodo," [Difference means Equality] in *Rekishigaku Kenkyu [Historical Study]* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1994) no. 662 pp.16-31.

<sup>7</sup> Tanaka Kazuo, "Chiiki Kenkyu toshite no Shokumin Seisaku – Yanaihara Tadao ni okeru orientarizumu" [Colonial Policy as Area Studies – Orientalism of Yanaihara Tadao] in *Shakai Kagaku [Social Science]* (Kyoto: Doshisha Daigaku Jinbunkagaku Kenkyusho, 1991) no. 47 pp.291-306; Ishiwatari Shigeru, "'Shokuminchi' Kenkyu no ichi Kosatsu – Yanaihara Tadao no 'Shokuminron' wo megutte," [A Review of Study on "Colony" – Through Yanaihara Tadao's Colonial Theory] in *International Christian University Journal IIB* (Mitaka, Tokyo: International Christian University, 1994) no.32 pp.57-71; Imaizumi Yumiko, "Yanaihara Tadao no Kokusai Kenkyu – Kogi nooto wo yomu," [Study on International Relations and Colonial Policies of Yanaihara Tadao – Reading the Lecture Notes] in *Kokusai Kankeigaku Kenkyu [Studies on International Relations]* no. 23 (Kodaira, Tokyo: Tsudajuku Daigaku Kiyo Iinkai, 1997) pp.137-148.

<sup>8</sup> Takenaka Yoshihiko, "Teikoku Shugika no Yanaihara Tadao – 1931-37," [Yanaihara Tadao under Imperialism, 1931-37] in *Kitakyushu Daigaku Hosei Ronshu*, (Kitakyushu: Kitakyushu Daigaku Hogakkai, 1993) vol.20 no.4 pp.129-186.

While French colonial thinking influenced Yanaihara's colonial policies, Kevin Doak argued that Yanaihara was also influenced by J.A. Hobson's writings on colonial policy. Hobson wrote that the state could be held hostage by a social subgroup whose financial-capitalist power could lead the nation towards imperialism. In the case of Japan, this social subgroup referred to the *zaibatsu*, the large capitalist enterprises of Japan before World War II, similar to cartels or trusts but usually organized around a single family, including Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda.<sup>9</sup>

Some historians have paid special attention to Yanaihara's thinking during the World War II, because it was Yanaihara's wartime resistance to the military that made him famous. In the same article quoted above, Kevin Doak discussed Yanaihara's thinking during the war. He praised Yanaihara for his understanding of the state and nation as separate entities, and for the timing and context of his argument. Doak referred to Yanaihara's bold action in insisting on the difference between nation and state even after the famous conversions under intense physical and psychological pressures [*tenko*] of Sano Manabu and other Communists in 1933. Takenaka paid special attention to the ideology of colonial studies during the war in the article quoted above.

Other historians have focussed on the relations between Yanaihara's religious beliefs and his political ideas. Cho Yukio published a brief study of Yanaihara's views on different 'enemies' of Christianity, for example, Marxism and Darwinism, based on Yanaihara's book *Knowledge and Thought [Gakumon to Shiso.]*<sup>10</sup> Ubukata Naokichi had published another article in which he tried to find out how Yanaihara applied his Christian views to colonial studies of Taiwan and Korea, the two most important colonies in the Japanese Empire in the

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<sup>9</sup> "zaibatsu" *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. <<http://search.eb.com/bol/topic?eu=80308&sctn=1>> [Accessed 11 June 2000].

<sup>10</sup> Cho Yukio, "Yanaihara Tadao no Gakumon to Shiso. [Knowledge and Thought of Yanaihara Tadao]" in *Shiso*

prewar period.<sup>11</sup>

There are also studies about Yanaihara's pacifism. There is no great controversy concerning his pacifist ideas: most of the historians praised his wartime pacifism. Ubukata, in the article quoted above, showed that how Yanaihara resisted the military authority during the war through his opposition to military actions such as the seizure of Manchuria. Fujita, in the article quoted above, wrote about Yanaihara's resistance to the military government during the wartime and the background that gave birth to his pacifism. Kobayashi Fumio's article also explained the difficulties that Yanaihara encountered when he advocated pacifism.<sup>12</sup>

Quite surprisingly, there are few studies concerning the postwar Yanaihara. This is probably because Yanaihara, who became a prominent figure for his insistence on peace, became less interesting to historians because his life became less "dramatic" than before. Nevertheless, Yanaihara still remained an important critic in the postwar period and gave many lectures on how to rebuild Japan. Takenaka Yoshihiko wrote that Yanaihara tried to seize the opportunity to promote his pacifism soon after the war had ended.<sup>13</sup>

In this thesis, I will first begin by describing the life of Yanaihara Tadao from his childhood to his early adulthood. Through his early life, I would like to explore what influenced his early ideological development. As I have written above, influences of his father, his education, his family, his senior schoolmates and his mentors, Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo, will be discussed.<sup>14</sup> As Yanaihara wrote about himself, "I learnt what is

[*Thought*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962) no.453 pp.308-318.

<sup>11</sup> Ubukata Naokichi, "Tadao Yanaihara – His Colonial Studies and Religious Faith-," in *Developing Economies* vol.4 no.1 (Tokyo: The Institute of Asian Economic Affairs, 1966) pp.90-105.

<sup>12</sup> Kobayashi Fumio, "Aratamete Yanaihara Tadao no 'idai' wo omou," in *Jokyo to shutai* no.259 (Tokyo: Tanizawa Shobo, 1997)

<sup>13</sup> Takenaka Yoshihiko, "Haisen Chokugo no Yanaihara Tadao," in *Shiso* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992)

<sup>14</sup> Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo studied in the same class in the Sapporo Agricultural College, which the

“God” from Uchimura; and I learnt what is “man” from Nitobe Inazo.”<sup>15</sup> I would also discuss Uchimura and Nitobe’s influence in Yanaihara’s ideology by comparing his political ideas with those of Uchimura, Nitobe and Yoshino Sakuzo. Contemporaries of Uchimura and Nitobe thought that they had strong Western outlooks. This was especially true of Nitobe, who was frequently attacked by other people as *Happo-bijin*, a Japanese term which means one who tries to please everybody, for trying to please foreigners too much. Yanaihara defended his effort to build a bridge between Japan and the West.<sup>16</sup> Both Uchimura and Nitobe emphasized Japanese tradition; Yanaihara inherited their ideas and developed a Japanized Christianity.

In the following chapter, I will further explore his ideas concerning politics, colonialism, colonial policies, Christianity and Marxism, pacifism and a number of other political questions in the inter-war period. Should Christianity be related to politics? Could Christianity help modify the national characters of the Japanese people? Could Christianity help establish a new Japan? Concerning the last question, I will discuss how Yanaihara seized the opportunity to promote his pacifism after the end of the war, a period in which Japan’s paramount concern was recovery. This chapter will constitute the central part of the thesis - how Yanaihara reacted to the contemporary developments as the political situation changed so quickly in Japan. The role of Christianity in Yanaihara’s justification of his ideas will be emphasized in this part.

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government had established to train officials who would help develop Hokkaido. William S. Clark was the main founder of the College and he endeavored to convert his students to Christianity. For example, he used the Bible instead of the Confucian classics to inform his students in ethical instruction. (John F. Howes and George Oshiro, *Nitobe Inazo: Japan’s Bridge Across the Pacific*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1995, p.9) Eventually, Uchimura was converted in Christianity when he was sixteen years old, soon after his admittance in the college. Nitobe Inazo was also converted in Christianity in the same year. (Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Kanzo Uchimura, 1861-1930*, Grand rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1996, p.17) They were the second generation of the Japanese modern Christian.

<sup>15</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Dr. Nitobe,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, [*Works of Yanaihara Tadao*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964) vol.24 p.134

<sup>16</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Dr. Nitobe,” pp.665



I will also discuss the problem of spreading Christian ideas in Japan in both the prewar and the postwar periods by examining the case of Yanaihara. Generally speaking, Christianity encountered difficulties in the pre-World War II period. The government upheld the status of Shinto as a state religion in order to secure the divinity of the Emperor; therefore, an alternative religion and an alternative target of loyalty were not welcome. The Japanese authorities were afraid that Jesus would replace the tenno to become the center of loyalty. Because the Emperor became the central ultimate power and the source of state authority, Japanese Christians were easily labelled as ‘unpatriotic’, because their ultimate loyalty was to their God. Did this criticism apply to Yanaihara’s case?

Christianity, at least Protestant Christianity, provided a basis of ideology for freeing the individual from the constraints of social consensus and permitting him to confront unjust secular political authority.<sup>17</sup> The emphasis on individualism in Christianity was probably one of the reason why Yanaihara could escape from the group psychology of the Japanese people in the prewar period to stand firmly against authority. A more practical reason was because of his prominent status and fame as a professor at Tokyo Imperial University, he was never arrested by the Thought Police, as were of Communists like Sano Manabu, who was forced to recant in 1933. Still, the authorities regarded Yanaihara as one of the most dangerous figures among the Mukyokai pacifists.<sup>18</sup>

Before drawing my conclusions, I will discuss the implications of the experience of Yanaihara Tadao’s life and thought. Firstly, through the exploration of Yanaihara’s life and thought, I will discuss how these developments reflected the changes in the contemporary situation in Japan. Moreover, through the case of Yanaihara, I will discuss what kind of

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Duus, “Yoshino Sakuzo: The Christian as Political Critic,” in *Journal of Japanese Studies* (Seattle: Society of Japanese Studies, 1978) vol.4 no.2 p.301

<sup>18</sup> Fujita Wakao, in John F. Howes and Nobuya Bamba, p.200

difficulties Yanaihara encountered in preaching Christian ideals in Japanese society. How could Christianity adapt to Japanese culture? Could Christianity really adapt to Japanese culture, according to Yanaihara? Through the intercultural experience of Yanaihara, I will also explore the problems in Japanization of Christianity. Attempts to these questions constitute the fourth part of my thesis.

## *Chapter Two*

# **Early Life of Yanaihara Tadao and Influences on his Ideological Development**

Since the theme of this thesis is to explore the life and thought of Yanaihara Tadao, this chapter will first make an introduction of the life of Yanaihara Tadao, from his childhood to the end of the war. This chapter will not be a simple narration his life, however. Rather I will focus on some important episodes, which affected his future actions. I want to explore the influences he received and to find out the role these influences played in his intellectual development.

### **Family Education of Yanaihara Tadao**

Yanaihara was born on 27 January 1893 (the 26<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji) in Imabari town of Ehime prefecture. His father was named Ken'ichi and his mother Matsue. His father was a medical doctor and his grandmother a quite prosperous farmer. His grandfather had also been a medical doctor, and his father inherited the job, but with a change. (In fact, his family had been medical doctors for four generations before Ken'ichi.) Unlike his father, Ken'ichi became a Western-style medical doctor. He went to Kyoto to study Western medicine at Kyoto Prefectural Hospital [*Kyoto Furitsu Ryobyoin*] during the late 1870s and early 1880s – in fact, he was one of the earliest Western-style medical doctors in Japan.<sup>19</sup>

‘Although my father was deceived by many people, he was able to help many people... . My father always said that, “One who is deceived is more fortunate than one who deceives.”’<sup>20</sup> In the eyes of little Tadao, his father was an honest and righteous person who

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<sup>19</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Watashi wa ikanishite Kirisuto Shinsha to nattaka,” [How I Became a Christian Believer] in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.26 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1964) p.139

<sup>20</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Watashi wa ikanishite Kirisuto Shinsha to nattaka?” p.139

was heavily influenced by Confucianism. He did not care how many times other people had deceived him; he was determined to help other people without expecting repayment. He looked after his patients regardless of their wealth. Sometimes, he did not even charge his poor patients.<sup>21</sup> He also provided free medical service to the social outcasts in his prefecture. Because of his Confucian influence, in Yanaihara Tadao's eye, his father was a morally righteous person. He lived in the way of '*makoto*' (honesty) and did not desire to accumulate wealth. He often lent money to other people, although he knew that those people would never repay him.<sup>22</sup>

According to Yanaihara, his father Ken'ichi had great concern for the education of his children. Because of Ken'ichi's enthusiasm about his children's education, he eventually became a member of his village's Education Committee. (This was also because he was the only educated, Western-style medical doctor in the village and thus enjoyed a high status there.) Although Ken'ichi often showed his love to his children, he was strict in their education. Ken'ichi always hoped his children would receive a better education; therefore he sent his two elder sons, Yasumasa and Tadao, to Kobe and entrusted them to their cousin, Mutsuki Shinji.<sup>23</sup> Kobe was the closest city to Imabari that was renowned for its educational facilities at that time.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Ken'ichi would not have allowed Yanaihara to go to Tokyo to study in a higher school after he graduated from the Kobe Middle School if he did not have enthusiasm about his children's education.

Yanaihara Tadao's grandmother Toyo had a mild character and was a typical Japanese

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<sup>21</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.39

<sup>22</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*. The meaning of the character of '*makoto*' can have various meaning. The notion of *makoto* was highly appreciated among the Japanese people. For the nationalist in the Tokugawa period, *makoto* would mean a 'uncontrolled expression of one's own desire.' On the other hand, Tokugawa Neo-Confucians would take a Chinese meaning of the character of '*makoto*', which means honesty.

<sup>23</sup> Ken'ichi was born into the Mutsuki family and his real name was Mutsuki Ken'ichi. He was later adopted into the Yanaihara family and thus changed his family to Yanaihara.

<sup>24</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, pp.49-50

peasant. Even at the age of sixty-nine, she continued to work in the fields. She was also a religious person who paid great attention to the native gods and Buddha. She never ate without praying to the Buddha first. Like her son Ken'ichi, she was also devoted to helping those who were poor regardless of their social status. For example, the most intimate friend of Tadao's grandmother was the poorest old widow in the village. On one occasion, her son was treating a patient suffering from leprosy. Because leprosy is an infectious disease, it was not desirable for him to stay in Ken'ichi's clinic, but Toyo not only insisted that the patient should stay, but also took responsibility for caring for the patient and carrying food to the patient everyday. Sometimes the special *burakumin*, outcasts in prewar Japan society, came to Yanaihara's home to ask Tadao's grandmother for help.<sup>25</sup>

In summary, what was the education Yanaihara drew from his family? Throughout his childhood, he was heavily influenced by both his father and grandmother. He appreciated his father as an honest Confucian, who was enthusiastic in helping people in need, and was not prejudiced against the weak and needy. As I will demonstrate later, he had learnt here the principle of 'makoto' and the traditional Confucian virtues: 'loyal to the Emperor, filial piety to the father, frugality and simplicity in life.'<sup>26</sup> Moreover, his father's attitude towards the weak played a notable role in Yanaihara's lack of prejudice towards Korean and Chinese, a view which contrasted with those of other Japanese people in the prewar period,<sup>27</sup> and Yanaihara also showed concern for the subjects of Japanese colonies. He criticized the Fascist leaders during the War for their ruthlessness to other peoples. These actions were probably due to the influence of his father and his grandmother during his childhood.

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<sup>25</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi wa ikanishite Kirisuto Shinsha to nattaka?" p.139

<sup>26</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, 62

<sup>27</sup> The contemporary Japanese people, who regarded the Chinese people as 'inferior race' in order to justify their invading actions in China. "China is not a country; Chinese people did not have nationalism." Yanaihara strongly criticized this vision against this kind of racial prejudice throughout the war. This was regarded as one of the major achievements of Yanaihara's ideas. (Kyoji Asada, *Yanaihara Tadao no Shokuminron [Yanaihara*

One point should be noticed here, that is, the role of traditional ideology such as Confucianism in Yanaihara's ideological development. Although Yanaihara was later converted to Christianity, some aspects of Japanese traditions remained important in Yanaihara's ideology. For example, the Confucian influence on the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 [*Kyoiku Chokugo*] was very important to Yanaihara. In fact, during the years Yanaihara received his education, Japanized Confucianism, with elements such as Bushido, was the leading ideology in education. Japanized Confucianism set the moral standard at that time. Uchimura Kanzo, Nitobe Inazo and later Yanaihara all tried to compromise this traditional moral standard with Christian values, as will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter. Because of the influence of the traditional Confucian virtue of loyalty, although Yanaihara strongly criticized the *Tenno-sei* nationalism and ultra-nationalism during the Second World War, he remained respectful towards the Emperor throughout his life.<sup>28</sup>

### Life in Junior High School

After graduation from the Tomida Primary School in Shikoku at the age of eleven, Yanaihara was sent to Kobe to study in the middle school there. However, his admission had to be delayed for one year because he was too young to meet the age requirement for admission. Therefore, he repeated the sixth grade in a primary school in Kobe. In 1905, he finally entered into Kobe Middle School (which later changed its name to the First Kobe Middle School (*Kobe Itchu*)).<sup>29</sup>

School life in Kobe Itchu marked a very important point in his ideological development. Firstly, the school principal of Kobe Itchu, Uzaki Kumeichi, had studied at the Sapporo

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*Tadao's View over Colonialism*] (III) in *Komazawa Daigaku Keizaigaku Ronshu*, (Tokyo: Komazawa Daigaku Keizai Gakkai, 1988) vol.20, no.3 pp.56-57) Details would be discussed in Part III of this thesis.

<sup>28</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.65

Agricultural College under Dr. S. Clark, the president of the University of Massachusetts who came to Japan to teach in the early Meiji period, and was schoolmate of Yanaihara's later mentors, Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo. Uzaki brought the style of the Sapporo Agricultural College back to the Kobe Itchu. Clark's 'Boys, be ambitious! Boys, be gentlemen!' became a virtual slogan in Kobe Itchu. Thus, autonomy became the theme of Kobe Itchu and the students were encouraged to take up the task of self-governing. Moreover, Kobe Itchu also emphasized the 'manliness and virility' of the students. For example, the students were required to eat their lunch while standing in the playground, regardless of the weather condition. However, this kind of education should be distinguished from the militaristic education. As the Principal Uzaki had made a speech in the School Commencing Day,

'Punishment is necessary; however, punishment has many disadvantages too. Newly-promoted fifth-year students, please do not misuse your power of punishment. Rather than treating the junior schoolmates with power, treat them with mercy! Expect your junior schoolmates to respect you out of their true hearts, but not because of your power.'<sup>30</sup>

Rather than strict obedience to the superior, emphasis was placed on the student self-government, which differed from military education. Yanaihara Tadao was elected deputy-group leader of his class. Under the self-governing principle, he was able to develop his leadership skills and academic ability freely.

One happening in Kobe Itchu also marked an important point in Yanaihara's life: Yanaihara's attack on Matsunaga Nobunari, whose father was a Protestant clergyman of a Kobe church. In Yanaihara's fifth year of study, Matsunaga delivered a speech criticizing the 'conservative' school tradition. He argued against the system which gave senior students the right to punish their juniors. Matsunaga urged freedom within the campus. Since, at that time, Yanaihara Tadao was a firm supporter of school tradition, he led the

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<sup>29</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.53

students in 'punishing' Matsunaga. Afterward, however, Yanaihara had second thoughts about what he had done. This experience led him to want to know more about Matsunaga and eventually led him to Christianity.<sup>31</sup>

In Kobe Itchu, Yanaihara befriended Kawanishi Jitsuzo.<sup>32</sup> Because Kawanishi wanted to study at Ichiko in Tokyo, Yanaihara became attracted to that school, too. Yanaihara determined to follow Kawanishi to go to Tokyo to study in Ichiko despite his strong homesickness.

'During my fourth year in Junior High School, Kawanishi Jitsuzo, one of my senior schoolmates went to Tokyo, and entered the First High School [Ichiko]. This man called Kawanishi, who worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs after graduation from the University, was actually my intimate senior schoolmate. ... [He] had a great influence over me.

