

Profile of Asian Minded Man I

TADAO YANAIHARA

—His Colonial Studies and Religious Faith—

NAOKICHI UBUKATA

“Should I be asked to express my feelings about the colonial question, I would say that from the bottom of my heart ‘the liberation of those who are down trodden, the raising up of those who would sink, and a peaceful union of those who are independent.’”

“Teikokushugi-ka no Taiwan.”

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1. On Colonial Policies

The basic attitude of Tadao Yanaihara (1893–1961), who was the foremost and last outstanding student of colonial policy in Japan, is best expressed by the above quotation. In his youth Yanaihara became a member of the non-sectarian Christian under their leader in Japan, Kanzō Uchimura. In about the same period he read a work by an English missionary, F. A. McKenzie, entitled *The Tragedy of Corea* (London, 1908), and through this learned the true nature of colonial policy. Yanaihara united his Christian faith with his feelings of affection for colonized peoples and maintained this unity throughout his life. “To go forth through life with the Bible, to reach the Koreans with the Bible, to shed joyous tears of thanks as a servant of God”—this was the dream of young Yanaihara. He realized this dream through the life he spent as a scholar of colonial policy and as a Christian.

After graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, he was appointed a professor in 1933 to give a lecture course on colonial policy at the same university. This course had been established after the Russo-Japanese War as an accompaniment to the development of Japanese imperialism. However, Yanaihara was eventually forced to leave the university because of his views which were in opposition to the government's position on colonialization.

After he left the Tokyo Imperial University, the post of professor on colonial policy was occupied by pro-government men who were willing to advance the military and political interests of the régime. But Professor Yanaihara refused to contribute in such a way, and protested against this way of thinking from the view point of human rights and of Christian humanism. It was almost impossible to maintain such an attitude under the military Fascism of Japan.

The aims of the course taught by Yanaihara were the study of the mechanisms of government and administration for colonial rule, as well as government policies and policies for the external development of the home country.¹ Yanaihara, however, undertook scientific studies of colonies, taking colonies as the subject for theoretical and empirical survey on imperialism.

Yanaihara's research was not oriented to the problems of nation at the stage of the so-called bourgeois revolution, but to those in the period when imperialism and its colonial policies had come to the fore, covering the stage of the old colonialism, used to the contemporary term. In other words, his research dealt with the question of colonies and constituted a criticism of imperialism.

Thus, he consistently maintained this stand-point in all studies, notably in his distinguished work, *Teikokushugi-ka no Taiwan* (Taiwan under Imperialism) (1929), and also in his studies of Korea, India, Sakhalin, and the Pacific Islands under the Japanese Mandate. He classified the political bonds between the home country and its colonies into two types: (1) the incorporation of colonies into the home country by a policy of assimilation, and (2) a linking of a self-governing colony with the home country. Further, he espoused the ideal of converting the first type into the self-governing type and independence of colonies to complete a peaceful separation.

His economic theory was derived from the colonial policy as described in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and was supported by Christian humanism. In concrete terms, his theory of colonial policy was inspired by European concepts, and took as its models the processes of separation and independence of Canada and Ireland from British imperialism.

2. *On Political Rights in Taiwan and Korea*

He exposed the actual conditions in the colonies under Japanese imperialism, such as Taiwan and Korea, in his *Teikokushugi-ka no Taiwan* and in some outstanding papers on Korea which he could not manage to synthesize for

¹ At the same period a Department of the History of the Far East was established in the Department of Literature, the Tokyo Imperial University. This department was basically characterized to affirm Japan's aggression in Asia from the historical point of view. In this sense its aim was the same as that of the lecture course on colonial policy from the position of economics. Takashi Hatada, "Nippon ni okeru Tōyōshigaku no Dentō (The Tradition of Studies of Far Eastern History in Japan)," *Rekishigaku Kenkyū*, No. 270 (November, 1962).

publication in the form of a book. In regard to Taiwan his studies were centred on the capitalist development of the sugar industry, while in the case of Korea they were centred on the policy for increased rice production. In these studies he gave detailed accounts of the unfortunate conditions of the colonized peoples. He concluded these studies by consistently advocating that the colonized peoples, who had been deprived of all rights, should be given the rights to participate in politics and be allowed to form a national government. By this proposal he meant the establishment of colonial parliaments, and with this theory he pressed the Japanese government for a change in its colonial policy.

A movement for the establishment of a parliament in Taiwan began in 1921 with the national bourgeoisie as the main constituents, and although frequently subjected to suppressive measures by the Japanese Governor-General in Taiwan, it continued to present petitions in the Imperial Diet practically every year up to 1928. The contents of these petitions included (1) demand for the right to participate in politics as against the autocracy of the Governor-General, and (2) insistence on the specific character of Taiwan (national autonomy) as against the Japanese policy of assimilation (the policy of extending the Japanese archipelago to include Taiwan). Although this movement itself was not an independence movement, it was in effect stopped by suppressive measures. Parallel with this movement was an opposition to the compulsory teaching of the Japanese language to the natives—the policy of linguistic assimilation. In this case Yanaihara strongly supported Ts'ai P'ei-huo, the leader of this movement, and wrote an ardent preface for Ts'ai's book; *Nipponkoku Kokumin ni Atau* (To the Japanese People). (*Complete Works*, Vol. 25.)