This man went to the Ichiko, and adored Nitobe Inazo...He sent letters to his junior schoolmates in Kobe Itchu like me, told us about the situation in Tokyo, and also sent us books and magazines [about new thinking currents].<sup>33</sup>

In another occasion, he wrote:

'After the senior in my middle school, Fellow K, [-Kawanishi Jitsuzo] was admitted into Ichiko, fresh air flowed into my surroundings. Uchimura Kanzo and Nitobe Inazo stimulated this fellow K intellectually, and fellow K brought these stimulations to us, his juniors.'<sup>34</sup>

Kawanishi not only introduced Yanaihara to Nitobe, but also sent him magazines like *Seisho no Kenkyu [Bible Studies]*, which was a famous Christian magazines started by Uchimura Kanzo.<sup>35</sup> Because of Kawanishi, Yanaihara got the chance to know more about Ichiko, Nitobe and Christianity. After admission into *Ichiko*, Yanaihara was invited by Kawanishi into a reading circle he had with some of his friends. In the reading circle the participants began to discuss questions concerning life. It was also Kawanishi who took

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.111

<sup>31</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.113

<sup>32</sup> Kawanishi later became the Committee head of Social Insurance after the war and he had also worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and as the mayor of the Tokyo metropolitan. (Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi wa Ayunde kita michi," [The Way I walked ]in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.26 p.16)

<sup>33</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.26 p.225

<sup>34</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi ha ikanishite Kirisuto shinsha to nataka?" p.140

<sup>35</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.115



Yanaihara to hear a lecture by Uchimura Kanzo in Shinjuku.<sup>36</sup>

One more aspect of life in Kobe Itchu contributed to Yanaihara's road to Christianity, the influence of his teacher of moral science (called *shushin* in prewar Japanese schools), Shimaji Raimu. Shimaji's father was a son of a famous Buddhist monk, but later converted to Christianity after listening to a Biblical lecture of Ms. Buzzell. According to the account of Yanaihara, although Shimaji did not preach in the class, Yanaihara became more interested in Christianity out of his admiration for Shimaji.

In 1910, Yanaihara was admitted into *Ichiko*. At *Ichiko* Yanaihara began a new page in his life and he soon became inspired by his principal, Nitobe Inazo, whose passionate personality, humanitarianism and idealism had a deep and lasting influence on Yanaihara's mind.<sup>37</sup>

### **Life in Number One High School [Ichiko] and Yanaihara's Encounter with Nitobe Inazo**

*Ichiko* in the late Meiji period, partly because of the triumphant atmosphere resulting from the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars, was a centre of conservative nationalism. Students at *Ichiko*, because they were the elite from all over Japan, men like Hosokawa Karoku, Akutagawa Ryunosuke, Fujii Takeshi, and certainly Yanaihara Tadao, believed they had a responsibility to lead the nation, much as the university students in the Tokyo Imperial University did.

Four years before Yanaihara's admission to *Ichiko*, Nitobe Inazo became its principal, and changed the atmosphere of the school to a more open and enlightened one. Virtues like idealism and character were strongly emphasized. Because of the advocacy of Nitobe Inazo,

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<sup>36</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.133

<sup>37</sup> Wakao Fujita, p.200

'quest for a religion' also became a main theme of the *Ichiko* students. Men like Iwanami Shigeo, Fujii Takeshi and Kawanishi Jitsuzo went to Uchimura Kanzo and devoted themselves to Christianity.

Yanaihara Tadao greatly admired Nitobe, to whom he was introduced by Kawanishi. When Yanaihara first met the principal, students got together with him once a week for discussions. Although we do not know the details of these talks, Yanaihara told us that they discussed topics such as liberalism and individualism, which were the prevailing intellectual ideas in the early twentieth century. In the Taisho period, the primary topic of discussion at these meetings shifted to social equality. Nitobe introduced the books by American socialists and economists, such as *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George, to *Ichiko* students. Other focal questions included personality, human beings and life. According to Yanaihara, 'whenever Mr. Nitobe makes a long speech, we will feel as if his warm character is flowing into our spirit.'<sup>38</sup>

Another thing which impressed Yanaihara was Nitobe's patriotism. Yanaihara thought Nitobe was a patriot who worried about Japan. Nitobe tried to introduce Japanese values to the Western world and in the process established Japanese studies as a new research subject. He continued even when he was misunderstood. Yanaihara wrote, "Mr. Nitobe tried to use his warm heart to lead Japan, which was still at a lower level of development, to a higher one."<sup>39</sup>

Yanaihara perceived Nitobe as a person who disliked the school traditions of *Ichiko* with their stubborn, exclusive and conservative elements. Rather than emphasizing collective

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<sup>38</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Daiichi Koto Gakkocho Nitobe Inazo shi," [Principal of Number One High School, Nitobe Inazo] in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.24 pp.670

<sup>39</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Daiichi Koto Gakkocho Nitobe Inazo shi," pp.672. I think the "high level" and "low level" referred to the mentality of Japanese people, when compared with the Western counterparts and used the

action, an inheritance from the feudal period, Nitobe stressed freedom and individual responsibility.<sup>40</sup> For example, Yanaihara tells us that Nitobe made a speech at *Ichiko* in which he told the students to give up notions of hierarchical relationships between seniors and freshmen. The new students needed not be afraid of their seniors. Every student should be equal in *Ichiko*. Nitobe did not even use imperatives in speaking to the students, according to Yanaihara's memory.<sup>41</sup> On other occasions, Nitobe Inazo asked the students to abandon traditional ideas about Japan as an insular country or of thinking that 'if you meet a person, consider him as your enemy.'<sup>42</sup>

The insular country concept made it difficult for establish relationships with the West. In the eyes of Yanaihara, Nitobe endeavored to remove barriers between Japan and the West, and he did this 'for the sake of the country, of the people and of peace between countries and peoples.'<sup>43</sup> He emphasized international peace rather than nationalism.

According to Yanaihara, 'if the Japanese had listened to Nitobe's teaching, they probably would not have gotten into the Pacific War.'<sup>44</sup> Later in his career, probably deeply influenced by Nitobe, Yanaihara became a devoted pacifist himself.

These talks with Nitobe had an effect on Yanaihara's intellectual development. Yanaihara, compared to other Japanese, had an understanding of things outside Japan and he did not necessarily consider non-Japanese as enemies.<sup>45</sup> After Nitobe's resignation from *Ichiko*, Nitobe continued to meet regularly with the students, and Yanaihara became one of

Western standards. Probably Yanaihara meant the spread of Christianity.

<sup>40</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nihon no bunka to Nitobe Hakase," [*Japanese Culture and Dr. Nitobe*] vol.24 p.715

<sup>41</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Dr. Nitobe," pp.134-135 & 142.

<sup>42</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Dr. Nitobe," p.136

<sup>43</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nitobe Sensei wo omou," [Thinking Dr. Nitobe] vol.24 p.675

<sup>44</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nihon no bunka to Nitobe Hakase," vol.24 p.715

<sup>45</sup> For example, he had participated the *Ichiko* activities to visit Korea in 1910, and determined to study Japan's colonial policy afterwards, and he also did not treat the Chinese people as 'enemy', even though he was nearly attacked by the Manchurian bandits in the train towards Harbin, when he made a trip to Manchuria later.

the organizers of this activity.<sup>46</sup>

### Study in Tokyo Imperial University

In 1913, Yanaihara was admitted in the Law Faculty of the Tokyo Imperial University and there he met Yoshino Sakuzo, another teacher who influenced him intellectually. Yoshino Sakuzo had become a part time lecturer in 1904, and became an associate professor five years later. Yoshino was a Christian idealist who also supported Minobe Tatsukichi's Emperor Organ Theory, the constitutional basis for parliamentary government in prewar Japan.<sup>47</sup> Yoshino used this theory to temper the image of Emperor as a god.

Yoshino Sakuzo had the greatest influence on Yanaihara Tadao of his university professors. Yoshino Sakuzo taught Yanaihara about *mimpon-shugi* (democracy), the rise of European constitutionalism and the rise of Western democracy. Yoshino was a hero in the era of democratic age of Taisho period, because of his publication entitled "*On the Meaning of Constitutionalism and its Way Crowned with Perfection*" in *Chuo Koron* in 1915, which established Yoshino's status as a theorist on democracy. Yanaihara was a university student at the time.<sup>48</sup> Although Yanaihara was in less intimate terms with Yoshino than with Nitobe, Yanaihara's political theories are closer to Yoshino Sakuzo than to Nitobe's, especially the political theories concerning colonies and democracy.

During his education at Tokyo Imperial University, Yanaihara met Nitobe Inazo once again. By this time, Nitobe Inazo had become a professor there and he taught Yanaihara colonial policy. Nitobe Inazo had once worked in Taiwan as the head of the Colonial Bureau of Agriculture [*shokusankyoku*] in 1900, and had established the infrastructure for the

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<sup>46</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi no ayunde kita michi," p.16-17

<sup>47</sup> Germaine A. Hoston, *The Fate of Liberalism in Prewar Japan* in *Journal of Asian Studies*, (Ann Arbor: Association for Asian Studies, 1992) vol. 51 no.2 p.300

<sup>48</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.266

sugar refining industry, because of his training at the Sapporo Agricultural College.<sup>49</sup>

During Nitobe's term of service in the Taiwanese colonial government, the status of Taiwan remained vague in the minds of the Japanese people because Taiwan was Japan's first colony and government leaders did not have a detailed strategic plan for treating Taiwan.

After working in Taiwan, Nitobe began to help develop Japanese colonial policy. He took in charge of a course at Tokyo Imperial University called "Colonial Policies" in 1908, and continued it for nine years.<sup>50</sup> Yanaihara majored in Colonial Studies in university and listened to Nitobe's lectures. According to Yanaihara, who kept all the notes of this course and used it as the base is for developing his own ideas, Nitobe lectured on colonial studies from a humanistic point of view. Yanaihara followed in Nitobe's footsteps and took charge of the course in 1920 at the age of twenty-seven. Although the most obvious influence over Yanaihara can be discovered in colonial policy, his ideas differed from those of Nitobe - these differences will be discussed in the following chapter.

### **Yanaihara's way to Christianity and Uchimura Kanzo**

Since Uchimura's Mukyokai did not practice baptism, it is not exactly clear when Yanaihara became a Christian, but it is quite sure that Yanaihara converted to Christianity when he was studying at *Ichiko*. Yanaihara probably encountered Christianity for the first time in his childhood, when missionaries preached around Imabari in the early years of the Meiji period. There was indeed a famous Japanese preacher in Imabari at that time named Yokoi Toshio. During his middle school life in Kobe, Yanaihara again had the chance to come in contact with Christianity through his friend, Kawanishi Jitsuzo and his teacher,

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<sup>49</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Daiichi Koto Gakkocho," p.669. Sugar refinery eventually became one of the most important industry in Taiwan. The productivity of sugar in Taiwan rose from ten million pound in 1901, to sixty million pound in 1912. (Kimitada Miwa, *Colonial Theories and Practices in Prewar Japan*, in John F. Howes, ed. *Nitobe Inazo: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific*, p.166)

Shimaji Raimu, and because of his unpleasant experience in hazing Matsunaga Nobunari.

In the fifth year of middle school, Yanaihara had the chance to read a Bible in his home in Imabari, one that probably belonged to his elder sister. He found it when he cleaned the house, but he gave up reading the Bible after reading it because the Pentateuch had too many terms in Japanese syllabary writing style to understand easily.<sup>51</sup>

Yanaihara's first real inclination towards Christianity came when he was admitted into Ichiko. Influenced by his seniors, he was surrounded by a sentiment of thankfulness and introspection. On the one hand, he was delighted because he could learn the "ways" of Christianity, but simultaneously, he realized his sinfulness.<sup>52</sup> The young Yanaihara thirsted for faith and he eventually had a chance to read a work entitled *Kyuanroku* [Records to search for inner peace] by Uchimura Kanzo. He bought *Seisho no Kenkyu* [Biblical Studies] in a Christian bookstore near Tokyo University every month. On one occasion, Yanaihara had the chance to participate in the funeral of Uchimura's daughter, Rutsuko at the Zoshigaya graveyard in Tokyo. From this funeral, he learnt that according to Christianity death did not simply mean an end.<sup>53</sup> Eventually, he participated in Uchimura Kanzo's bible class and discussed religious questions with the great Christian teacher himself.

This experience occurred at the time of Yanaihara's parents death. This probably caused him to re-consider questions of human life and death. He was comforted by the belief that his parents would go to the heaven after life, as he had been told at Rutsuko's funeral.<sup>54</sup> Christianity became a source of comfort to him throughout his university life.

<sup>50</sup> Kimitada Miwa, p.159

<sup>51</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi wa ikanishite kirisuto shinsha to nataka?" p.140

<sup>52</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi wa ikanishite kirisuto shinsha to nataka?"p.141

<sup>53</sup> Uchimura Kanzo announced in the funeral that "this is not a funeral. This is the wedding ceremony of Rutsuko." He picked up a piece of earth and cried "Rutsuko, banzai!" According to Yanaihara, he was deeply impressed by Uchimura. (Wakao Fujita, in Nobuya Bamba & John F. Howes ed., p.202)

<sup>54</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi wa ikanishite kirisuto shinsha to nataka?" p.143

It is noteworthy that Yanaihara Tadao did not become personally close to Uchimura.

As Yanaihara wrote:

'Differing from my seniors and my friends, I never became the intimate follower (*naideshi*) of Uchimura Kanzo. Mr. Uchimura never invited me to his home for a dinner, or gave me *hagi-no-mochi*, [i.e. a kind of Japanese food made of glutinous rice powder] which was the famous food of Uchimura's family. ...

The people outside always counted me as the 'one of the best disciples' (*Kotei*) of Uchimura. However, I am in reality outside the circle of Uchimura. Among Uchimura's disciple, there is no such system of *kotei*. Moreover, I am not a legitimate disciple of the Uchimura's ideology.<sup>55</sup>

It might be true that Yanaihara was not an intimate follower of Uchimura. Yanaihara was not as religious as Uchimura at that time. He did not devote all of his energy to studying the bible, and he did not want to become a preacher, like some of Uchimura's disciples in Kyoyukai [*Christian Friendship Society*,] which was a society organized around Uchimura's lectures.<sup>56</sup>

Besides, Yanaihara belonged to the Oak Society [*Kashiwakai*] at that time. The name of Oak Society came from the place Kashiwaki where Uchimura gave his Bible lecture every Sunday. A group of listeners organized themselves into the Oak Society, like the Kyoyukai. However, unlike Kyoyukai, it was not a religious organization and many members were not Christians; some of them were even atheists or Buddhists. They came to listen to Uchimura because they find their way in life [*kyudo*], but eventually they stopped attending his lectures. As the Kyoyukai members were all Christians, Uchimura was more intimate with them, but his attitudes were completely different towards the Oak Society. Besides, the members of Oak Society mainly came from Tokyo University and Ichiko, which were the symbols of

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<sup>55</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Uchimura Kanzo to tomo ni*, (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1975) p.i-ii.

<sup>56</sup> For example, Fujii Takeshi, one of the disciples of Uchimura Kanzo, graduated from Law Faculty of Todai, and worked in the administrative posts in prefectural governments of Kyoto and Yamagata. However, in 1915, he quitted his work in the government, devoted himself into Christianity and became a preacher. Uchimura himself has been a journalist and later on he quitted the job of writing commentaries on contemporary affairs and concentrated on his biblical studies and published his famous magazine, *Seisho no Kenkyu*. (Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, pp.193, 290)

conservatism at that time.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, Uchimura at first neither favored the Oak Society nor Yanaihara, and called the members of the society “the eggs of the viper.” Later the members of Oak Society became more religious, and the enthusiasm of some members like Yanaihara changed Uchimura’s attitudes. However, I think that Uchimura was probably still quite cautious towards the Oak Society because of its nature; his feeling towards the society was also complicated.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, Yanaihara was not the most intimate follower of Uchimura, but Yanaihara still admired Uchimura and was interested in most of what he had to say. Besides, Yanaihara was deeply influenced by other senior members of the Oak Society, who was also his intimate friends in the years in Todai, like Fujii Takeshi and Tsukamoto Toraji.<sup>59</sup>

### Challenges against Yanaihara’s Belief

Because of his conversion to Christianity in *Ichiko*, Yanaihara faced many intellectual challenges. In the early Taisho period, Japan experienced the influx of many different new ways of thinking. During Yanaihara’s third year in the *Ichiko*, he became involved in a discussion with one of his schoolmates, Kurada Hyakuzo. Kurada Hyakuzo was an atheist, who like Yanaihara belonged to the school’s oratorical society. The discussion began after Yanaihara had made a speech called “*Junkyosha no chi*” [*Blood of a martyr*] in a preaching tone. Kurada, who devoted himself to reading Nietzschean work, reacted negatively to

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<sup>57</sup> Uchiura Kanzo began teaching in *Ichiko* in 1890. The Imperial Rescript on Education was issued in 1890 and all teaching members and students were supposed to bow deeply before the Rescript. However, in the following year, when the Rescript was granted in *Ichiko* during a ceremony, Uchimura refused to bow as deeply as required, because he thought that it was not necessary to do so. Therefore, he was strongly criticized as a “national traitor” and he became very famous simultaneously. Because of this incident, Uchimura became aware of the conservatives. This affected Uchimura in his attitudes towards the Oak Society. Later on, Uchimura Kanzo was angry with the Oak Society because one of its members named Kuroki, a Christian, married in a Shinto shrine. This eventually led to the dissolution of the society.

<sup>58</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p. 290

<sup>59</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p. 289



Yanaihara's speech. Although each realized the standpoint of the other, it was difficult for a Christian and an atheist to find a place to compromise fully. Several years later, Kurada published a work entitled *Please live as a Naturkind! – addressed to Fellow Y* to criticize Yanaihara's views. Yanaihara did not argue with Kurada, but Kurada's criticism offered Yanaihara a chance to rethink his religious belief, and Yanaihara's devotion to Christianity became firmer.<sup>60</sup>

For the remainder of his life, Yanaihara's beliefs were challenged from both left and right by Marxist theories and by ultranationalistic thinking currents. After Uchimura's death in 1930, his disciples continued the evangelistic work under a strong influence of Marxist ideas.<sup>61</sup> However, Yanaihara Tadao rejected these ideas and drew a clear distinction between Marxism and Christianity. In the late 1930s, when the Marxist influence diminished, nationalistic ideas replaced it as the greatest enemy of Yanaihara's belief. His response will be discussed further in the following section.

It is sometimes difficult to determine whether someone was really influenced by his mentors, and to what extent his mentors influenced him. How did Uchimura, Nitobe and Yoshino influence Yanaihara? How did his family influence him? I think one of the ways is to explore the writings of Yanaihara himself and that is what I attempted to do in this chapter. Another way is to compare the ideology of Yanaihara and those of his mentors, which I will do in the next chapter, though this approach may have its weaknesses. However, in this chapter, at the very least, we could see the family and school environment in which Yanaihara's ideology developed. Birth in the humanitarian Yanaihara family made Tadao a diligent student and a man who would show his mercy to the misfortunate. In the Meiji and Taisho period, an influx of Western ideology enabled Yanaihara, and also his

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<sup>60</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, pp.194 & 239 Later, Kurada himself converted into Christianity.

mentors to encounter Western religions and ideas. In fact, all his mentors tried to use humanitarianism to solve the contemporary political and international problems. Humanitarianism would be a keyword for Yanaihara's development and ideas throughout his life, as I will show in the following chapter.

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<sup>61</sup> Wakao Fujita, p.199

## *Chapter Three*

# **Ideas of Yanaihara Tadao in Prewar and Postwar Period**

In this chapter, I will focus on the political ideas of Yanaihara Tadao, which will constitute the main body of this thesis. Yanaihara Tadao felt that he had a duty to his nation. This sense of duty or responsibility had been grown throughout his childhood and adolescence, and has already been explained in the previous chapter. Since Yanaihara's childhood, Japan had actively involved itself in foreign expansion and had gained some success, as in the Russo-Japanese War and the subsequent annexation of Korea. In the 1930s, two important episodes definitely changed the orbit of Japanese politics. One was the outbreak of the Manchurian Crisis in 1931, which marked the beginning of the Fifteen-Year War, and the other was the rise of the young military clique to power after 1936. Japan became an increasingly aggressive country. How did a patriotic Christian like Yanaihara respond to issues like war, just war and pacifism during these fifteen years of war? Were his patriotism and his pacifism in conflict?

With the expansion of the Japanese territory before 1945, many different peoples came under the control of Japanese colonial governments. How did Yanaihara tackle the problem of racial equality and refute the justifications for Japanese colonialism? After the war, what did Yanaihara suggest as ways to re-establish the country? What lessons could Japan derive from its wartime experiences? Finally, throughout this period, how did Yanaihara evaluate the role of Christianity in the Japanese political sphere? What is the limitation of Christianity in its application to the Japanese politics?

## Christianity and Socialist ideas: which was the right way to achieve the Utopian Society?

In prewar Japan, the government treated Christianity and communism similarly: firstly, they both propagated “dangerous ideologies” because they were anti-emperor and anti-national polity [*kokutai*.] Secondly, they both advocated “social equality.” Thirdly, they both came from the West and were considered “foreign” to Japan. Therefore, the government perceived these two ideologies as equally dangerous. In fact, Christianity did share an intimate relationship with socialism. Most of the prominent early Christians were socialists simultaneously. In the Meiji period, both socialism and Christianity were important to the early socialists and liberals as the prescribed therapy for modernizing Japan’s social problems.<sup>62</sup> Christians such as Niijima Jo participated in the Social Masses Party and Abe Isoo helped found the Japanese Socialist Party. Even Uchimura had written an article called *Kirisutokyo to Shakai Shugi* [*Christianity and Socialism*] in 1903 to clarify the misunderstanding of the Japanese public who viewed Christianity as a branch of socialism.<sup>63</sup> Uchimura wrote that Christianity did not advocate any social system.<sup>64</sup>

At the turn of the century, the Japanese Christians began to realize the basic difference between Christianity and socialism. Uchimura thought that Christianity was not comparable to either imperialism or any other political tenets. Yoshino Sakuzo, called a Christian socialist by the historian Peter Duus, wrote that enlightenment of the human character should be more important than external social reform since social reform could only provide a temporary change and was thus a negative answer to social problems. Yoshino attacked materialism and the Bolshevik Revolution as products of radicalism in the 1920s.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Takeshi Nishida, “Kinoshita Naoe: Pacifism and Religious Withdrawal,” in Nobuya Bamba and John F. Howes ed., *Pacifism in Japan: The Christian and Socialist Tradition*. (Kyoto: Minerva Press, 1978) p.67

<sup>63</sup> Uchimura Kanzo, “Kirisutokyo to Shakai Shugi” in *Uchimura Kanzo shu*, p.250.

<sup>64</sup> Uchimura Kanzo, “Kirisutokyo to Shakai Shugi” in *Uchimura Kanzo shu*, p.252.

<sup>65</sup> Yoshino Sakuzo, “Shakai Shugi to Kirisutokyo,” in *Yoshino Sakuzo shu*, pp.17,19.

One of the primary themes in Yanaihara Tadao's writing was the distinction between Christianity and Marxism. He wrote a book called *Kirisutokyo to Marukusu Shugi* [*Christianity and Marxism*] to discuss this issue in great detail. He listed several irreconcilable differences between Christianity and Marxism which could never be compromised. Moreover, he, like Yoshino, thought that real social improvement could not be effected by changing the social system alone.<sup>66</sup>

What did he think these differences were? Firstly, Christianity is monotheistic while Marxism is atheistic; thus, the force which dominates historical progress is basically different in Christianity and Marxism. Christians tended to view historical development as the work of God, from the Creation to the End of the World. On the other hand, Marxists tended to view historical development as a consequence of material productivity. Because of the Marxist emphasis on material productivity, Marxism and Christianity could not co-exist.<sup>67</sup> According to Marxism, the way to achieve freedom was by socialism; Christianity promised people eternal life as well as freedom.<sup>68</sup>

Secondly, Christians, unlike the Marxists, did not prefer any particular kind of society, because the kingdom of Christ did not belong to this world. The Christians were only concerned with whether or not a person was righteous. However, Yanaihara did not think that this meant that a Christian should be indifferent to the social problems. He criticized those churches that allied themselves with the "dominating class" and did not try to solve the problem of poverty.<sup>69</sup> Christianity, according to Yanaihara, should be concerned with the problem of poverty. However, Yanaihara did not limit the solution to the problem of poverty to the economic emancipation of the poor; he was more concerned with their spiritual

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<sup>66</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Uchimura Kanzo to Sakai Kogawa," in *Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo*, p.291

<sup>67</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo," p.97

<sup>68</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo," p.127

and moral freedom.<sup>70</sup>

Thirdly, Yanaihara's Christianity did not agree with the Marxist emphasis on class struggle. He thought that Christianity did not divide human beings into different groups, such as the *bourgeoisie* and proletariat. Christianity tended to view human relations as relations among individuals. A capitalist could be a friend of a proletarian. Besides, class struggle could, as suggested by ultra-leftists, lead to a violent revolution. Since Yanaihara's Christianity advocated non-violence, Christianity and Marxism were in fact quite different.<sup>71</sup>

Fourthly, Yanaihara was anti-Marxist because of the weight he placed on importance of "righteousness" (*seigi*) and "truth" (*shinri*). The ultimate aim of Marxists was "economic fulfillment," that is, economic and social equality. Yanaihara, however, thought that the ultimate concern of Christianity was "righteousness", which meant emphasis on human dignity, loving one's neighbor and helping the needy, and that this was a higher value than economic interest. Therefore he wrote that in Christianity righteousness was more important than economic interest, and in Marxist materialism righteousness was just another name for economic interest.<sup>72</sup> If one lived just to satisfy one's material needs, then human beings would not differ from the animals.<sup>73</sup>

Fifthly, Yanaihara believed that there was an absolute Christian truth in the world, and thus opposed the idea of "relative" truth. To him, there was no truth of the proletariat or truth of the bourgeoisie. Truth, he thought, could be perceived differently, but this did not mean that truth was relative. On the contrary, people should seek the absolute Truth through

<sup>69</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo," p.81

<sup>70</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo," p.75

<sup>71</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo," pp.81, 89

<sup>72</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Kirisutokyo to nihon," p.431

<sup>73</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo," p.95

these different perceptions and interpretations.<sup>74</sup>

I think there were two reasons why Yanaihara wrote extensively about the differences between Marxism and Christianity. First, there were still many people thought that the two tenets were basically the same, and that Christians could be socialist simultaneously. Many people thought that Uchimura Kanzo had been a socialist. Yanaihara wanted to clarify to the Japanese public that Marxism and Christianity were basically different. He thought that Uchimura had not become a socialist, but was just a social reformer, which Yanaihara thought was the responsibility of a Christian.<sup>75</sup> He also worried that many Christian youths might be tempted to become Marxists. They said, “isn’t Christianity angry over social injustices and shouldn’t it rise up for righteousness? Then, [Marxism and Christianity] are together.” “Isn’t it right that Christians should not consider the safety of themselves, but should sacrifice the happiness of their families for the sake of righteousness? Then, we are the same.”<sup>76</sup> Therefore, Yanaihara felt an obligation to clarify the differences.

Secondly, Marxist thought seriously challenged Christianity, both in Japan and in other parts of the world. For example, Marxists wrote that Christianity was not scientific truth, but only superstition. Christianity was merely a religion of compromising. The capitalists used the religion to justify and protect their class interest.<sup>77</sup> Therefore, Yanaihara had to defend his religion. He thought that Christianity was not a religion of compromise; rather, when Christians considered issues of guilt and righteousness, evil and virtue, earth and heaven, they in fact had no room to make compromise. Moreover, a true Christianity must not keep silence about the social injustice. A real Christian should encourage social

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<sup>74</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Shinri to senso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol. 18 pp.105-106

<sup>75</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Uchimura Sensei tai Shakai Shugi,” in *Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo*, pp. 276-277

<sup>76</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo,” p.117

<sup>77</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Uchimura Kanzo to Sakai Kogawa,” in *Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo*, p.269

reform.<sup>78</sup> Christianity should act as the conscience of society, the light on the Earth.

Christianity was a higher truth than the “shallow,” atheistic and materialistic Marxism.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Uchimura Kanzo to Sakai Kogawa,” in *Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo*, p.291

<sup>79</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo,” 129



## Colonial Policies, Racial Equality and Foreign Relations

“Because Jesus Christ was crucified, the distinction between Jews and other peoples disappeared and [different races] became brothers and sisters.”<sup>80</sup>

This quote presents Yanaihara’s basic idea about the issue of racial equality based on Christian teachings. The main colonies of Japan before 1945 were Taiwan and Korea. Moreover, Japan also had “special privileges and interests” in Manchuria and Northern China. To a newly-risen colonial power like Japan, how to administrate the colonies became a problem for the Japanese government. Should the Japanese people treat the subject races equally? Should the Japanese force the Koreans and the Chinese to assimilate? Did the Japanese people have the responsibility to help the Koreans and the Chinese, so-called “inferior races”, develop? Would this policy be just a Japanese version of “White Men’s Burden”? Yanaihara showed his deep understanding towards the Koreans and the Taiwanese in these colonies at that time.<sup>81</sup> I will demonstrate Yanaihara’s view concerning these aspects in this section.

Yanaihara began to learn about colonial policy from his teacher Nitobe, so I would like to introduce the main themes of Nitobe’s colonial views here. Nitobe’s theory did not emphasize the need for national defense in the colonial policy of Japan. Rather, he emphasized the benefits that the colony could derive from the colonial power, since the latter is more advanced and would bring guardianship and civilization to the colony. Nitobe did not believe that Japan pursued the road to imperialism because of the territorial ambitions of the Japanese. Rather, he thought the Japan’s impetus to imperialism was reactive. He told Westerners that Japan had started her adventure in Taiwan because the savages of Taiwan had slaughtered some Japanese sailors who were wrecked on its coast, not because of territorial

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<sup>80</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kirisutokyo to Nihon,” in *Kokka no Riso – Senji Hyoron shu*, p.432

<sup>81</sup> Takenaka, “Teikokushugika no Yanaihara Tadao,” in *Kitakyushu Daigaku Hosei Ronshu* (Kitakyushu: Kitakyushu Daigaku Hogakkai, vol.20 no.4 ,p.130

ambitions. He wrote that Li Hongzhang found the Chinese incapable of ruling Taiwan, and asked Japan to rule Taiwan for them, a duty Japan accepted.<sup>82</sup> Probably Nitobe did not believe this, but wanted to justify Japan's action in front of the foreigners. Moreover, according to Nitobe, Japan paid ten million yen per year to support the military regime in Taiwan, but drew only three million yen in taxes in return. The deficit had to be paid from the Japanese exchequer. Therefore, Japan did not benefit from the acquisition of Taiwan, and the colonization in Asia was a Japanese version of "White Man's Burden."<sup>83</sup>

In regard to colonial policy, Nitobe explained to Western audiences that Japan did not put any pressure upon the Taiwanese to effect Japanization. Rather, the Japanese respected the cultural heritage of Taiwan and its people's living styles. He agreed with the Japanese assimilation policy in Korea, however, because the Japanese and Koreans were similar races.<sup>84</sup>

Nitobe did not consider that colonialism was unfair to the subject people because according to him, biological differences disqualified some races from political equality.<sup>85</sup> For example, the following comment showed his skepticism about China's ability to govern itself when China had just established its Republican Government in 1912.

I do not believe a republic can survive in China, do I not believe the people are prepared to govern their country so.<sup>86</sup>

One more point should be pointed out in reference to Nitobe's colonial policy. After the Manchurian Incident in 1931, Nitobe supported the Japanese action there, and also in Shanghai when the Japanese attacked the Chinese army there in 1932. Contemporary

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<sup>82</sup> Nitobe Inazo, *The Japanese Nation*, pp.235-236.

<sup>83</sup> Nitobe Inazo, *The Japanese Nation*, pp.238.

<sup>84</sup> Nitobe Inazo, *The Japanese Nation*, p.256

<sup>85</sup> Kimitada Miwa, "Colonial Theories and Practices in Prewar Japan," in John F. Howes, ed. *Nitobe Inazo: Japan's Bridge Across the Pacific*, p.164

<sup>86</sup> Nitobe interview in *Baltimore Evening Sun*, January 13, 1912, p.2. Quoted in Thomas W. Burkman, "The

foreign commentators severely attacked this action.<sup>87</sup> Nitobe justified the Japanese attempt to colonize China by arguing that the Chinese were not capable of ruling themselves. He thought the development of the Republican Government in the previous twenty years had proven his point. After the establishment of Republic, China's international status did not change and the country was divided up by the warlords, none of whom could unify it. Therefore, as Nitobe had already mentioned, the Wilsonian principle of "self-determination" in Manchuria might be solved if the Manchurians separated themselves from their incompetent Chinese rulers.<sup>88</sup>

Yanaihara took a different standpoint from his mentor. Although he inherited the lecture notes of Nitobe's colonial policy and was a supporter of Nitobe, their colonial policies had fundamental differences. As I shall demonstrate later, Yanaihara based much his discussion of colonial policy on the concept of absolute racial equality, which differed from Nitobe's "social Darwinistic" justification. Yanaihara used Christianity as a basis to support his principle of "racial equality", but it seems that although Nitobe himself was also a Christian, a Quaker, he did not relate Christianity to actual politics.

Before the Manchurian Crisis in 1931, Yanaihara's aim in studying colonies was to help the subject people in the colonies improve themselves. The representative work of Yanaihara before the Manchurian Crisis was the book, *Colonialism and Colonial Policy* [*Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku*], which was first published in 1926. I would like to highlight some of the main points of the book.

Yanaihara thought that it was more important for the colonizer to protect the native people in the colonies than to exploit them. If the colonizer wanted to make money quickly and exploit the colonies, it would eventually lead to the deterioration of the colonies'

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Geneva Spirit," in John F. Howes, pp.181-182

<sup>87</sup> Ota Yuzo, "Taiheiyo no Hashi" toshite no Nitobe Inazo, pp.89-90.

<sup>88</sup> Ota Yuzo, "Taiheiyo no Hashi" toshite no Nitobe Inazo, p.90

economy and the resistance of the native people.<sup>89</sup> The main theme of Yanaihara's colonial policy was how to enhance the standard of the native people so as to stabilize the Empire. He praised the Nitobe's programme of developing sugarcane agriculture, although the benefits obtained did not go to the Taiwanese farmers.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, I do not think Yanaihara oppose colonialism at this point. Yanaihara thought that colonization could be permitted if the colonization process did not involve force and brutality. If the natives allowed other people to migrate into their country, Yanaihara did not object peaceful colonization.<sup>91</sup>

The goal of Yanaihara's colonial policy was to bring the subject people a better life, so that the civilization of the colonies could make progress. The empire should, like the British Empire, grant autonomy to the colonies, so that the colonies could combine with the mother country to in a commonwealth.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, through the process of colonization, all the land could be fully utilized because the population could be more evenly distributed – the people in overpopulated empire could migrate to the newly-acquired colonies. The flow of labor forces and the wealth could also become easier within the Commonwealth.<sup>93</sup>

After the Manchurian Crisis, Yanaihara wrote less about colonization. His primary studies after the Manchurian Crisis was the *Manchurian Question* and *Taiwan under Imperialism*. Yanaihara was disappointed that the colonial policy he advocated was not used to help the colonies at that time, and he determined to use his writings to repudiate the propaganda of the military. He could not reprint *Taiwan under Imperialism* because of the pressure of the censorship. Below I would like to present on Yanaihara's views on

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<sup>89</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku*, p.314

<sup>90</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku*, p.544, I think he implied here that it would be better if the Taiwanese peasants could also share the profits and the sugarcane programme proved that the Empire could help the economy of the colonies.

<sup>91</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku*, p.584

<sup>92</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku*, p.606

<sup>93</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku*, pp.582-583

colonialism after 1931 to explain his changing attitude towards Japanese colonialism.

One of the justifications that the Japanese imperialists put forth in pre-World War II Japan was that empire would bring economic benefits to Japan. After the Great Depression began in 1929, many people began to question the feasibility of free trade in maintaining economic prosperity. Most people in the 1930s regarded that the most efficient method of becoming “immune” to the economic disaster was to establish its own economic bloc in order to secure raw materials and markets for finished goods. The most efficient way to establish its own economic bloc” was to gain colonies. Therefore, the Japanese government stressed the strategic and economic importance of Manchuria to Japan in order to gain support from the public for its imperialist policies. For example, when the Sino-Japanese War eventually developed into the Pacific War, the Japanese military government enthusiastically promoted the concept of the “Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” [Dai Toa Kyo-eiken] in its wartime propaganda, and this was a continuation of its Japan-Manchurian Bloc [Nichiman Keizai Burokku] of the early 1930s and Japan-Manchuria-China Economic Bloc [Nichi-man-shi Keizai Burokku] after the establishment of Manchukuo in 1932. Yanaihara regarded the slogan of “Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere” as window-dressing to justify a war of imperialistic expansion.<sup>94</sup>

Yanaihara questioned whether Japan could really benefit from the expansion of its sphere of influence. Yanaihara thought that the government exaggerated the economic benefits derived from Manchuria when it used the slogan “Keiki wa Manshu yori,” [economic prosperity comes from Manchuria] during the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, in order to stir up the support of the Japanese people.<sup>95</sup>

Yanaihara thought that after the Manchurian Incident, Japan’s economic recession did

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<sup>94</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kyo-eikenron,” *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.5, pp.36-37.

not show signs of improvement. Manchuria as a hinterland lost its purchasing power because of the political instability caused by the Incident. The export to Manchuria from Japan did increase to a certain extent, but this was only because of the fall in the price of yen against silver, not because of the Manchurian 'participation' in Japan's economic bloc.<sup>96</sup>

After the Manchurian Crisis, most of the Yanaihara's work on colonial studies aimed at criticizing the propaganda of the military on expansionism. He criticized whether Japan needed colonies. Yanaihara wrote an article called *Military and Assimilation: A Comparison of Colonial Policies between Japan and France*, in which he stated that although France gained vast areas of colonies in Africa, the French empire did not bring economic benefits to France. With a few exceptions like Equatorial Africa, the French government had to aid all of the colonies and these aid funds became a heavy financial burden on the French government.<sup>97</sup> The African colonies did not provide France goods in return that France needed badly. Trade between France and her colonies contributed only 12% of its total trade. Moreover, the colonies did not provide outlets for population pressure. (France did not have population pressure as Japan did.) Most of the French population concentrated in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, and the number remained insignificant, despite the efforts of the French government, who wanted the people in the province of Alsace to migrate into North Africa after the French failure in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, France did not really benefit from her colonies.<sup>99</sup>

Yanaihara thought that Japan, as in the case of France, could not really benefit from

<sup>95</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Manshukoku Shonin," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.5, p.87

<sup>96</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Manshukoku Shonin," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.5, p.87

<sup>97</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Gunji teki to Doka teki: Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 p.279

<sup>98</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Gunji teki to Doka teki: Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 pp.284-285.

<sup>99</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Gunji teki to Doka teki: Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 pp.282-283

colonization of neighbouring countries. The trade between Japan and her colonies constituted only 26% in her foreign trade in 1930. Moreover, like France, Japan did not gain what it lacked through its trade with the colonies. Coal from Manchuria and rice from Korea competed with domestic products.<sup>100</sup> Division of labour among different colonies in producing different goods that the mother country needed did not occur in the empire. Therefore, the slogan of “Keiki wa Manshu yori” was indeed only a “slogan”. Like France, the hope of using colonies to bring economic prosperity to the mother country proved to be futile.

Another justification of Japanese colonialism was the concept that Japan had been elected to civilize other “backward” parts of the world. Since Yanaihara advocated the concept of “racial equality” he not only repudiated this justification, but also wished to help the subject people in the colonies gain autonomy from Japanese rule. Yanaihara’s concern for the Korean and Manchurian peoples dated back to summer vacation during his second year at the *Ichiko*. In July 1912, Yanaihara and his other twenty-three fellow schoolmates started their voyage from Kobe to Manchuria.<sup>101</sup>

Yanaihara wrote at that time that he did not agree with the attitudes of the contemporary Japanese towards the Manchurians. First, he wrote, ‘Japanese who always look down on Manchurians will not gain their trust.’<sup>102</sup> He accused the Japanese character of *tomin-konjo*, that was, the group psychology of the people of the insular country, who neglected the needs and feelings of the outsiders [*soto no hito*.]<sup>103</sup> If the Japanese people wanted to administer

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<sup>100</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Gunji teki to Doka teki: Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 p.295

<sup>101</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.213. Yanaihara and his fellow schoolmates were warmly welcomed by the Japanese people in Manchuria because they had high expectations to these *Ichiko* students that they could help Japan develop Manchuria in the future. (Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.215) The trip was abruptly stopped because Emperor Meiji died in the midst of the trip and they had to go back to Japan.

<sup>102</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.215

<sup>103</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.215

Manchuria well, they must first gain the trust of the Manchurians. To do this, they must respect the Manchurians first. Therefore, he suggested that the Japanese should first rise above their *tomin-konjo* through education. This *tomin-konjo* was mixed with the pride of the Japanese because of their victories in the Sino-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese Wars. Therefore, the Japanese did not treat the Koreans and the Manchurians as equally as they treated themselves.<sup>104</sup> During the trip, Yanaihara visited the battlefields in Lushun where the Russo-Japanese War had been fought and observed the difficult life of the Chinese coolies. These experiences played an important role in driving him to pursue the academic studies of the 'colonial policies,' since he wanted to help the Manchurians by establishing a fairer colonial government policy.