In Korea, too, after the "March 1st Movement" in 1919 there arose among the national bourgeoisie movements to include Korean members in the Imperial Diet, in a manner similar to the election of the Algerian representatives in the French National Assembly. However, demands for this form of national autonomy were extremely feeble, and these movements petitioning the Imperial Diet were carried on only among the middle and petty bourgeoisie in the cities. But even with these humble efforts, towards the end of the Pacific War several Korean and Taiwan people were nominated by the Emperor, through the Governor-General, to be members of the Imperial Diet, in exchange for the enactment of the conscription law for the people of Korea and Taiwan. But the nomination of these members by the Emperor to the Imperial Diet was entirely a formal measure, for these members had no democratic and national rights as representatives of the colonial territories, but were to play a role merely for the co-operation with Japanese imperialism on the eve of Japan's defeat in the war. In short, no movements emerged from within the Korean nation to set up a Korean parliament, in comparison with the movement for the setting up of a parliament in Taiwan.

It would probably not be correct to suppose from these facts that the

movements demanding national autonomy or independence were weaker in Korea than in Taiwan. Compared with Taiwan, which was originally only a part of China, the entire Korean nation was placed under Japanese rule. Especially after Annexation (in 1910), Japanese rule became even more severe, with the Korean people practically deprived of their rights and development of even legal movements for the grant of the right to participate in politics made impossible. Comparing this state of affairs with the colonial policies of different countries, Yanaihara, like the student of colonial policy he was, writes as follows:

“The central administration in Korea is being undertaken by the arbitrary and autocratic rule of the Governor-General. There are few instances of such institutions of colonial government anywhere in the world. Especially in those colonies which are of no small scale in area, population, and history, they are perhaps unique as an autocratic government institution anywhere in the world. Among the many British colonies, Ashantee, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Gibraltar, Northern Nigeria, the Northern Gold Coast, St. Helena, Somaliland, Swaziland, Uganda, Wei Hai Wei, and the islands in the western Pacific have no legislative assemblies. The political status that has been granted to our Korea is no higher than those of small uncivilized Negro regions or fleet bases. In many French colonies, in the American Philippines, and in Dutch Java, the native inhabitants have been granted political rights, albeit with differences of degree. What are the reasons for the autocratic rule of the Governor-General in Korea?

“Is it because the political capacity of the Koreans is not yet to be developed? In the last Imperial Diet session, in his reply to an interpellation in connexion with the proposed establishment of a Taiwan parliament, Prime Minister Wakatsuki had the above reason for saying that the time was not yet ripe for setting it up. But when would he decide that the political capacity of the Koreans had come to maturity? Does he mean that at present the political capacity of the Koreans is not yet as advanced as those of the people of the Philippines and Java? Or, does he mean that the Koreans have no desire for the right to participate in politics? Should there be those who really mean such, I would stare at them with open eyes.

“Go to Korea and look! Every pebble by the roadside cries out for freedom. For no matter how loudly a pebble may cry out, it will never become the object of the unwelcome attentions of a policeman. In short, there exists no positive reason for not granting the people of Korea political rights, except that the Government simply does not want to do so.” (*Complete Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 739-740.)

We must first note that Yanaihara made this statement immediately after the “June 10th” anti-Japanese movement in 1926, which occurred

under the so-called civilian policy of Governor-General Saitō. Nevertheless, Yanaihara did not directly support that movement, but in all things maintained the position of a Japanese bourgeois student of colonial policy and called on the Japanese government (rather than on the Koreans) as follows:

“The first requisite for government policy in Korea should be the clear-cut confirmation of the fact that Korea is a society with the Korean people as the main constituent. A policy of subjugation to subordinate Korea exclusively to the interests of Japan constitutes utter disregard of this fact, and sooner or later it is certain to meet with resistance from the Koreans.” (*Complete Works*, Vol. 1, p. 736.)

With an awareness of the above, he proposed, as the only possible means of saving the rule of the Governor-General from collapse, the establishment of national autonomy in the form of a Korean parliament. Although his proposal received some response from the Koreans it was not only totally ignored by the Japanese government as being a futile argument of an academic doctrinaire, but Yanaihara himself was purged by the government and his works were suppressed. Needless to say, it is true that the relations between Japanese imperialism and Korea differed, both historically and socially, from those between Britain and Ireland or Canada. Consequently, it was perhaps natural that his proposal, inspired as it was by European colonial policy, was regarded after all as a futile argument. Nevertheless, it is meaningful that such a proposal was put forth by a Japanese whose country was then ruler over Korea, amidst the enthusiastic advocacy of expansionism by the Japanese government. But his proposal as such could not draw any responding movement among the Korean people themselves, although it implied a development of a prospect leading towards Korean peaceful independence; for every nationalist movement is based upon the eagerness for equality, which is the essence of Parliamentary democracy. In this sense, Yanaihara's proposal constitutes an important part of his criticism of Japanese Imperialism.²

3. *Resistance through Religious Faith*

In June, 1937, a German protestant clergyman Martin Niemöller was arrested by the Nazi authorities for advocating freedom of religious belief, and was sentenced to eight years imprisonment in a concentration camp. Later he was imprisoned in Dachau gaol, but he began his resistance to the Nazi authorities with the help of his religious faith, holding meetings with his fellow-believers in gaol (the first of these meetings was held on the Christmas Eve, 1944), and preaching his famous “Dachau Sermons.”³

² As a summary of his studies of Korea there is the following article in English. “Problem of Japanese Administration in Korea,” *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1938).