Although Yanaihara believed a patriot should love his country, he should not do so by exploiting the peoples of other countries. He wrote, 'one who only loves his country out of selfishness and exploits other countries, is like a dead person. If a country only develops by exploiting other peoples, the country should not survive.'<sup>105</sup>

Yanaihara again used the case of France as a control with which to compare Japanese colonial policy. He wrote that one of the reasons why France could not stabilize its rule in the colonies in West Africa was because of its colonial policies towards the natives. Because the French seized land from the natives, destroyed their social organization, and interfered in their language and religion, it caused instability in colonial rule because of revolts of natives.<sup>106</sup>

Politically, Japan and France followed the policy of *rattachments* [*Naichi Encho Shugi*]

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<sup>104</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.218.

<sup>105</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.220

<sup>106</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron." in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 p.280



in colonial rule, that is, the mother country treated the colonies as an extension or an additional province of the mother country, and did not formulate a separate policy to rule the colonies. Like France, the Japanese government did not establish a special administration system or a special examination system to recruit bureaucrats for the colonies. From the perspective of administration, although the government perceived colonies as an identical polity as the home provinces, it did not allow the subject people in the colonies to participate in politics. Japan rejected the demands for a Korean or Taiwanese Colonial Diet and resisted the growth of special political organization in the colonies.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, Yanaihara regarded that the Japanese colonial policy before the World War II as unfair to the subject people there.

Yanaihara also criticized the policy of *l'assimilation*. Japan actively promoted teaching the Japanese language and discouraged using native languages in its colonies. Yanaihara presented the example of French colonial policy, in which the assimilation policies were not limited to language education, but also involved the introduction of French social codes, customs and religion. This policy eventually led to the rebellion of the subject people, as in Algeria and Morocco. Suppressing these rebellions placed a heavy financial burden on the mother country.<sup>108</sup> In contrast, the British colonial policies were more successful because they respected the daily customs of the native people.<sup>109</sup>

The Japanese government claimed that assimilation policy and Japanese language education helped spread the superior Japanese spirit and value. Yanaihara Tadao again questioned this justification. France did have its own values, such as the Enlightenment

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<sup>107</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 pp.296-297

<sup>108</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 p290

<sup>109</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4

philosophy, the Napoleon Code, and the slogans in the French Revolution, “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity,” to preach in their African colonies.<sup>110</sup> France tried to apply their own policies in these “backward” colonies under the slogan that all the human races were equal and the standard of the Africans could be “promoted” by these assimilation policies to achieve the same level of their mother country, France.

However, what values did Japan have to preach in countries like China and Korea? If Japan’s intrinsic and paramount value, “loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to the parents,” was its justification for colonization, would this not necessarily lead to a suicidal conflicting conclusion? These concepts, the characters (*kanji*) for them and pronunciation (*chu* and *ko*) of “loyalty” and “filial piety” came originally from China. If Japan really wanted to use these concepts to justify their action of assimilation, would it not be more appropriate for the Chinese to assimilate the Japanese first?<sup>111</sup>

Yanaihara disagreed with the ultra-nationalist views of certain contemporary Japanese people. From Yanaihara’s point of view, there were too many things that were labeled uniquely “Japanese.” For example, ultra-nationalist thought there was a Japanese “social science” and a Japanese “natural science” which developed under the protection of militarism. Japan was similar to the Nazi Germany, in which social science praised nationalism and war. However, as mentioned above, Yanaihara wrote strongly against relativism and rejected the existence of a relative truth. Therefore, to him there was not a Japanese version of Truth.

I would like to point out one more aspect of Yanaihara’s “racial equality”. Yanaihara criticized some contemporary commentators, who wrote that “China is not a unified society,

p.298

<sup>110</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4

p.299

<sup>111</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nichibutsu Shokumin Seisaku Hikaku no ichiron,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4

not a unified country. There are no nationalistic ideas in the national character of the Chinese people. Chiang's government in Nanjing is merely one of the regional warlord regimes in China."<sup>112</sup> Yanaihara demanded a more realistic and practical view of contemporary China. According to Yanaihara, China had escaped from its status as a semi-colony, which had resulted from foreign political and territorial interference, in a rapid pace in recent years.<sup>113</sup> Yanaihara thought that China, like Japan, had the potential to develop nationalism and their own nation-state because the Chinese was a relatively unified human race. Yanaihara thought that the stimulus of foreign aggression and recognition of the necessity to defend its national independence, would be a strong pre-requisite for China to build its own nation state. To view the Chinese people in the 1930s as unchanged since the pre-capitalistic stage was wrong. Therefore, Yanaihara suggested that the Japanese government should renew its policy in Sino-Japanese political negotiations, and this marked a striking contrast with the view of Nitobe.<sup>114</sup>

Why did Yanaihara develop these ideas? I would argue that Yanaihara's childhood experience played an important role in formulating his colonial theory. First, although the Yanaihara family was better-off than its neighbours, the best friend of Yanaihara's grandmother came from a poor family. It was through this contact that he began to develop his concept of "equality." Second, the willingness of Yanaihara's grandmother to help the needy also influenced Yanaihara's view that Japan should help other peoples in Asia.

Yanaihara seemed to agree with Nitobe's idea that colonialism might help the subject people, and he insisted that Japan could not benefit from colonization of the neighboring countries. Moreover, one of the main characteristics in Yanaihara's colonial policies, which

has been discussed above, was his rejection of the assimilation policies. This was closer to Yoshino Sakuzo's ideas towards colonial policy than it was to Nitobe's.

Yoshino Sakuzo favored expansionism until 1916. In that year he travelled to Manchuria and Korea, and discovered that the Koreans had their own independent civilization. The assimilation of the Koreans seemed impossible to him. Therefore, he argued if Japan wanted to pursue colonialism, it must still respect the cultural independence of the subject race. After a period of colonization, Japan should grant political autonomy to its subject people.<sup>115</sup>

In summary, I think that we can find more similarities between the colonial policies of Yanaihara and Yoshino, than those of Yanaihara and Nitobe. Yanaihara had chosen a way which was against the popular war in Manchuria in the 1930s. I think the Manchurian Incident became a crucial point in Yanaihara's intellectual development. He became increasingly distrustful of the actions of the Japanese government. He thought the government deceived the Japanese people. "We must not become defendants of imperialistic wars who recognize a selfish nationalism." He once asked the readers in an article he published in a magazine, *Friends of Women [Fujin no tomo]*. "[Since imperialistic wars are ruthless and unavoidable,] is it best to plan and make propaganda for imperialistic war, or is it best to avoid imperialistic war altogether, resist the main stream thinking currents and guide and develop the intelligence and morality of our nationals?"<sup>116</sup> Yanaihara voted for the latter alternative.

I think that one of Nitobe's influences over Yanaihara was Nitobe's recognition of the ability of the mother country, Japan, to help colonies develop. Nitobe had worked for the

<sup>114</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Shina Mondai no Shozai," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 pp.336-340

<sup>115</sup> Yoshino Sakuzo, "Mankan wo Shisatsu Shite," in *Chugoku, Chosen Ron*, pp.67 & 82.

Taiwan Colonial Government and helped improve agriculture there. Therefore, when Yanaihara discussed the colonial policy of Taiwan, he wrote extensively about the sugarcane cultivation and the sugar refinery industry in Taiwan. He used the development of such industry in Taiwan to justify his claim that Taiwan was more advanced than the Japanese people tended to think and that the Taiwanese should be granted more autonomy.

Did Yanaihara approve colonization itself? Although Yanaihara favored racial equality, he did affirm colonization. If we look at writing by Yanaihara before the Manchurian Incident, we find that he did not criticize the action of gaining colonies. Quite interestingly, although Yanaihara demanded a greater autonomy for the colonies to rule themselves and emphasized racial equality between the Japanese and the peoples in the colonies, he did not ask the Japanese government to let the colonies become independent. How could the Japanese colonies attain racial equality if the Japanese were the master of the colonies?

As the Japanese scholar Asada Kyoji has suggested, perhaps Yanaihara was dreaming of the British model in administrating Australia, New Zealand and Canada. During the inter-war period, these three places were British "dominions". Although they were the colonies of Great Britain, they retained their autonomy, their own government, and Britain did not interfere in their daily administration.<sup>117</sup> Yanaihara admired much about the British colonial policy. In his article comparing the French and Japanese colonialism which I have mentioned above, we clearly saw that Yanaihara thought the British colonial policy provided the best model for Japan. Thus, Yanaihara did not argue against colonization. Perhaps in the mind of Yanaihara, colonization was a natural historical trend and thus could not be avoided. Therefore, Yanaihara only fought for the greatest autonomy for the subject people

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<sup>116</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Shokuminchi Saibunkaku Mondai," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.4 p.353

<sup>117</sup> Asada Kyoji, "Yanaihara Tadao no Shokuminron (I)," in *Komazawa Daigaku Keizaigaku Ronshu*, vol.20 no.1 76-77

within the framework of colonialism.

It was only after the Manchurian Crisis that Yanaihara became active in criticizing the government policies of acquiring colonies. I think there were several possible reasons to account for Yanaihara's change in attitudes. Firstly, like most Japanese liberals such as Nitobe, Yanaihara was concerned with the Japanese diplomatic relations with the United States and Britain. He believed that the colonization of the Pacific Islands like the Marshall Islands, acquired from Germany after the First World War, was "peaceful colonization" but that colonization of Manchuria and attempts to colonize China were colonization that could bring war.<sup>118</sup> Therefore, since he did not want Japan to fight a war with the major powers, he did not agree with the colonizing effort after the Manchurian Crisis.

Secondly, Yanaihara did not agree with the war propaganda of the Japanese government that mentioned the potential benefits in acquiring Manchuria. He feared that Japan's actions might exploit the Chinese people. Thirdly, and most importantly, Yanaihara was concerned that the expansion of army might lead Japan into future wars, because the Japanese Army emphasized the 'necessity of force' in settling the Manchurian Problem.<sup>119</sup> Eventually, Yanaihara became an even more devoted pacifist, and the pacifist ideas of Yanaihara will be discussed in the following section.

Imperialism and expansion into different countries could not be separated from militarism. Militarism was the way to achieve imperialism.<sup>120</sup> Therefore, Yanaihara also showed great concern over military actions in different parts of the world, and over the rise of militarism in Japanese politics. Following Uchimura's advocacy, Yanaihara continued the

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<sup>118</sup> Asada Kyoji, "Yanaihara Tadao no Shokuminron (I)," in *Komazawa Daigaku Keizaigaku Ronshu*, vol.20 no.16 p.76

<sup>119</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Manshukoku no Seiritsu," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.2, p.539

<sup>120</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Gunkoku shugi, Teikoku shugi Shihon Shugi no Sogo no Kanren," in *Yanaihara Tadao*

pacifist standpoint of the Mukyokai movement. This would constitute the second part of this section, the relationship between militarism and pacifism.

After the Second World War, Yanaihara was still concerned about the issue of racial equality. Since Japan had no more empire, the question of 'racial equality' was not one between the Japanese people and their colonies. Rather, he asked the Japanese to learn from the lessons of the war and give up their sense of superiority over other ethnic groups. Japan's role in international society had to be redefined. This will be discussed in a greater detail in a later section.

## War and Pacifism

"I wish for peace with all of my heart. Just as Jesus Christ said, "I wish for real peace among individuals and races."<sup>121</sup>

"War is a kind of sickness, a kind of psychological sickness. War is evil, against the Truth."<sup>122</sup>

Yanaihara Tadao was an active pacifist and the two statements quoted above represent his standpoint. War had an intimate relation with imperialism since the wars Japan fought in these years were mainly imperialistic wars to gain new colonies. Yanaihara was regarded as one of the leading heirs of Uchimura Kanzo's pacifist thinking and attitude.<sup>123</sup> However, the political atmosphere in prewar Japan was unfavorable to pacifism. Japan became a modern state and an international power through a series of wars such as the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War and the First World War. Even Uchimura Kanzo himself wrote an article called *Justification for the Corean [Korean] War* in the *Japan Weekly Mail*, in which he openly supported the action of the Japanese army against the Qing Empire.<sup>124</sup> War became a symbol of modernity and this led to its self-confirmation. However, Christians emphasized pacifism, which opposed war and violence as a mean of settling disputes. Opposing war was not popular in prewar Japan. Nevertheless, Yanaihara took a firm but dangerous stand for complete pacifism.

I think Uchimura Kanzo, one of Yanaihara's mentors, was one of the first Japanese Christians to discuss widely the issue of war. Uchimura's support for the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 was in fact an exception in Uchimura's whole life. After the Treaty of Shimonoseki had been signed, Uchimura realized his former vision of supporting the war was wrong because Japan's victory brought neither prosperity to other Asian countries, nor a

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<sup>121</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Minzoku to Heiwa no tameni," in *Kokka no riso*, p.329

<sup>122</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Shinri to Senso," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.18, p.120

<sup>123</sup> Wakao Fujita, "Yanaihara Tadao," in Nobuya Bamba and John F. Howes, *Pacifism in Japan*, p.200

<sup>124</sup> Quoted in John F. Howes, "Uchimura Kanzo: The Bible and War," in Nobuya Bamba and John F. Howes, *op.cit.*, p.99



chance to preach Christianity in China. “It is impossible to achieve good aims by bad means.”<sup>125</sup> In 1903, he became a devoted pacifist.

He quoted the biblical teaching from the Book of Isaiah in one of his articles called *The Implication of Bible Concerning Pacifism [Senso Haishi ni Kansuru Seisho no Meishi.]*

[The God of Jacob] will judge between the nations and will settle disputes for many peoples. They will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation will not take up sword against nation, nor will they train for war any more.<sup>126</sup>

As many other Christian pacifists such as the Anabaptists in the West in the sixteenth century, Uchimura and Yanaihara advocated the concept of non-resistance derived from the literal interpretation of the Bible. (Yanaihara also quoted the book of Matthew: “Love your enemy, and pray for your enemy,”<sup>127</sup> and “Those who take up the sword will be killed by the sword.”<sup>128</sup>)

Yoshino Sakuzo, like Uchimura in the Sino-Japanese War, which he regarded as a Holy War, attacked other Christian pacifists like Kinoshita Naoe for not supporting the war.<sup>129</sup> But after his conversion in 1916 (which I have mentioned in the previous section,) Yoshino adopted a pacifist standpoint similar to Uchimura Kanzo. In 1918, he wrote an article in which he questioned the justifications, like “self-defense of the Empire,” “to save Russia” and to “fulfil the responsibility as an allied nation to achieve a common goal,” put forward by his contemporaries over the Allied Intervention in the Russian Civil War. He believed that

<sup>125</sup> Quoted by John F. Howes, “Nitobe Inazo,” p.106

<sup>126</sup> Isaiah 4:4, Uchimura only quoted in his article the italic part. Uchimura Kanzo, “Senso Haishi ni Kansuru Seisho no Meishi,” in *Uchimura Kanzo Shu*, p.267. It was interesting to find that Yanaihara also always quoted the story of Isaiah in his argument against the war, as I will demonstrate later. (Yanaihara also mentioned Isaiah 4:4 in one of the articles. Yanaihara was also called by the historians “the Japanese Isaiah.”)

<sup>127</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Iesu no Muteiko Shugi,” in *Kokka no Riso*, p.127; *Seisho ni arawaretaru Kokusai Heiwa no Shiso*, p.392

<sup>128</sup> Matthew 26:52, quoted in Yanaihara Tadao, *Marukusu Shugi to Kirisutokyo*, p.114

<sup>129</sup> Tetsuo Najita, “Some Reflections on Idealism in Political Thought of Yoshino Sakuzo,” in Bernard S. Silberman and H.D. Harootunian ed. *Japan in Crisis: Essays on Taisho Democracy*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) p.36. The reason why Yoshino treated the Russo-Japanese War as a holy war was because a victory by Japan over expansionist and autocratic Russia might bring the Russian people freedom and

Japan had no need to participate in the Allied Intervention.<sup>130</sup>

Similar to Uchimura and Yoshino, certain incident made Yanaihara to believe that his previous standpoint of supporting the Japanese colonialism was wrong. The Manchurian Incident broke out in 1931 when a part of the Manchurian Railway in Liutiaogou was blown up during the night of 18 September. Long before that incident, the Japanese Army claimed that Japan needed to stabilize the situation in Manchuria. Its primary reason was that a general officer named Nakamura had been murdered in Manchuria.<sup>131</sup> Yanaihara mistrusted the army's story and by the "intuition" of a scholar who studied on colonial policy, wondered if the army itself had not created the incidents. He compared the Japanese action to the German one of claiming their missionaries had been killed in China in the past.

In 1932, Yanaihara made a trip to Manchuria which made him oppose firmly the government's policy.<sup>132</sup> War could bring destruction which would lead to decline in productivity and market demand. War could cut off the transport of foreign trade that would harm the domestic industry. War also brought an imbalanced growth of the national economy because the military industry grew suddenly. Therefore, war could only bring economic devastation rather than prosperity, as the war propagandist has put forth.<sup>133</sup>

In Yanaihara's famous book *Kokka no Riso [Ideal of a Nation]* published in 1937, he discussed what the ideal of a nation should be. A nation should help uphold equality, that is, both social equality and international equality. Thus, Yanaihara opposed the war in Manchuria because it worsened social and international inequalities. The war increased the burden of taxes on poor Japanese. The war exploited China's interests, and if Japan ignored

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simultaneously peace for Asia and Europe.

<sup>130</sup> Yoshino Sakuzo, "Iwayuru Shuppeiron ni nan no goriteki no Konkyo ariya," in *Yoshino Sakuzo Shu*, pp.184, 197-199.

<sup>131</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Manshukoku no Seiritsu," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.2, p.539

the international opinion to uphold its concept of its national interest, Japan would commit a spiritual crime.<sup>134</sup>

Yanaihara viewed militarism and expansionism as irrational ways to protect the Empire. “As scholars like Schumpeter have mentioned, the psychology of imperialism is the desire of pure expansionism without aims, and irrational desire to control other people. In addition, militarism is an ideology of conquering, gaining military victories, and controlling by force. The militarists do not think about whether their victories will benefit anyone. They seek victory by any means they wish. Thus the ideas are similar to those of the imperialists.<sup>135</sup> The Army provides its members an occupation and comprises an interest group in society. The army pursues imperialism to fulfill their own interests. However, these policies increased the financial burden of the people.<sup>136</sup> According to Yanaihara, military expenditures made up 47% of Japan’s total budget of 2.2 billion yens in 1937.<sup>137</sup>

The Japanese army justified its war effort by claiming that they fought for the Truth. Yanaihara wrote his famous article called *Truth and War [Shinri to Senso]* in 1938, in which he quoted different reasons for war, that were proposed by Western scholars. Yanaihara compared war to a bitter argument among individuals, the kind that happened when one’s interests were disturbed by others.<sup>138</sup> For example, nations start wars preemptively in order to protect themselves from potential attacks from the others. Or they fight wars to establish national pride psychologically. Or they fight wars for economic reasons.

Yanaihara believed nations fought wars for different reasons, but none began because

<sup>132</sup> Wakao Fujita, *Yanaihara Tadao*, 204

<sup>133</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kokka Keizai Ron,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.5 pp.68-69

<sup>134</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Minzoku to Heiwa no tame ni,” p.328

<sup>135</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Gunkoku Shugi, Teikoku Shugi & Shihon Shugi no Sogo no Kanren,” vol.4 pp.113-114

<sup>136</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Gunkoku Shugi, Teikoku Shugi & Shihon Shugi no Sogo no Kanren,” vol.4, p.114

<sup>137</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Shinri to Senso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, p.121

<sup>138</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Senso to rieki,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18 p.194

they sought the “Truth”. “Fighting for the Truth” was simply a justification for starting a war for other aims.<sup>139</sup> Military leaders, who claimed they were fighting for national ideals, to preach Japanese values, were only justifying their war crimes. Accordingly, he strongly criticized the idea of “relative pacifism.” One of the main features of “relative pacifism” was the “just war.” Yanaihara believed there was an absolute Truth and order in the world based on Christianity. He thought “war” was never a part of that “Truth”, which would simultaneously mean “peace”. Peace meant order and life. As war destroyed that order and killed people, war itself did not contribute to the “Truth” or help maintain Truth.<sup>140</sup> Yanaihara did not believe there could be “war for the sake of peace” or “war to get rid the world of future wars.”<sup>141</sup>

Another feature of “relative pacifism” was the “defensive war.” Throughout the Fifteen Year War, Japan claimed that it fought only for “national defense”, to prevent a potential attack against the Japanese empire in the future. Yanaihara strongly attacked relative pacifists, who “advocated pacifism only in times of peace. When war broke out, they suddenly turned to praise of war.” Therefore, the most prominent danger to peace was not those who preferred war, but those who were relative pacifists.<sup>142</sup>

The third justification for Japan’s participation in war was that Japan could derive economic interests from it. Yanaihara did not find this justification persuasive either. As discussed above, he thought war destroyed people’s spiritual and material assets, and their very lives. Perhaps one’s country could make vast territorial gain through victory over other countries, but it could not guarantee that victory, as in the case of Germany, which believed it

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<sup>139</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Shinri to Senso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, pp.109-116

<sup>140</sup> “The nature of the *Truth* is peace-loving, hating chaos. *Truth* is life loving and hates killing. *Truth* loves peace but hates war.” (Quoted from Yanaihara Tadao, “Shinri to Senso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.18, p.120)

<sup>141</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kirisutokyo ni okeru heiwa no shiso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.259

would win First World War but lost. Moreover, even when a one country won a war and gained new territories, the economic benefits gained from those territories did not necessarily compensate for the financial and economic losses of fighting the war.<sup>143</sup>

Yanaihara did not deny that one should seek prosperity, but one should not become a robber to do so because that would destroy the social order and at the same time offend the divine order. A country could certainly seek its own prosperity, but it should not fight aggressive wars to achieve this goal.<sup>144</sup>

Yanaihara also thought that the Japanese had lost the rational ability to estimate their own military power. He warned in the early 1930s that the Japanese should not repeat the error of Germany in the First World War. Germany lost the war because it was too proud and wrongly estimated its national power and the durability of that power. Germans thought that they had the supreme culture and finally they lost the war. I think Yanaihara was using the case to imply if Japan continued the war, it would become another Germany. He emphasized the sufferings from losing the war would be far more severe than the Japanese, who had not lost any foreign wars, could imagine.<sup>145</sup>

After the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937, under the severe monitoring of the thought police, Yanaihara and other pacifists had to meet in secret.<sup>146</sup> However, Yanaihara still tried to give lectures in different parts of the country to preach pacifism. He continued to publish anti-war articles based on Biblical teachings until Iwanami Shigeo, the publisher of the Iwanami Shoten was interrogated by the Police. After that, the Police used the pretext of a paper shortage during the war to ban the publication of

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<sup>142</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Sotaiteki Heiwaron to Zettaiteki Heiwaron," in *Gendai Shakai to Kirisutokyo*, pp.332-333

<sup>143</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Senso to Rieki," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, pp.194-195

<sup>144</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Senso to Rieki," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, pp.195-196

<sup>145</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Minzoku Shugi no Fukko," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, pp.24-25

the works of Yanaihara. Yanaihara stopped publishing because he did not want to cause troubles for his friends like Iwanami. Even so, Yanaihara never got arrested.

After Japan's defeat in the war, Yanaihara returned to his post at the Tokyo Imperial University and began his ideological involvement in the politics again. The ultimate contemporary issue would be the recovery of Japan after the devastation of the war. To Christian pacifists like Yanaihara Tadao, an important issue was devising ways to prevent prevent Japan from becoming involved in war again. Because of the political atmosphere after the Second World War, Yanaihara could discuss his pacifist ideas more explicitly and could develop a more comprehensive framework for them.

Yanaihara heard the Imperial Command to the surrender at Lake Yamanaka near Mount Fuji, and thought, “[The war] has finally come to an end. From this time on Japan should rebuild itself as a peaceful country.”<sup>147</sup> Most people after the Second World War enthusiastically sought international peace and a new international order. Thus, Yanaihara could be more open in discussing his pacifist ideas. He travelled around the country to promote pacifism. He travelled around the country and began to hold a series of speech which was called “Shusen roku koen” [Six lectures after the War]. On October 2, he made a speech in Kiso Fukushimacho, in which he criticized ambiguity as the basic problem of the religious view of the Japanese spirit, because there were no absolute and ultimate god in their view. He suggested that Christianity had the power to purify the country. On 6 November 1945, Yanaihara made a speech in Shiojiri Town in which he said that the Christian God had selected Japan as a peaceful nation, and he expected them to be educated as ‘new people’ after the war. On December 12, 1945, Yanaihara made another speech, in which he encouraged the despairing Japanese to think that the war brought a new start rather

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<sup>146</sup> Wakao Fujita, p.216

than an end for Japan.

In 1951, he commented that the Fifteen Year War was a ‘foolish gamble’, which resulted from the ‘wrong interpretation of international political situation and Japanese participation in the Axis Alliance.’<sup>148</sup> The consequence of prewar Japanese militarism was ‘to bring a financial burden on the people, destroy the ideological freedom of the citizens, obstruct the development of democratic ideas, invite the suspicion of neighboring countries and bring Japan into the war.’<sup>149</sup>

Commentators in the beginning of the twentieth century thought that the progress of human civilization could prevent future wars. To Yanaihara, a true peace could not be based on political alliances, social connections, or international conference.<sup>150</sup> The commentators after the Second World War argued in the same tone that because of the invention of nuclear weapons, war became unlikely to happen. However, Yanaihara used the example of the Second World War, which happened in spite of scientific progress, to reject the notion that science would benefit the international peace.

Yanaihara thought that neither capitalism nor socialism could maintain international peace. Some people thought that capitalist free trade, which benefited many countries, would eliminate the need for war. Others thought that socialism would bring international peace. Socialism regarded war and imperialism as the products of extreme capitalism. Proletarian ways of life aimed at self-subsistence rather than profit would eliminate the need for conflict. However, Yanaihara found these arguments abstract and vague. “By looking at the policies socialist countries held concerning wars, you would not trust socialism to bring

<sup>147</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon no yukue,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.20, p.4

<sup>148</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* Vol.26, p.11

<sup>149</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* Vol.26, p.30

<sup>150</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Heiwa wo tsukuru michi,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.526

eternal peace.”<sup>151</sup>

Rather, Yanaihara put forth several conditions to achieve world peace. Firstly, freedom of economic, social, culture, transportation spheres among different countries should be upheld. Secondly, reasonable international management over materials and market should be established to eliminate the need for arms and the rights to declare war. Thirdly, practices of secret diplomacy, secret treaties and secret police should be abolished. Finally, international laws and international judicial system should be set up to restrict the power of national governments.<sup>152</sup> International peace could not be achieved through international diplomatic bargaining and cooperation. The world should not only to rely on the newly established United Nations to achieve international peace. He did not believe in the United Nations as learning from the failure of the League of Nations before the war.<sup>153</sup>

According to Yanaihara, people should rely on Christianity to achieve world peace. Christian teachings removed various reasons for war. One of the reasons why wars took place was because of racial difference, hatred, prejudice, jealousy and suspicion towards other races. Jesus Christ had been crucified for the sake of all different races. By his sacrifice, God had created a brand new human being which eliminated barriers among different races.<sup>154</sup> Moreover, in the Book of Isaiah, Jehovah as a Creator of all races, supported the establishment of an ideal society in the world.<sup>155</sup> Peace is the heart of the God. Peace in the world, in one country and in the family was all ideas of this God. A true peace should be based on Christian love which would eliminate feelings such as prejudice and

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<sup>151</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Seisho ni arawaretaru Kokusai heiwa no shiso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.400

<sup>152</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kokka Keizai Ron,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.5 p.71

<sup>153</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Seisho ni arawaretaru Kokusai heiwa no shiso,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.375

<sup>154</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon to Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.15 pp.345-346.

<sup>155</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kokka Keizai Ron,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.5 p.72



suspicion.<sup>156</sup> Japan should remain neutral in international diplomacy and base its policies on the basis of love towards other countries.

Another reason for war was human greed. According to the Bible,

What causes fights and quarrels among you? Don't they come from your desires that battle within you? You want something but don't get it. You do not have, because you do not ask God.<sup>157</sup>

Although human beings were burdened with desires since birth, by converting the Japanese to Christianity, the highest ideal for the human beings would not be material desires any more, but following the heart of God.<sup>158</sup>

The policies to achieve a “peaceful country” after the war should be more extensive than those that were tried. Japan was forced to demilitarize after the Second World War.

Yanaihara thought that one of the keys to future world peace was the Japanese endeavor to keep the “Peace Constitution” of 1947.<sup>159</sup> He thought that it was not sufficient for Japan only to demilitarize herself. Demilitarization was only a result of losing the war.

Therefore, demilitarization alone did not lead to a peaceful country because one could not deny the possibility of remilitarization in the future. How then should Japan become a peaceful country?

First, Japan should become a real democratic country. Yanaihara quoted Kant's idea that a democratic country would be less likely to get involved in war. Because the general public suffered most during the war, it should exert pressure through the democratic structure on the government to avoid or end the war.

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<sup>156</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Heiwa wo tsuruku michi,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.536

<sup>157</sup> James, 4:1-2, quoted in Yanaihara Tadao, “Sotaiteki Heiwaron to Zettaiteki Heiwaron,” p.373

<sup>158</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Sotaiteki Heiwaron to Zettaiteki Heiwaron,” p.373

<sup>159</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Jiyu to Heiwa,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19 p.543. In the Article 9 of the 1946 Constitution, stated that “aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as a means of settling international dispute. (*Kodansha Encyclopaedia of Japan*, vol.3 p.10)

However, what would happen if the people of a certain country were enthusiastic about starting a war and hoped that the war would bring them benefit in the future? Japan should educate people so as to establish a national character of “peace.” It would be the best way to prevent future wars. According to Yanaihara, the best way to create a new people of “peace” was by preaching the Christian Gospel.<sup>160</sup>

Should Japan remilitarize herself in order to become a real country? Because of the past unpleasant experiences of Japanese militarism in the prewar period, Japan should strictly follow the postwar constitution and have no military. Loyal to his idea of absolute pacifism, Yanaihara advocated the complete absence of any army or navy in the Japanese islands and believed that other countries would not invade Japan despite the absence of force.<sup>161</sup> If Japan were to be attacked by a foreign country, the Japanese should not resist. If all Japanese became Christians, the Japanese could rely on the God to safeguard Japan. Even if the Japanese lost their political independence, they could recover through their Christian belief. The Japanese would gain eternal fame in the world history because of their non-resistance.<sup>162</sup>

Yanaihara spoke strongly against the presence of the American forces in Japan. He thought the presence of U.S. army was harmful to the independence and self-autonomy of the country, although he understood the presence was partly because of the absence of a “Japanese army.”<sup>163</sup> Although the U.S. army claimed that their stations were to ensure the security of Japan, Yanaihara thought that it was only an American rationalization; he understood that the Japanese loss of autonomy was in fact a punishment for their behavior

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<sup>160</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Heiwa kokka e no michi,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18 pp.227-228.

<sup>161</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, Vol.26, p.25

<sup>162</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Sotaiteki Heiwaron to Zettaiteki Heiwaron,” p.334

<sup>163</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* Vol.26, p.23.

during the war.<sup>164</sup> He estimated that it would take thirty-year's time or more to recover complete autonomy, since Japan had taken fifty years of time to recover the loss of privileges in the Ansei Commercial Treaties.<sup>165</sup> The presence of U.S. Army in Japan would prevent Japan from becoming a peaceful country.

Absolute pacifism could bring economic benefit to Japan and helped re-develop the devastated Japan. The military budget had expanded rapidly in the modern Japan. In 1894, the military budget constituted 32 million of a total budget of 84 million yen. The two world wars cost Japan 186 billion and 1000 billion US dollars respectively.<sup>166</sup> However, according to Yanaihara, the military budget was regarded as non-productive spending in economic theory. If the military spending disappeared from the annual budget and used as the productive ways, this would lead to the enlargement of productivity and advance of prosperity.<sup>167</sup>

Yanaihara used Christian teachings to justify pacifist ideas and therefore he invited attacks from various commentators. They regarded Christianity and non-violence as cowardice. Yanaihara answered that he should not resist even when other people used force to seize one's property. He thought that "non-resistance" is truly a brave action, "productive" and solemn.<sup>168</sup> Moreover, Christianity was never a religion of compromise. Christians would resist when facing the issue of righteousness, just as Jesus Christ had resisted strongly against the evil. If Christians tried to take revenge against bad people, they would lose their moral highground and would become fools.<sup>169</sup> The Christian should entrust

<sup>164</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, Vol.26, p.30

<sup>165</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, Vol.26, p.24

<sup>166</sup> Ouchi Hyoe, *Teikoki Shugi Senso to Sengo no Zaisei mondai*, quoted in Yanaihara, "Sotaiteki Heiwaron to Zettaiteki Heiwaron," p.351

<sup>167</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Sotaiteki Heiwaron to Zettaiteki Heiwaron," p.352

<sup>168</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Heiwa kokka ron," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.97

<sup>169</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Iesu no muteiko Shugi," in *Kokka no Riso*, p.133

to God to take revenge.<sup>170</sup> The Christian should only resist when righteousness was risked and they should never resist when only personal interests were involved.<sup>171</sup>

Before and after the War, Yanaihara's pacifist ideas were generally consistent, and the justification for his ideas was basically Christianity. However, unfortunately for him, he did not succeed in preventing Japan from fighting the Fifteen Year War. Therefore, in the postwar period, Yanaihara seized the opportunity to preach pacifism. Besides Christianity, Yanaihara also emphasized in the postwar period that Japanese culture had the potential to develop Japan into a peaceful country. The relations between Christianity and traditional culture will be discussed in the next section.

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<sup>170</sup> "Do not take revenge, my friends, but leave room for God's wrath, for it is written: 'it is mine to avenge; I will repay,'" says the Lord. (Roman 2:19; quoted in Yanaihara Tadao, "Shinsha to Seiji," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15 p.557

<sup>171</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Iesu no muteiko Shugi," in *Kokka no Riso*, p.134

## Christianity and Japanese Tradition

In the year 1905, shortly after the Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese War, an eminent scholar named Kato Hiroyuki wrote an article entitled, “*Our National Polity and Christianity*” [*Waga Kokutai to Kirisutokyo*], to attack the pacifism of Uchimura Kanzo. Kato concluded that Japanese national characteristics could not compromise with Christianity. Firstly, morality among individuals and between individuals and the state were basically different between Christianity and national interests. According to Japanese traditional ideology, individuals should endeavor to contribute to the group and the state, and sacrifice individual wants to this cause. In contrast, Christianity advocated internationalism, suggested absolute pacifism, and ignored the interests of the state. Secondly, Japan was a patriarchal country. One must respect the Emperor and his ancestors alone. The Japanese polity [*kokutai*] would not allow any God higher than the Emperor.<sup>172</sup>

Kato’s view presented a dilemma for Japanese Christians. If Japan declared war on another country, what should Japanese Christians do? Should they refuse to participate in the war? If Christians remained loyal to their religion, they would be disloyal to the state. If the Christians became loyal to the state, then they would be disloyal to the religion. Kato concluded that these two identities (as a Christian and as a patriotic Japanese) and two responsibilities (loyalty to the religion and to the nation) presented an irreconcilable dilemma.<sup>173</sup>

There were good reasons for Japanese Christians to reconcile this issue and to decide on the relationship between Christianity and the Japanese state. Uchimura Kanzo fell a victim to this conflict. He refused to regard the Meiji Emperor as a *kami* and would not bow before the photo of the Emperor because he thought this action would demonstrate emperor-worship.

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<sup>172</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihonteki Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18 pp.214-215

The outcome of this *Ichiko Fukei* Incident was that Uchimura was forced to resign from his post as a teacher in the First Higher School – Yanaihara’s own alma mater.

At the same time, Uchimura was also one of the first Christians to talk about a Japanized Christianity. In doing so, Uchimura tried to remove Christianity’s European and American cultural dimensions.<sup>174</sup> Uchimura did not reject Japanese culture, but advocated a “Christianity grafted onto Bushido”, which did not negate the importance of Bushido, but added a new dimension to it: the righteousness of God through Bushido.<sup>175</sup> In fact, Uchimura’s Non-church [*Mukyokai*] Movement was his attempt to affirm Japan’s national cultural heritage. Uchimura did not want to get stuck in the Western ecclesiastical institution, the church. Since the ‘church’ itself was a cultural product of Western history, Uchimura thought that there was no need for the Japanese to follow this model.<sup>176</sup> Accordingly, his Non-church Movement was an effort to Japanize Christianity.

Yoshino Sakuzo’s standpoint was similar to Uchimura’s. Yoshino did not recognize the righteousness of *kokutai* and did not think one should take mystical justification of the *kokutai* seriously. As a Christian believer, Yoshino did not believe in the divine position of the Emperor. The emperor was no more than a civil monarch.<sup>177</sup> Rather, Yoshino favored the “Emperor as an Organ Theory” [*tenno kikan setsu*] which Minobe Tatsukichi argued as the real Japanese *kokutai*. Although he knew that Emperor worship and Christianity were incompatible and religious faith would have conflicts with patriotism, he seemed to avoid solving this problem. In fact, Yoshino thought that Japan help Christianity. The Japanese could become the new warriors of Christianity and their understanding of Christianity could

<sup>173</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihonteki Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18 p.217

<sup>174</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Mukyokai Shugiron,” in *Kokka no Riso*, p.85

<sup>175</sup> Hiroshi Miura, *The Life and Thought of Uchimura Kanzo*, p.67

<sup>176</sup> Carlo Caldarola, “Non-church Christianity and Japan’s Cultural Identity,” in Ray A. Moore, *Culture and Religion in Japanese-American Relations: Essays on Uchimura Kanzo*, pp.111-113.

help Christianity elsewhere develop itself again.<sup>178</sup>

How did Yanaihara think the conflict between Christianity and Japanese culture could be reconciled? He did not think Christianity conflicted with patriotism. His idea concerning Japanese culture could be divided into three parts. First, he discussed whether Japanese traditional culture was good or not and whether the Japanese should preserve this culture. Second, he discussed whether Christianity and Japanese culture were compatible and if they could help each other develop. Third, he discussed the value of Christianity in rebuilding the country after the Second World War.

Yanaihara was probably not an anti-traditionalist. For example, the people Yanaihara admired most were not necessarily Christian. In the series of “sonkei suru hitobito” [*the People I Respect*], Yanaihara included Nitobe Inazo and Uchimura Kanzo as well as European Christian philosophers like Martin Luther. But he also included Nichiren and Saigo Takamori, one the founder of the Nichiren Buddhist sect and the other a traditional samurai. Yanaihara praised these two people because of their righteousness and the ideas they put forward.<sup>179</sup> While Yanaihara thought Christianity was important to reform the mentality of the Japanese people, he also believed that traditional ideas, if they worked, were still useful no matter to which religion they belonged to.

Yanaihara did not oppose national tradition. He did not believe there was a connection between national tradition and war. He wrote in 1937 that *Kokutai Meicho* [*Clarifying the National Polity*] could provide spiritual guidance for the Japanese people. To him, the movement emphasized the Japanese spirit. He praised studies of mythology and ancient Japan, and approved when the *Kokutai Meicho* movement asked the scholars to re-discover

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<sup>177</sup> Peter Duus, “Yoshino Sakuzo: The Christian as Political Critic,” pp.311-312

<sup>178</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon to Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15 pp.348-349

the Japanese spirit. But he disapproved when the government forced scholars to tie the Japanese spirit to political acts. He thought that the discovery of Japanese tradition under political pressure distorted the real Japanese tradition. He thought it was good to clarify the Japanese tradition, but he did not think that this movement could create a sensible rationale for the national polity, so he wrote, “if the Japanese were not humble, no matter how many people emphasized the clarification of the national polity, Japan would disintegrate from within regardless of the size of the army or the country. The [recent] Clarification of the National Polity [Movement] is in fact destroyer of national polity.”<sup>180</sup> What he meant here was those who led the *Kokutai Meicho* movement to clarify Japan’s traditions, in fact, on the contrary, destroyed the beauty of Japanese culture.

Yanaihara worried that the rediscovery of national spirit would lead the Japanese into negative actions. “The dark shadow in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, an increasing military budget of 1.4 billion yen, ... how could the Japanese spirit justify these actions?”<sup>181</sup> Ethnicity itself is neutral. It could lead to either peaceful or warlike actions. If people use Japanese ethnic uniqueness as a tool to serve the state’s self interest, to launch wars or to suppress personal freedom, racism will become an obstacle for the development of the country.<sup>182</sup>

When Yanaihara promoted his pacifist ideas and encouraged Japan to become a peaceful country in the postwar period, he used Japanese tradition as his basis. His problem in doing this was that most people considered tradition warlike. Still, Yanaihara used mythology from the book “Records of Ancient Matters” [*Kojiki*] to argue that Japan had a pacifist tradition. He argued that the most important achievement of Goddess Amaterasu was

<sup>179</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Rekishi to ningen,” in *Kokka no Riso*, p. 83

<sup>180</sup> Takenaka Yoshihiko, “Teikokushugika no Yanaihara Tadao,” p.138

<sup>181</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Minzoku Seishin to Nisshi Kosho,” pp.332, 336.

<sup>182</sup> Takenaka, “Teikokushugika no Yanaihara Tadao,” p.146



“peace.” When her brother Susano-o dissatisfied with the amount of the land allocated to him, came to protest, Amaterasu hid herself in the cave to escape his violence. She took a non-violence action and this was the highest ideal of the Yamato race.<sup>183</sup>

In the postwar period, when many Japanese questioned the validity of their own culture, Yanaihara confirmed it. For example, although many held Emperor Hirohito responsible for declaring and losing the war, Yanaihara did not think the emperor should abdicate or the monarchy should be abolished. Yanaihara praised highly the Emperor’s renunciation of his divinity [*ningen-sengen*]. He thought that this was a very important turning point in the Japanese history.<sup>184</sup> He believed only that the prewar “autocratic” meaning of the Emperor System should be abolished.<sup>185</sup>

Yanaihara went on to ask the Emperor to do two things: first, he admit that the Japanese had made a mistake and committed a crime by going to the war. Second, he should act as a model for the Japanese people by converting to Christianity.<sup>186</sup>

‘The national character [*kokutai*] of Japan, does not mean that the Emperor owns Japan as his own property, or that the Emperor has the power to control the country. Rather, the emperor should be the social centre and ideological origin of the Japanese people, and should be the keeper of the continuity of the Japanese history because of the Yamato Sun Line [*bansei-ikkei*.]’<sup>187</sup>

Yanaihara wrote that every race has their own *Volksgeist* [*minzoku seishin*] and this *Volksgeist* is an outcome of the natural environment in which the race lived and of various political, economic, cultural and religious developments over the years.<sup>188</sup> Therefore, postwar Japanese had no need to change or reject their own *Volksgeist*.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Kokumin no Shimei to Hansei,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19, p.244

<sup>184</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Seishin no Kaikoteki to Zenshinteki,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol. 18, p.18

<sup>185</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Kokumin no Shimei to Hansei,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19 p.244

<sup>186</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon no kizu wo iyasu mono,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.135

<sup>187</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Shin Kempo ni tsuite,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.246

<sup>188</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Seishin to Sekai Seishin,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.282

<sup>189</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Seishin to Sekai Seishin,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.284

He admitted that this kind of *Volksgeist* had a dangerous side. It made it easy for people to think that their country was superior to others. World War II brought ready examples: “Deutschland über alles,” that is “Germany over everything” in Germany and “*hakko-itchu*” that is, “all the world under a Japanese roof” in Japan.<sup>190</sup> Prewar Japanese interpreted their mythology to show that the Japanese were an “elected people.” Accordingly, they advocated a nationalism in which national interest prevailed and truth was ignored. These national traditions became a justification for imperialism. After the war, Yanaihara believed that the Japanese should reject the bad side of their tradition, but still keep the good side of their *Volksgeist*.<sup>191</sup>

How could Yanaihara reconcile Japanese tradition and his Christianity? How could he reconcile State Shinto and Christianity? According to the State Shinto, the Emperor had divine ancestry and was a living god himself. One could not criticize his sacred rule because of his sacred position. All prewar Japanese Christians in the prewar period faced this dilemma: how can we reconcile the monotheistic nature of Christianity and the sacredness of Emperor Meiji?

Yanaihara made an effort to solve this problem. He believed that the Emperor was superior in Japan only. Although the Emperor has been deified within one country, he was produced by a Creator, just like other people. In other words, Christianity did allow for the preservation of national tradition. As Uchimura Kanzo shouted, “for the country, for Christianity,”<sup>192</sup> even if Christianity was a religion advocating international friendship. Just as the God divided the Jews into twelve branches, each of them preserving its their colors.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Seishin to Sekai Seishin,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.288

<sup>191</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon Seishin to Sekai Seishin,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.304-305

<sup>192</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Futatabi nihon no kirisutokyo ni oite,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, p.220

<sup>193</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon no Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.18, p.214

Yanaihara used the example of Jesus to justify his position as a nationalist and an internationalist simultaneously. Jesus realized his national identity as a Jew. He admitted that his first duty was to save the Jews. However, this patriotism did not prevent Jesus from serving other peoples. For example, he cured the son of a foreign woman. He was not biased against the Samaritans, who were regarded as semi-foreigners and thus discriminated against by the Jews at that time. When a Greek came to the place of Jesus to ask questions concerning Christianity, Jesus enthusiastically answered his questions. Yanaihara believed that although Jesus was a patriotic, he was never an ultra-nationalist.<sup>194</sup> Yanaihara also quoted St. Paul. Although St. Paul was born into the lineage of Benjamin of the Jews and studied Jewish tradition enthusiastically, he did not feel superior to others because of his race.<sup>195</sup>

Yanaihara thought that the people should not be too stubborn towards tradition.

Yanaihara also wrote of the view in the Bible towards the Pharisees. The Pharisees were originally a sect of Jews who emphatically protected the laws and traditions of the Jewish people. They were viewed as similar to the seventeenth century Puritans.<sup>196</sup> Jesus criticized them for being too stubborn in preserving their traditions.

Yanaihara criticized Japanese Christians for being too Westernized, not too traditional. He agreed with his mentor, Uchimura Kanzo, that the Japanese people admired Western culture too much and even advocated a direct and overall application of the Western values to Japanese society, because modern civilization came from Europe and North America. He thought that Japanese Christians should stop this '*bata-kusai*' Christianity.<sup>197</sup> Yanaihara

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<sup>194</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Seisho ni arawaretaru kokka heiwa no shiso," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19 p.386.

<sup>195</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Seisho ni arawaretaru kokka heiwa no shiso," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19 p.387.

<sup>196</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19, p.382.

<sup>197</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Futatabi nihonteki kirisutokyo ni oite," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18 p.220. *Bata-kusai* literally means the smell of butter, which the Japanese usually referred to the people or thing who came from the West, or were over-Westernized.

favored a Japanized Christianity. One of the reasons why Yanaihara regarded Uchimura Kanzo as important was because Uchimura had successfully transplanted Christianity into Japanese spirituality.

Yanaihara warned that this did not mean that Christianity should surrender to Japanese culture. Christianity should not adapt itself to please the ultra-nationalistic elements of Japanese culture. Yanaihara knew that if Christianity compromised with Japanism, Christianity could get far easier access to the Japanese society. However, if Christianity compromised in that way, Christianity lost its value as “the salt of the earth and the light of the world.”<sup>198</sup> During the war, many Christians supported the war because it gave them new opportunity to preach, as Uchimura had dreamed during the Russo-Japanese War. In World War II, Nihon Kirisuto Kyodan became “Japanized”.<sup>199</sup> Yanaihara was much annoyed by such developments.

Still, Yanaihara thought a Christian could be a patriot simultaneously. Christian patriotism was not new indeed. His mentor, Uchimura Kanzo, had emphasized this aspect. He had written his famous statement concerning his patriotism in the *Christian Intelligencer*:

I love two J's and no third: one is Jesus, and the other is Japan. I do not know which I love more, Jesus and Japan. ... No matter if I lose all my friends, I cannot lose Jesus and Japan. My faith is not a circle with one center; it is an ellipse with two centers.<sup>200</sup>

According to Yanaihara, Japanese Christianity could be, and should be patriotic. Japanese Christianity's destiny was to save the country.<sup>201</sup> He thought that a real Japanese Christian should pursue Japan's national interest.<sup>202</sup> However, his view, and therefore, the view of Japanese Christians, of national interest differed from that of the so-called patriots of the

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<sup>198</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Futatabi nihonteki kirisutokyo ni oite,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18 p.222

<sup>199</sup> Fujita Wakao, *Haisen no Shingiron*, p.196.

<sup>200</sup> Uchimura Kanzo, “The Two J's” in *Works* vol.30 p.53, quoted in Miura, *op.cit.*, p.52

<sup>201</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon no Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.18 p.212

<sup>202</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihonteki Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.18, p.218

1930s. Yanaihara thought the war was contrary to the national interest of Japan. Because Yanaihara was patriotic, he suggested that Japan should not go to the war. It was necessary to introduce the real “national interest” to the Japanese people through the “light” of Christianity.<sup>203</sup> Converting to Christianity did not mean losing one’s national identity.

Yanaihara thought that the real patriotic Japanese was one who loved the Truth.<sup>204</sup> The target of the country should be the ‘Truth rather than the military; morality rather than politics.’ Before Japan achieved this aim, it could not become a great country; thus, it might probably take 200 to 300 years to achieve the status of a great country. Accordingly, the patriotic Japanese should convert to Christianity. Christianity was the foundation of patriotism and respect for the Emperor. Christianity was the only way to maintain one’s patriotism and one’s respect towards the Emperor.<sup>205</sup>

After the war, Yanaihara continued to write that Japanese culture and Christianity were not contradictory. One of the reasons, which was also mentioned above, is the nature of Japanese culture. He used the Japanese adoption of Buddhism as a case study to justify his position. When Buddhism first came into Japan, there had been an argument between Imbe and Soga families. Despite the victory of Soga family which supported Buddhism, Japanese tradition did not lose its integrity. Buddhism today is part of Japanese tradition and not regarded as a foreign religion. Therefore, Japanese culture could also assimilate Christianity, which like Buddhism, would play a role in Japan’s development.<sup>206</sup>

Why did the Japanese have to convert themselves into Christians? The answer was that Christianity and the Japanese were mutually beneficial. As early in 1936, Yanaihara

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<sup>203</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon no Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.18, p.212

<sup>204</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.217

<sup>205</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihonteki Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol. 18 p.218

<sup>206</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Minzoku to dento,” in *Kokka no Riso*, p.351

stressed the importance of Christianity to the development of Japan. Yanaihara wrote that “I want to establish my beloved country, Japan, on the foundation of righteousness. I wanted to do it for the sake of a righteous country according to my religion.”<sup>207</sup> In 1942, he published an article called *Rekishi to Ningen [History and People]*, in which he argued that contemporary Japan had already reached a deadlock [*yukizumari*] of scientific rationalism beyond which Japan could not further develop. Only belief in an eternal and absolute Truth could solve this problem.<sup>208</sup>

After Japan’s surrender in 1945, Yanaihara thought that the war-despaired Japan badly needed was Christianity to help rebuild the country. Although Japan had developed in an unbalanced direction during the war because, the Japanese could re-develop their national tradition base on Christianity. To Yanaihara, national tradition was not something static. A lively national tradition could grow and Japan’s could grow through Christianity.

As he said in speeches in Osaka and Nagoya, Yanaihara believed that Christianity was the key to the real development of Japan.<sup>209</sup> Quite interestingly, he compared the experience of the Babylonian prisoners with the Japanese experience of being defeated in the Second World War. Yanaihara thought that the God used the Americans to defeat the Japanese for two reasons. First, the Japanese people had not accepted the Gospel. Japanese Christians in the prewar period were regarded as betrayer of the nation. The politicians and the educators used the pretext of “unsuitable for *kokutai*” to drive the Japanese people away from Christianity.<sup>210</sup>

Second, the God granted a new opportunity for Christianity to develop in Japan and for

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<sup>207</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Minzoku to Heiwa no tameni,” in *Kokka no Riso*, p.322

<sup>208</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Rekishi to ningen,” in *Kokka no Riso*, p.81

<sup>209</sup> Fujita Wakao, “Yanaihara Tadao,” in *Pacifism in Japan*, p.181

<sup>210</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, Vol.26, p.30

Japan to correct their previous errors. Yanaihara thought that Christianity should become the new backbone of the morality of the Japanese people. Bushido had been the moral teaching of the Japanese people before the Second World War.<sup>211</sup> However, with the change of the political, social and economic milieu, Bushido could no longer function. Therefore, since the original values were seriously challenged after the War, Christianity could fill up the vacuum of the Japanese mentality after the failure of the War.<sup>212</sup>

Yanaihara's insistence on the need for moral backbone was probably because he thought that the Japanese people in the prewar period had lacked the power to make correct judgments themselves. He used the metaphor "*tamigusa*", grass which followed the direction of the wind, to describe the mentality of the people before the war.<sup>213</sup> He wrote that modern commentators realized the importance of religion in reforming the mentality of the people, and there were different religions in Japan, like Shinto, Buddhism and other new religions. Yanaihara suggested that a right religion should be chosen and superstitious belief should be avoided. Christianity would be the right choice for the Japanese.<sup>214</sup>

Based on the backbone of Christianity, the Japanese educational system could create a new Japanese generation, remove cowardice, and give hope to desperate people.<sup>215</sup> (Perhaps in the eyes of Yanaihara, in the pre-World War II Japan, there were too many cowards who did not have the courage to resist the propaganda of the military government and there was not any social consciousness to counterbalance the influence and the decision made by the government.)

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<sup>211</sup> This was obviously influenced by his mentor, Nitobe Inazo, who was the first Japanese scholars to regard Bushido was the main way of moral teaching in Japan. The Westerners asked Nitobe, "Christianity did not exist in Japan, then how the Japanese carried out moral education?" Then he wrote his famous bestseller, *Bushido*, to explain to the Westerners concerning the question above, and soon he became the channel for introducing Japan to the Western countries. (John F. Howes & George Oshiro, pp.12-13)

<sup>212</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nihon to Kirisutokyo," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15 pp.343-344

<sup>213</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Heiwa Kokka e no michi," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, p.212

<sup>214</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Shukyo to Seiji," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15, pp.248-249

Yanaihara believed that Japan and Christianity could benefit from each other.

Christianity could help cleanse the Japanese political, educational and financial spheres.

Christianity could act as a social conscience to counter-balance the Diet. Since the political aims of the Christian believers were righteousness and fairness, and not personal gain in this world, they would not make political decisions simply to fulfill the wants of certain political parties. Christian believers, according to Yanaihara, would not use improper ways and tactics to achieve their aims, nor would they take revenge against their political enemies. Therefore, if the Japanese people could truly devote themselves to Christianity and become true believers, the politics of Japan could become “cleaner.”<sup>216</sup>

Christianity could also act as a basis for the development of postwar democracy.

Yanaihara believed that success of the Western democracy was because of the philosophy of the ancient Greek *polis* and Christianity. Christianity provided answers to questions such as why human beings were valuable and why people should have responsibility to their society.<sup>217</sup>

In sum, Yanaihara affirmed national tradition, but he disregarded the “national polity” portrayed by the rightists in the prewar period. The interpretation of the rightists led to a distortion of the development of the Japanese culture. Therefore, the Japanese had to re-develop this distorted culture after the war, so as not to repeat the same failure in the future. Since Yanaihara thought that Japanese culture did have a special ability to adopt foreign culture, it could adopt Christianity, too.

In fact, from his point of view, Christianity and the Japanese culture were not contradictory, as Christianity did allow for the preservation of national tradition. A conflict

<sup>215</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Nihon to Kirisutokyo,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15, pp.346-347

<sup>216</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Shinsha to Seiji,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15, pp.556-557.



between Christianity and the Japanese tradition arose only because the traditional culture emphasized in the prewar period was, as I have said, a distorted one. Yanaihara wrote that Japanese culture had the potential to accept and eventually to develop Christianity because one of the characteristics of the Japanese culture was the positive absorption of foreign culture. For example, although Confucianism was a foreign ideas, it was the Japanese who was more able to preserve the essence of Confucianism than were the Chinese and the Koreans.<sup>218</sup> Yanaihara suggested that Christianity and Japanese tradition could walk hand in hand. Christianity could be the solution to the problems of the postwar Japan and could help re-develop Japan.

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<sup>217</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nihon to Kirisutokyo," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.15, pp.344-345

<sup>218</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Nihon no kizu wo isu mono," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol.19, pp.126-127

## Summary

In the prewar period, Christianity was attacked from two sides, from materialism on the left and militarism from the right. The attacks from the left argued mainly that Christianity was not scientific and idealistic, and thus not capable of solving the contemporary problems. The rightists' attack emphasized the question of patriotism and that Christianity was not reconcilable to the *Kokutai*. One of the main themes of Yanaihara's writing discussed above was to respond these attacks.

Yanaihara certainly saw himself as patriotic. Although he was a Christian with a strong British-American intellectual outlook, he regarded himself as a devoted patriot. Unlike the Communists, Yanaihara never thought of overthrowing the Emperor system. During the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, he wrote a letter to his friend, Kubota Katsumi, in which he said that their responsibility as citizens was increased because their country was at war. We can see that he was much under the influence of nationalism, even when he was only 12 years old.<sup>219</sup>

Seven years later, when the Emperor Meiji died in 1912, Yanaihara was on a trip to Manchuria. When he saw the national flag dropped with a little black cloth, Yanaihara could not prevent himself from becoming respectful.<sup>220</sup> When Yanaihara decided to convert himself into Christianity, he asked his father for permission. His father told him, "it is your freedom [to choose your religion.] However, don't forget that you are a Japanese."<sup>221</sup>

The reason why Yanaihara put much of his effort into the study of colonial policy was because he wanted the Japanese government to treat the peoples in the colonies better. However, we should remember that his ultimate aim was to save Japan. Certainly we have

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<sup>219</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.52

<sup>220</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den*, p.216

to take the factors like the principle of equality, betterment of human life, idealism of international peace into account when we ask why Yanaihara was so enthusiastic about colonial policies. But in his eyes, if Japan could not administer its colonies well, Japan might well lose her empire. He warned: 'if Japan is tempted by temporary interest [to exploit the peoples in the colonies,] and does not establish a right direction to the Truth, it will be clear that our mother country will be extinguished.'<sup>222</sup> To Yanaihara, the God would punish any evil country, therefore he hoped the Japanese colonial policy could be fairer to the subject people in the colonies.

Yanaihara's principal idea concerning the relations between Christianity and politics was to apply the notions of "equality", "righteousness" and "individualism" in Christianity into politics. When he identified problems in Japan, he always suggested that Christianity was a solution to these problems. For example, in prewar Japan, when everyone favored war, he argued that it was because of the lack of Christian influence in Japan. Therefore, after the war, he advocated the conversion of the whole country to Christianity. Moreover, after the war the Japanese lost the confidence in their culture and became totally despaired. He thought that by believing in Christianity, the Japanese could gain encouragement from the Gospel.

In discussing colonial policy, he advocated the concept of "racial equality." I think Christian beliefs played an important role in this, although he did not directly mention it. He criticized the assimilation policies of Japanese government in the colonies. One of the reasons for this was that the Japanese government prevented the Koreans from converting to Christianity and forced them to worship at Shinto shrines instead.

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<sup>221</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Futatabi Nihon teki kirisutokyo ni oite," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu* vol. 18 p.220

<sup>222</sup> Yanaihara Isaku, *Yanaihara Tadao Den* p.217

Another key factor of Yanaihara's thought was the belief in an absolute Truth. This was derived from his Christian belief. On the one hand, Yanaihara opposed relativism and there should be no relative Truth, but an absolute Truth. On the other hand, he emphasized the particularities of Japan and argued for the importance of a Japanized Christianity. Did they come into conflicts and dilemmas between these Christianity and Japanese tradition? There were basically no conflicts between these two ideas. In the mind of Yanaihara, there was an absolute Truth by the God. This truth would mean the order of universe. Christianity was also a synonym for the Truth. Although there was only one Truth, there would be different approaches to know about this Truth. Different people had different methods, but idealistically these different kinds of interpretation should lead to the same destination, the Truth.

Yanaihara accordingly would allow a Japanized interpretation of Christianity. Different methods of interpretation would be allowed provided that these interpretations with national characteristics did not become a distortion in achieving and perceiving the Truth. For instance, he criticized the Nazi German action to delete the Jewish-centered Old Testament and Gospels of Matthew, Luke and John from the Bible to establish a German Christianity in order to justify their anti-Semitic actions.<sup>223</sup>

Another feature of Yanaihara's thinking was his strong anti-military bias. All his three mentors were anti-militaristic. Uchimura was concerned about this development from the very beginning of the Meiji period. Nitobe became openly anti-militaristic after the Manchurian Incident which eventually led to the Matsuyama Incident in 1932.<sup>224</sup> Another of Yanaihara's mentor, Yoshino Sakuzo, wrote an article entitled Japanese Fascism [Nihon no Fasshisumu] in English in 1932, in which he demonstrated that the Army had showed their

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<sup>223</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Futatabi Nihon teki Kirisutokyo ni oite," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.18 p.221

ambition in politics in 1931, and that the military could not work together with the Diet.<sup>225</sup>

More details concerning Yanaihara's reaction towards the political situation will be discussed in the next chapter.

To Yanaihara, the end of the war meant a new start. According to Yanaihara, God used the American forces to defeat the Japanese, in order to bring the American occupation to Japan. The American occupation brought Japan a constitutional democracy, and thus freedom of speech and religion was guaranteed. Most importantly, the preaching of Christianity was also allowed. In the prewar period, Uchimura Kanzo and other Christian seniors has endeavored to fight for the freedom of Christianity and their effort was futile. The American occupation was such an epoch-making incident that turned everything around. Yanaihara implied it could only be God's miracle.<sup>226</sup> He seized the opportunity to preach Christianity and wanted to instill a new value system in the Japanese society. Unfortunately, in my point of view, Christianity still has not yet become influential in postwar Japan.

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<sup>224</sup> George Oshiro, p.286

<sup>225</sup> Yoshino Sakuzo, "Nihon no Fasshisumu," in *Yoshino Sakuzo shu*, p.413

<sup>226</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.26, p.31

## *Chapter Four*

# **Yanaihara Tadao's Ideology and the Contemporary Situation**

In this chapter, I would like to view Yanaihara's thought in another perspective. The most interesting point of Yanaihara was his bold resistance to the military during the war. Not only was Yanaihara's response distinct from that of other Japanese because he was a Christian, but also his response was distinct from that of other Christians. What made him become part of a minority within a minority group, Japanese Christians? Why did Yanaihara remain so firm against authority thorough the war? To what extent was Yanaihara's anti-war action and thought a response to the contemporary situation? To what extent was his thought based on his personal experience?

To a certain extent, Christianity can explain his toughness during the war, but most other Christians were less courageous in the same period. Therefore, I think his Christian beliefs alone cannot explain his action. When we consider Yanaihara's ideological development, three aspects interacted: interactions with socialists, interactions with other members of the Christian group, and interactions with the military government.

As for the first group, he consistently criticized the socialists. In the 1920s, his main theme was criticizing the "Truth" of the communist ideas. In the 1930s, the focus of his criticism became the conversion movement [*tenko*] and the cowardly behavior of most Communists.

Before the 1930s, Yanaihara's mentality was more or less similar to that of the other Japanese intellectuals, at least "progressive" intellectuals of his time. On the one hand, he preached Christianity and advocated Christianity as a means to enhance the mentality of the

Japanese people. He was patriotic, loved the Emperor, and was concerned about the future of the nation. He also suggested colonial policies “to emancipate the oppressed and to promote equality and freedom.”<sup>227</sup> Yanaihara wanted to get things improved within existing the conservative “system.” In the 1930s, Yanaihara moved beyond advocating improvement within the system, and became a consistent critic of the government.

After the war, his primary concern was using Christianity to rebuild the country. He also wanted to keep Japan from entering into another war. This is the reason why Yanaihara opposed the Allied Government and the LDP government when Kishi Nobusuke, who had been a wartime minister, became the Prime Minister. I think this attitude was also resulted from wartime persecution by the military. He disliked military government and was allergic to a wartime rightist coming to power in postwar Japan.

*Experiences of Yanaihara and other Japanese Christians during the War:  
Christianity and National Polity*

Christianity played an important role in constructing Yanaihara’s ideas. Scholars had long argued over whether Christianity and Japanese culture were compatible. Neil Fujita discussed this issue in his study of pre-Tokugawa Japanese Christianity. Japan, Fujita wrote, tends to adapt foreign culture to meet Japanese needs.<sup>228</sup> Christianity missionaries did not want their religion changed so that problems arose between Japanese culture and Christianity.

In modern Japan, many Christians tried to make the two cultures compatible.

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<sup>227</sup> Fumio Kobayashi, “Ataramete Yanaihara no ‘idai’ wo omou,” p.19

<sup>228</sup> Neil S. Fujita, *Japan’s Encounter with Christianity: the Catholic Mission in Pre-modern Japan*. (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1991) pp.266-267: Such an insular nationalistic mentality was, needless to say, essentially at odds with the universalism of Christianity. Japanism, furthermore, stands in sharp contrast to Christianity. Japanism stands in sharp contrast to Christianity, because of its immanent nature as against the transcendent God of Christianity.

Uchimura Kanzo, for example, tried to reconcile the difference between these two cultures and Yanaihara succeeded Uchimura in this role. As the case of Yanaihara has revealed, it seemed unlikely that Christianity could fit into the prewar Japanese polity. The political environment did not encourage the spread of Christian teachings. Although the Meiji Constitution of 1889 granted religious freedom, the activities of religions other than Shinto were either strongly attacked or unwelcome.

In the 1930s, ultranationalist ideas threatened Christianity and forced it to change. In 1933, traditionalists criticized Doshisha University for having using Christian teachings in moral education, so that the students had become attracted to Marxism. The University was also criticized for its refusal of theses that supported the Japanese national polity and its punishment of those who advocated nationalistic ideas.<sup>229</sup> Some Christian clergymen were criticized for their “radical” pacifism, for spreading these ideas to the public, and for ignoring “our glorious national polity.”<sup>230</sup>

Eventually, Japanese Christians began to compromise with nationalism. Especially after 1935, there were many incidents indicating Christianity subordinating itself to “Japanism.” In 1936, a Christian magazine called *Kirisutokyo Sekai* [Christian World] began to shift “rightwards” and published rightist articles, under the influence of Minobe incident.<sup>231</sup> Here is an example:

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<sup>229</sup> Rokuro Sugii, *Senjika no Kirisutokyo undo*, I, p.57

<sup>230</sup> Ibid, pp.58-59

<sup>231</sup> Minobe was a legal expert who reinterpreted the position of the imperial institution within the Japanese constitution as that of an “organ of state.” This view of the emperor, who until that time had been considered the divine embodiment of the state, greatly altered Japanese political theory. In the early 1930s, his theories came under increasing criticism from these same bureaucrats. In 1935 nationalistic pressure forced him to resign.

“Minobe Tatsukichi” *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*. <<http://search.eb.com/bol/topic?eu=54195&sctn=1>>

[Accessed 11 June 2000].



“Nowadays Japan has encountered the Crisis. We should follow the Christian spirit to become loyal to our state ... in order to endeavor to promote the Great Japanese spirit. The paramount action of the Christian is to save the country and to love the people, to respect the emperor and God.”<sup>232</sup>

Doshisha, which established by Nijjima Jo in the 1880s, also announced that his paramount teachings were to respect the God and the Emperor simultaneously.<sup>233</sup>

This merging of loyalty to the state and Emperor with Christianity later led to active Christian support towards war in the same year. A Christian author equated the blood of the Japanese army shed in the battlefield with the blood of the Christ Crucifixion:

The Cross allows people to advocate valueless peace, fortune and humanity, but if our soldiers go to the battlefield, and sacrifice themselves as Christ did for us, can we ignore their achievements?”<sup>234</sup>

In 1937, after the Sino-Japanese War had broken out, the Christian League [Kirisutokyo Renmei] announced that their it agreed with the Government’s position on Manchuria.<sup>235</sup> In 1938, the Christian Church began to celebrate Shinto festivals like Tenchosetsu (29 April), the birthday of Meiji Emperor, and Kigensetsu (11 February), a holiday that commemorated the establishment of the Yamato dynasty by the mythical Emperor Jimmu.<sup>236</sup> *Kimigayo*, the nationalistic anthem, a song in honor of the emperor, was sung during Church services. In 1940, some authors in the *Christian World* wrote to celebrate the 2 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of founding of the nation, based on a dating system that glorified the emperor and nation. In the Tenchosetsu of the year 1939, Christians in Kagawa announced that they understood the war in China as a Holy War.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Hiroshi Kudo, “Senjika no ‘Kirisutokyo Sekai’ wo yomu,” in *Kirisutokyo shakai mondai kenkyu* no.42 (Tokyo: Doshisha Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyusho, 1993) p.28

<sup>233</sup> Hiroshi Kudo, “Senjika no ‘Kirisutokyo Sekai’ wo yomu,” p.31

<sup>234</sup> *Tomen no Jujika*, in *Kirisutokyo Sekai* 23 Sept 1937, in Hiroshi Kudo, *Senjika no “Kirisutokyo Sekai” wo yomu*, p.33

<sup>235</sup> Hiroshi Kudo, “Senjika no ‘Kirisutokyo Sekai’ wo yomu,” p.36

<sup>236</sup> These festivals like *Kigensetsu* and *Tenchosetsu* are Shinto festivals which were used to strengthen the status of the Emperor and his ancestors as Gods. Therefore, it was difficult to imagine that the Christians could ever celebrate these festivals, which would mean that they admitted Emperor as a God, and thus Christianity became no longer monotheistic accordingly.

<sup>237</sup> Hiroshi Kudo, “Senjika no ‘Kirisutokyo Sekai’ wo yomu,” p.41

These efforts at compromise were not unsuccessful because more youths became Christians in 1939 than before.<sup>238</sup> And because of its compromises, Christianity did survive the war. Even just after the War, the Nihon Kirisutokyodan [the Japan Christian Church] announced that Japanese Christians should have regrets because they did not have enough power to repay the country, to enforce what the Emperor has commanded, and to protect the Japanese national polity.<sup>239</sup>

If Christianity really wanted to survive the 1930s, it had to compromise, but that might make Christianity lose its Christian characteristics.<sup>240</sup> During the wartime period, Yanaihara got increasingly frustrated with the *tenko*<sup>241</sup> action of the Christians. If religion should act the conscience of a society, then compromise by Christian groups during the War would make Christianity lose its value to society. Yanaihara stood firm against this kind of compromise:

The Christian church also made use of this abnormal time to become shoe-lickers and opportunists in order to get convenient access to overseas preaching activity as Japan expanded. Considering [this justification], I don't think communicating with them could be possible. ... This kind of opportunism cannot be allowed in God's Truth.<sup>242</sup>

One reason that Yanaihara stood so firm against the militarists was because of all of the Christians who had "tenkoed". As mentioned before, Yanaihara emphasized the absolute truth in Christianity. Therefore, compromise was not allowed. Consequently, Yanaihara not only kept distinct from the Japan Christian Group, but he also criticized it, especially after the war. He blamed the Group for its conversion to "Japaneseness" during the war and its

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<sup>238</sup> Hiroshi Kudo, "Senjika no 'Kirisutokyo Sekai' wo yomu," p.48

<sup>239</sup> Wakao Fujita, "Uchimura Kanzo wo Keisho shita Hitobito," in *Haisen no Shingiron*, (Tokyo: Bokutakusha, 1977) p.196

<sup>240</sup> For example, the example discussed below is Christian World [*Kirisutokyo Sekai*.] I think the main theme of this magazine could be summarized as "Christianity does not go into conflicts with our national polity." (Yamamoto Naganosuke's article in the issue published on 10 March 1938, quoted in Hiroshi Kudo, "Taisho Demokurashii no Shiso Suimyaku," p.39)

<sup>241</sup> Japanese Christians did not have the term of *tenko*, because in narrow sense, the word *tenko* referred to the conversion to the traditional ideas by the Communists with their leaders of Sano Manabu and Nabeyama Sadachika. In the 1930s, many Christians did similar things as the Communist, so I think it is proper to use *tenko* to describe the "rightward shift" of the Japanese Christians.

<sup>242</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Minzoku to Heiwa no tame ni," in *Senji Hyoronshu*, p.326

sudden change to pro-American attitudes once the war ended.<sup>243</sup> I think this is one of the difficulties in adapting Christianity and Japanese culture.

In the 1930s, two important figures of the Mukyokai died. On 18 March 1930, Uchimura Kanzo died. During the lectures commemorating Uchimura, another important figure in Mukyokai, Fujii Takeshi said “we should declare war on all enemies of the Truth.” On 14 July of that year, Fujii died too.<sup>244</sup> The Mukyokai Church and Japan Christianity lost two senior and also very important figures within a very short period. During the war, several members of the Mukyokai such as Tsukamoto Toraji expressed their support of the military action. Yanaihara, as a second-generation leader of Mukyokai, felt it was necessary for him to maintain the integrity of the Mukyokai by stand up against the military government.

### *Yanaihara's Interaction with the Communists and the Army in prewar Japan*

Another force which Christianity faced in the prewar Japan was the left. Since the leftists continually stated that Christian ideas were not scientific, Yanaihara had to stand up to defend the Christian teachings. As I have written in the last chapter, the main theme of his writings concerning socialism before the 1930s was that of whether Christianity or socialism should be the right way to achieve the “Truth.” What made him firmly devoted to anti-militarism and separated from the main stream of the “progressives”? To begin with, many Communists failed to stay true to their ideas and converted to nationalism under the strict control of the Thought Police during the War. Yanaihara Tadao criticized these tenkoists, stating:

The proletarian party became the apple-polisher of militarism after the Manchurian Incident and how much has the proletarian party movement and its party degraded in quality. I sighed

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<sup>243</sup> Wakao Fujita, *Haisen no Shingiron*, p.196

<sup>244</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Watashi no ayunde kita michi,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.28 p.43

when I heard that [this *tenko*] was out of the concern of liberating the people.<sup>245</sup>

To a certain extent, I think Yanaihara relished the break up of the radical left group. Yanaihara had once devoted himself to Christian socialism and was disappointed because it had not prospered. Later on, socialism criticized Christianity as an outdated and reactionary ideology, and Christianity and socialism eventually lost their connection. This mode of thinking became very influential in the late Taisho and early Showa. Yanaihara disagreed with this standpoint and eventually opened “his own way.”<sup>246</sup> Therefore, he wrote extensively to criticize the socialists and to defend the Christian viewpoint.

Yanaihara agreed with the goal of socialism, that is, to enhance social equality, and thus had mixed feelings about the demise of the left. But on the other hand, he was angry with the leftists because of their mass conversion. Yanaihara thought they should play a role in resisting against the rise of militarism, but they did not.

Yanaihara disliked the Army even more than he disliked the socialists, at least partly because of the fate of his mentor, Nitobe Inazo, after the Manchurian Incident. In 1932, in a speech in Matsuyama, Nitobe expressed his dissatisfaction towards the military dominance over politics:

The Communists and the military clique are destroying our country. If one asks which one of the two is more dangerous, surely the answer must be the military.<sup>247</sup>

Because of this statement, people in the Imperial Military Reserve Association [*Zaigo Gunjin Dankai*] became furious with him. In the end, Nitobe was ‘asked’ to come out of his hospitalization in St. Luke’s International Hospital in Tokyo to apologize.<sup>248</sup> This is called the Matsuyama Incident. After the incident, Nitobe, for his personal safety, did not show

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<sup>245</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Minzoku to Heiwa no tame ni,” in *Senji Hyoron Shu*, p.326

<sup>246</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Watashi no ayunde kita michi,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.26 p.26

<sup>247</sup> Quoted by George Oshiro, p.258

his opposition to the military and stopped criticizing the military – he feared assassination by the Blood League Association, an ultra-nationalist terrorist group who had killed several leading political and business figures. It is likely that Yanaihara was angered at what had been done to his mentor, and this incident made Christians a target of the rightists. Therefore, Yanaihara had to stand up against the rightists.

In 1932, when Yanaihara planned to deliver a special lecture to the students at Tokyo University on Manchurian Issue, the university's military teacher told the students, "don't listen to [lectures] like Yanaihara's on the Manchurian Issue."<sup>249</sup> The thought police developed different skills to limit the spread of ideas like Yanaihara's. They allowed Yanaihara to act and speak as freely as he wanted, but tried their best to keep people from being influenced by him; at the same time, the police tried not to violate academic freedom too openly. Long before Yanaihara was forced to resign from the Tokyo University on 1 December 1937, he felt that he was disliked by government leaders, including the Home Minister, the rightists, the civilian and the military police, the members in the House of Peers and of the House of Commons as well. These kinds of people became keenly aware of Yanaihara because of his work, *Kokka no Riso [Ideal of a Country,]* which was published in *Chuo Koron [Central Review]* in the summer of 1937, soon after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In the article, he wrote that the ideal of the nation was to maintain justice within the country and among different countries, and also to help weak countries. Therefore, it was unjust for a country to attack another country to pursue its own interest and then justify this aggression by claiming that it attacked to help defend its own country. It ran contrary to the ideal of a nation.<sup>250</sup> He also criticized the methods of the government of threatening the opposition and spreading propaganda in order to unify public opinion to

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<sup>248</sup> Oshiro, pp.259-260

<sup>249</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Omoide 3," in *Senji Hyoronshu*, p.519

support its aggression.<sup>251</sup> It is obvious that Yanaihara was referring to the Japanese government, although he never mentioned names. (This issue of *Chuo Koron* was banned soon after it was published in August.)<sup>252</sup>

Yanaihara received much pressure from the police. He wrote in his diary,

At 8A.M. special service men from the Meguro Police Station came and asked about the distribution of *Tsushin* [*Correspondence*]. I spent the morning in my office at the University.

While my colleagues enjoy themselves with sports, theater, dogs, literatures and families, why must I always toil alone, so that my health declines rapidly? I feel very feeble. Should I continue my work both in the missionary field and in social science? Is it my duty? I wish for a rest. I wish for comfort, but I only get toil and trouble. I am weak, but I was caught by Him. Ach! Ich kann nicht anders sein. [I do not have any choice.]<sup>253</sup>

One day earlier, two policemen interrogated Yanaihara for half an hour. On 9<sup>th</sup> November, he was asked if he was a subscriber of *Kyudo*, a Christian magazine and if he was an organizer of the Christian activities.<sup>254</sup> Therefore, Yanaihara did pay a price for his resistance and wrote that he wanted to have rest on the following day.

The Police also “supervised” meetings of Christians. In October 1940, when the Mukyokai Christians tried to meet in memorial of the tenth year anniversary of the death of Fujii Takeshi, they had to deal with the secret police. Three days before the meeting they were told to cancel it. After bargaining, they were allowed to hold the meeting, but the Police supervised the whole process, and told the Christians that if a word which involve politics was uttered, the meeting would be ended.<sup>255</sup>

Besides being monitored by the police, Yanaihara was attacked by rightist scholars. The representative scholar of this group is Minoda Muneki, whom I mentioned in the

<sup>250</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kokka no Riso,” in *Senji Hyoronshu*, pp.367-369.

<sup>251</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kokka no Riso,” in *Senji Hyoronshu*, pp.370-371.

<sup>252</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Watashi no Ayunde kita michi,” pp.48-49

<sup>253</sup> Diary on 13 November 1937, in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol. 28 p.741. Yanaihara wrote the second paragraph in English and German, probably because he did not want the special police to read it.

<sup>254</sup> Diary on 12 November 1937, in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*. Vol.28 p.741

previous chapter. Minoda Muneki, in a book entitled *Shinri to senso* [Truth and War], criticized Yanaihara's version of "truth" as unscientific, because Minoda believed that Christianity was merely a Jewish mythology and a Jewish ideology. Therefore, treating Christianity and truth as equal was unscientific.<sup>256</sup> Minoda questioned if there were supernatural existences other than the Emperor and his ancestor. That was to say, Minoda believed that the Japanese Emperor and his ancestors were the only group of Gods. Therefore, Christian belief in existence of their God blasphemed the Emperor and the Japanese national polity.<sup>257</sup> Minoda also criticized Yanaihara for believing that Christianity promoted pacifism. After all, Christians in the West had involved themselves in various wars like the Crusades. How could Yanaihara use Christianity to promote pacifism? Minoda also thought that pacifism was not applicable in real world of politics, as the case of the Jewish people had shown.<sup>258</sup>

At this time, the Ministry of Education and the association of professors in the Todai Economics' Faculty to which Yanaihara belonged, began to take the issue of *Kokka no Riso* seriously. As long as the article did not involve any unpatriotic feelings and only hoped for peace, Yanaihara was not punished.<sup>259</sup>

Despite severe monitoring by the Thought Police, Yanaihara was never arrested. For example, he was able to preach and give lectures even after 1937 all over the Western Japan. After Yanaihara held a Bible study group in Oyama, the police interrogated the students who attacked the lecture and even arrested one, but Yanaihara himself was never arrested.<sup>260</sup> Not only was Yanaihara a prominent Todai scholar, so that the Army could not interfere with his

<sup>255</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, *Fujii Takeshi Tsuito Ensetsu*, in *Senji Hyoron Shu*, p.181

<sup>256</sup> Minoda Muneki, *Shinri to Senso*, p.15

<sup>257</sup> Minoda Muneki, p.8

<sup>258</sup> Minoda Muneki, p.56

<sup>259</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi no Ayunde kita michi," p.49

study, but more importantly, the Army could not find a good “reason” to arrest him.

Yanaihara lost his job at Tokyo University in December 1937, because of a lecture he gave commemorating Fujii Takeshi, entitled *Kami no Kuni*, “*The Country of the God*” in October the same year. During this twenty-minute speech Yanaihara first blamed other Christians who supported the war and claimed that the war was to punish China in God’s name. Yanaihara thought that nationalism in the Meiji Period was important to build the country and help the ideal of the nation develop. However, by the 1930s, Yanaihara thought that Japanese nationalism only helped to build an evil country.<sup>261</sup> “The leaders in the country are great liars, and the people are foolish. Justice is called unjust; injustice now becomes just... all value judgment turns to the opposite way.” Yanaihara concluded, “if we want to develop the ideals of Japan, please bury this country first.”<sup>262</sup> Yanaihara meant that if Japan had already decayed, and nothing could save his country, because of its aggressive actions. Therefore, if Japan wanted to develop a new ideal of its own, the Japanese must bury this militaristic country and establish a new peaceful one. The speech was treated as blasphemy to the country. After the speech, President Nagayo of Todai could no longer protect Yanaihara on the pretext of freedom of thought and study within the campus, and was forced to ask him to resign.<sup>263</sup>

After the resignation of Yanaihara from the Tokyo Imperial University, he still continued to publish books, mostly because of the sponsorship of Iwanami Shigeo, the owner of the Iwanami publishing company. In the summer of 1944, the police told Yanaihara to stop publishing his magazine and stopped distributing paper to him under the rationing system.<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Sen no ato,” in *Senji Hyoronshu*, p.499

<sup>261</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kami no Kuni,” in *Senji Hyoronshu*, p.389

<sup>262</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kami no Kuni,” p.392

<sup>263</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Sen no ato,” p.501

<sup>264</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Watashi no Ayunde kita michi,” p.58



Why did Yanaihara succeed in resisting the Japanese military government, unlike Communist tenkoists during out the war? One of the major reasons was Yanaihara's prominent academic position in Tokyo University. Before the lecture on *Kami no Kuni*, the rightists could not find a decisive excuse to get rid of Yanaihara.

Another reason was that Yanaihara was not affected by group psychology. He wrote in 1932, "the Japanese people nowadays cannot make an independent judgment of the propaganda of the government."<sup>265</sup> The reason why he could be immune from the group psychology was because of his Christian-styled education and because he had travelled abroad by himself. According to Iritani Toshio, people easily believed what the military government said because they did not know what was happening in other countries. They heard from the propaganda that Japan was under the foreign pressure from America, Britain and the Chinese anti-Japanese movement.<sup>266</sup> But Yanaihara had had the chance to travel abroad frequently and experiences gained in foreign countries contributed to his intellectual development. Comparing with other Japanese, Yanaihara paid more attention to other countries and considered Japan's international relations from the perspective of other countries. He had been to Palestine, Germany, Korea and the Manchuria. He visited Korea when he was seventeen and it was said that this is when he became interested in the treatment of colonial people. He also appreciated the Jews' effort to establish their own country. A visit to Germany after World War I made him understand the feeling of being defeated and the disadvantages of launching wars. A visit to Manchuria soon after 1930 was most important to his life. He visited Manchuria as a scholar of colonial studies soon after the Manchurian Incident because he felt strange about the Incident. Two incidents

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<sup>265</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Manshukoku Shonin," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, 5/87

<sup>266</sup> For example, Minoda Muneki argued that the decisions of the League of Nations concerning the Manchurian Crisis were in fact unfair to the Japanese, because the countries who judged the case, like America, China and Britain were involved themselves the economic interest in Manchuria. (Minoda, p.55)

occurred on the trip to Manchuria which made him believe that his perception was correct. When he arrived in Manchuria, several policemen asked him why he had come to Manchuria.<sup>267</sup> When he went from Changchun to Harbin by the Manchurian Railway, some bandits attacked the train he rode on and killed some Japanese people. These incidents caused Yanaihara to begin his studies on Manchuria.

Pressure from the military, the special police (*tokko*) and rightist scholars played an important role in the development of Yanaihara's on pacifist stand. Because of this strong pressure, Yanaihara, as a Christian intelligentsia, a patriot, and an important heir of the Mukyokai, thought that he had a mission to resist the forces of reaction and war. From his diary, we can see that he sometimes became weak physically, but still felt that he had to go on with his work. I wonder if he would have made such a radical speech as *Kami no kuni* if he had not faced this outside pressure.

*Yanaihara Tadao in the postwar period: A reconsideration on his relations with the contemporary situation*

The final points I want to discuss in this thesis are Yanaihara's views in the postwar period. As I have mentioned before, Yanaihara's attitudes towards Japanese culture changed in the postwar period because the situation in postwar Japan was completely different from before the war.

In the postwar period, one of Yanaihara's main ideas was the need for absolute pacifism – that is, complete demilitarization. With this view, he returned to a position very close to that of other progressives. The Japanese scholar Takenaka Yoshihiko argued that

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<sup>267</sup> Takenaka, "Teikoku shugika no Yanaihara Tadao," p.134

Yanaihara advocacy of a demilitarization Japan was to please the GHQ (General Headquarter). Takenaka thought that Yanaihara did not advocate complete demilitarization in prewar Japan, as demonstrated in his article *Kami no Kuni* in 1937, although he advocated pacifism. That was to say, before the war Yanaihara did not agree with the complete demilitarization that was forced on Japan by the Allied powers during the Occupation. After the war, Yanaihara advocated this only because the GHQ had already demilitarized Japan and Yanaihara had no choice but to accept it.<sup>268</sup> I disagree with Takenaka. I think that Yanaihara put forth his complete demilitarization view was not to please GHQ. Before the war, Yanaihara did not advocate complete demilitarization because he could not have imagined that it was possible in the atmosphere of the 1930s. If pacifism could not gain support in a militaristic society, advocating complete demilitarization seemed even more absurd. Therefore, *Kami no Kuni* written in 1937 did not mention complete demilitarization. But that is what he thought in the 1930s, not in the 1950s. After the war, the situation had changed – he could now realistically advocate complete demilitarization as well as pacifism. Thus, it was the situation, not his desire to please the Americans, that led to Yanaihara's new position. Another reason I do not think that Yanaihara took his new position to please the GHQ is that Yanaihara consistently expressed his dissatisfaction with occupation policies. Firstly, Yanaihara believed that Japan could be remade after the war ended, but he still had to submit his writings to the Allied Occupation for possible censorship. That this practice remained after the war had ended frustrated him.<sup>269</sup> Although the Allied Occupation had laid the foundation of democracy by its dissolution of the zaibatsu, land reform, renunciation of imperial divinity, separation of Shinto and the state, Yanaihara thought that Japanese should not forget that they “were being controlled. The letters of General McArthur are

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<sup>268</sup> Takenaka Yoshihiko, “Haisen Chokugo no Yanaihara Tadao,” in *Shiso*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992) no.822 p.63

<sup>269</sup> Takenaka Yoshihiko, “Haisen Chokugo no Yanaihara Tadao,” pp.63-64

more important than the law.”<sup>270</sup>

Because of the rapid Americanization of Japan after the end of the War, Yanaihara feared the disappearance of the Japanese national identity.<sup>271</sup> As a scholar of colonial policy in the prewar period, who wrote against the assimilation policy implemented in the Japanese colonies, Yanaihara could not agree with the policies of the Allied Occupation. “The Americanization policy of the Japanese legal system, education and ideology is now being carried out enthusiastically and in an organized way. This is probably a kind of idealistic assimilation.” Because the two countries differed, Yanaihara feared possible bad effects when American policy transplanted into Japan.<sup>272</sup> After the Allied Occupation had ended in 1952, he still wrote that “Japan should not trust Soviet Union or America.”<sup>273</sup> Yanaihara had much suspicion towards America. In fact, it was quite surprising for Yanaihara to say what he said because most Japanese progressives, of which he was one, have been portrayed as having strong Western outlooks.

Yanaihara, as one can imagine, was anxious about the return of wartime rightists to the political scene. He wondered, for example, how Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke, who was the member of the wartime Tojo Cabinet most responsible for the war, could reach the top of the political structure after the war.<sup>274</sup> He was particularly dissatisfied with Kishi’s use of the label “red” for anyone who criticized him.<sup>275</sup> Although Yanaihara did not agree with the Communists, he did not want a revival of Fascist rule under the pretext of a “Red Purge.” In general, he opposed the conservative rule of the Liberal Democratic Party and did not support

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<sup>270</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kanrika no Nihon,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19, p.406

<sup>271</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kanrika no Nihon,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19, p.405

<sup>272</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kanrika no Nihon,” in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.19, pp.409-410

<sup>273</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Gendai no Kiki to Kirisutokyo,” in *Gendai Shakai to Kirisutokyo*, p.139

<sup>274</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, “Kono ato ni kuru mono,” in *Seiji to ningen*, p.151: The socialist party had once criticized Kishi for his prewar militaristic action, Kishi answered, “I supported democracy now.” Yanaihara questioned that if one could easily change his mind within such a short period. Therefore, he was very annoyed for Kishi’s rise to the Prime Minister after the Purge, because he was afraid of revival of ultra-nationalism.

the U.S.-Japan Treaty Alliance, the keystone of Japan's postwar foreign policy.

The Japanese lost their self-confidence after the war. People denigrated nationalism and some people even proposed changing the national flag. Others stole Japanese flags from people's houses and sold them to the Occupation forces.<sup>276</sup> Therefore, the main theme of Yanaihara's writing was not only to stress the importance of Japanese tradition and the necessity of adding Christianity to this tradition, but also he did not blame the Japanese people for supporting the army during the war.

In sum, the idea and life of Yanaihara reflected two phenomena in the Japanese intellectual sphere: firstly, the difficulties Christianity faced in prewar Japan. In prewar Japan, the warlike sentiment did not allow Christian notions of fraternity, equality and peace to develop. If Christianity really wanted to extend its influence, the most "practical" way was to compromise with militarism. If Christians tried to preserve the purity of their ideas, Christianity might have been extinguished altogether. The case of *Kirisutokyo Sekai* versus Yanaihara revealed the dilemma of Japanese Christianity in the prewar period. In the last chapter, I have written about various attempts by Yanaihara to reconcile the Christian and traditional Japanese ideas, but his efforts proved futile during the war.

Yanaihara was responsive to contemporary developments. Although Christianity was an essential component in his ideas, he adapted what he learnt from Christianity in response to the contemporary situation. Quite interestingly, he used his religion and the bible to support his idea in the period when Christianity was unwelcome. In the more welcoming atmosphere of the 1920s and the postwar period, he still used Christianity, but he did not use it as much as he had during the war.

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<sup>275</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Kono ato ni kuru mono," p.153

<sup>276</sup> Wakao Fujita, *Haisen no Shingiron*, p.182

His personal experience played a crucial role in Yanaihara's ideas. In the prewar period, the military and the rightists exerted much pressure on him and his mentor Nitobe, so he resisted the military and the rightist groups adamantly during the war. Although Yanaihara said that he did not hate Minoda Muneki during his interview with Otsuka Hisao, Fujita Wakao wrote that Yanaihara hated Minoda very much, as shown in the passage about Jeremiah in Yanaihara's book *Yo no Sonkei suru Jimbutsu [The People whom I Respect]*.<sup>277</sup>

After the war, his wartime experiences affected his response to the Allied Occupation's military control and Prime Minister Kishi return to the political scene. His anti-militarism developed both out of his pacifist ideals and his personal experiences.

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<sup>277</sup> Wakao Fujita, *Haisen no Shingiron*, p.195

## Chapter Five

# Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine Yanaihara's ideology from the prewar to the postwar period. In the first part of the thesis, we have discussed how Yanaihara's ideology came into existence. His life from the childhood and the adolescence was briefly examined. Yanaihara's family, including his father and his grandmother, played a very important role in establishing his character. After Yanaihara was admitted into the Tokyo Number One High School [Ichiko,] the principal of the school, Nitobe Inazo, influenced him very much.

I examined Yanaihara's ideas in four main areas: his views towards socialism, towards colonial policy, towards pacifism and towards the reconciliation of Christianity and tradition. These four elements are interrelated. There were a few keywords in Yanaihara's ideas. The most important was "the Truth". This word "Truth" came from his religious beliefs, but he applied it in other areas as well. To Yanaihara, Christian Truth was superior to socialist Truth. To him, the meaning of Truth was what brought human beings ultimate happiness. In writing about colonial policy, Yanaihara emphasized the Christian teaching of "equality." Because he thought that China and other Asian countries were less developed than Japan, he did not view that these countries as "equal" to Japan before the war. Therefore, he did not really oppose Japanese administration of Taiwan and Korea before the Manchurian Incident in 1931. He thought that Japan rule in Taiwan and Korea could bring economic benefits to the colonies. The Taiwanese sugarcane industry was an example. The main theme of his ideal colonial policy was autonomy. He criticized the autocratic nature of the Taiwanese colonial government and suggested that the Japanese government should establish separate governments in each colony and allow the subject people there to participate in it. When the

subject people in the colonies became dissatisfied with the Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese Government should let the colonies become independent peacefully.

As a Japanese historian Asada Kyoji has pointed out, although Yanaihara's colonial policy was based on his humanitarianism and pacifism, he was not a supporter of independence for all ethnic groups.<sup>278</sup> He overlooked the nationalism of Koreans and Taiwanese. He failed to realize that the subject people in the Japanese colonies did not, from their very annexation, welcome Japanese colonial rule. Yanaihara has been criticized for only looking at the potential economic benefits of Japanese rule. For example, he thought that an intensive Korean rice agricultural programme would solve the food supply problem in both Korea and Japan, but he overlooked the fact that under present Japanese colonial rule the Koreans were being exploited.<sup>279</sup> In sum, Yanaihara's colonial policy aimed at bringing the colonies more benefit, but he overlooked the fact that colonialism, by its nature, exploited people and stimulated nationalism in the colonies. Though one can argue whether this viewpoint was fair to the colonial peoples, Yanaihara was relatively progressive in "the age of imperialism" when compared with the average Japanese person. Yanaihara wanted to raise colonial standards of living and allow "equal" opportunity for races under Japanese colonialism.

After the Manchurian Incident, Yanaihara used his colonial studies to justify his pacifist ideas. By discussing that the necessity of the colonies to the mother country and the drawbacks of the assimilation policies of French African Empire, Yanaihara repudiated the propaganda campaign of the Japanese military government to justify their war action. He also used the example of French colonialism to point out that colonialism did not necessarily bring economic benefits to the mother country.

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<sup>278</sup> Kyoji Asada, "Yanaihara Tadao no Shokuminron," (III) p.67



It has been argued that Yanaihara's most important mentor was Nitobe. This viewpoint is probably based on the intimate personal relationship between the two. Before the Manchurian Incident, Yanaihara's colonial policy views were more similar to those of Nitobe. Nitobe's Christian and neo-traditional way of school administration certainly influenced Yanaihara and attracted him to Christianity. Although it is not easy to evaluate which of his mentors was the most important, the influences of Uchimura Kanzo and Yoshino Sakuzo were also important. At the very least, we find similarities between Yanaihara's ideas and those of Uchimura and Yoshino.

For example, Yanaihara's pacifist ideas were an inheritance from Uchimura and Yoshino. As the Japanese historian Ota Tetsuo has argued "Yanaihara inherited his *absolute pacifism* from Uchimura Kanzo."<sup>280</sup> Although Nitobe Inazo suggested international friendship and more communication and understanding between Japan and the West, he did not reject war as a mean of solving international disputes. Some historians even criticized Nitobe for not opposing militarism after the Manchurian Crisis.

Nitobe Inazo's "racial equality" was limited to the relationship between Japan and the West. But, Yanaihara and Yoshino, put more emphasis on the relations between Japan and the China, and Japan and its colonies in Korea and Taiwan. Yoshino, as we have seen, was concerned over the democratic and nationalistic development of the colonies. Yanaihara agreed with Yoshino's ideas of "recognizing" China as a nation state.

The Manchurian Incident was a turning point in Yanaihara's life. The incident had two significant effects on Yanaihara. First, it made Yanaihara lose hope for better colonial government and for better treatment of the subject people in the colonies. Second, he

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<sup>279</sup> Kyoji Asada, pp.66, 71.

<sup>280</sup> Ota Tetsuo, p.209

became concerned about the rise of militarism in Japan. He feared that the military would lead Japan into a total war. Here he agreed with Yoshino Sakuzo - they both opposed the intervention of the military in government.<sup>281</sup> The Manchurian Incident was also important to other Christians because from this time Christianity had to face a serious challenge from the traditionalists. Most of the Christians surrendered to the new currents, but Yanaihara resisted by insisting that Japanese culture and Christianity were compatible. After the outbreak of Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Yanaihara's action elevated. He openly criticized the war. Therefore, I think Yanaihara is a very important figure in the intellectual history of modern Japan. His firm stand against the war intensified while other Christians and Communists surrendered to the threats of the militarists. Christianity surely was an important element in Yanaihara's ideas, but the contemporary situation also made him modify his ideas.

According to Yanaihara himself, it was a misfortune that the government did not consider his colonial policy views.<sup>282</sup> But because he was a Christian and emphasized individual responsibility, it was difficult for Yanaihara to have political influence. "Christians are individualists and do not have a social basis ... Jesus himself never used social forces but he saved many souls."<sup>283</sup> Yanaihara's Christian ideas ran contrary to wartime culture and were too idealistic; therefore, his influences were limited. After the war, however, Yanaihara had a good opportunity to spread his idea so. As a constant critic against militarism during the war, he became the leading commentator in Japan and was eventually promoted to several prominent posts in the Tokyo University.

Why did Yanaihara not have more influence? There are several possible answers.

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<sup>281</sup> Ota Tetsuo, p.208

<sup>282</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Watashi no ayunde kita michi," in *Yanaihara Tadao Zenshu*, vol.26 p.60

<sup>283</sup> Yanaihara Tadao, "Iesu no muteiko shugi," p.132

First, he had only one weapon, the pen, but he did not have any other real political power to support him. Second, his ideas, such as complete demilitarization, were too idealistic, as Minoda Muneki pointed out when criticizing the feasibility of Yanaihara's views.

According to Yanaihara, the Japanese should demilitarize completely after the war.

However, some contemporary commentators argued that this would risk the safety of the country. However, Yanaihara argued that there was no need for other countries to invade Japan. If any country really invade Japan, the Japanese should not resist and should let that country occupied them. Although the Japanese might lose their country, they would gain eternal fame for their non-resistance. However, no one, Minoda Muneki wrote, would want his ethnic group to become another Jewish tribe and wander through different countries without their own nation-state.

Third, Yanaihara's ideas were too westernized in the eyes of most Japanese people.

Even after the war, Yanaihara's idea that the Japanese emperor should become a Christian was unimaginable. Although State Shinto disappeared, Christianity still had to face other ideological challenges such as Buddhism and new religions, all based on Japanese tradition. Buddhism remained quite influential among the Japanese and Yanaihara's Christian ideas seemed too unorthodox. Since most people were not Christians, why should they choose Christianity to rebuild the country?<sup>284</sup> Fourth and most importantly, Japanese people did not go through a complete introspection after the war. The mentality of these Japanese people did not change. If Yanaihara's ideas were not welcomed before the war, why would they be after? This was particularly true after the purge of militarists ended and prewar Japanese politicians returned to the political stage. After the rapid economic growth of the late 1950s and the early 1960s, Yanaihara's suggestions for the reconstruction of Japan by means of

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<sup>284</sup> Yanaihara noticed it and therefore he wanted to continue the evangelistic work and did not want to return to *Today* at first.

Christianity were soon forgotten.

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