³ Martin Niemöller, *Zur Verkündigung ein gnädiges Jahr des Herrn! Dachauer Predigten*, Zollikon Verlag, 1946.

In December, 1937, the same year that Niemöller was arrested, Yanaihara was expelled from The Tokyo Imperial University by the Japanese fascists and became a Christian missionary. In 1940 he went to Seoul, Korea, which by then was already involved in the Pacific War, and gave the Koreans a week's series of "Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans." These Bible study meetings were held mainly through the good offices of a certain Korean who was a non-sectarian Christian. Yanaihara's "Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans" were given under the supervision of the Governor-General's Office, and the contents of these lectures were confined to the Bible, with no direct reference made to actual life. However the main emphasis in these lectures was placed on the relation between the salvation of individuals and that of the nation, and in this way Yanaihara preached an enthusiastic sermon to the Korean people, who were suffering from increased oppression due to the Pacific War, telling them that they as a nation should convince themselves of their own hopeful future.

"Just as there are no rejected individuals in the sight of God, so are there no nations rejected by God. There are some who scorn Korea, calling it a spiritless nation, the scum of nations. But they have their own unique inherited qualities and their own mission, and no doubt they have been endowed with the meaning of their very existence which cannot be replaced by any other nation. If they would only accept the message of God and believe in Him, even the rough ore despised by the people of the world today could convincingly be made into a brilliant light. Thus, although there is an order of salvation among the nations of the world, there is not a single nation that is not hopeful of being saved." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 283-284.)

In the Korean nation, which in those days was regarded as the "rough ore despised by the people of the world" because of the slaughtering policy of Japanese imperialism, Yanaihara finds the possibility of being "made into a brilliant light." His concept did not deviate in the slightest degree from when, in 1926, as a student of colonial policy, he advocated the establishment of a Korean parliament. In the later case he was carrying on resistance through his religious faith, in the form of giving "Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans." With a firm conviction that the German nation would be liberated from the rule of Nazism in the future, Niemöller delivered sermons at Dachau prison and gave encouragement to his fellow-believers among the prisoners. This kind of resistance through religious faith was made by Yanaihara on behalf of the Koreans. His resistance through religious faith was also made in Japan, through the publication of an privately-run magazine *Kashin* (The Good News), and the "Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans" given at Seoul as mentioned above were inseparable from the former. As the war went on, even the publication of *Kashin* was banned in the end. In the following year

(1945), Japanese imperialism was defeated as he had expected it would be.

4. *On the Problem of China*

In 1925 an Institute for Pacific Relations (I. P. R.) was inaugurated in Hawaii. This was a non-governmental research centre established at the initiative of Americans with the aim of analysing the actual conditions in the Pacific and Asian regions. Scientific research institutions of twelve countries in these regions participated in the work of the Institute. Because of the circumstances of its establishment, America exerted a strong influence on the activities of the Institute. Nevertheless, the Institute's journal, *Pacific Affairs*, and other publications furnished comparatively objective materials on the analyses of the actual conditions in the Pacific region, giving service to and exerting certain influences on research workers in different countries. At the request of his old teacher, Inazō Nitobe, Yanaihara became connected with the I.P.R. at an earlier stage, and some of his works, such as *Nanyō Guntō no Kenkyū* (A Study of South Sea Islands) (1935) were commissioned by the I.P.R. During World War II the I. P. R. naturally stood on the side of the Allied powers, and published various studies on the affairs in the Pacific region, especially on the problem of China. Yanaihara's pronouncements on China and Manchuria (now called the North-East District of China) began in 1930, much later than those on Korea, as a background to which it is necessary to bear in mind the abovementioned connexion between Yanaihara and the I. P. R.⁴

In the "September 18th" incident in 1931 Japanese imperialism launched an attack on "Manchuria," with a view to completely turning it into a colony, and a puppet régime named "Manchukuo" was set up. This was the so-called "Manchurian Incident." Yanaihara points out the true nature of this "Manchurian Incident" in the following terms:

"In short, the existence of the nationalist movement in Manchuria is a historical necessity from the economic and political modernization and development of China and Manchuria, and no obstruction can prevent it from advancing forward. If any illegitimate obstruction should be directed towards it, would rather distort the process of development of the Chinese nationalist movement and force it to adopt illegal forms of action. It goes without saying that this movement involves the possibility of creating a head-on clash with Japan's policy concerning her special interests." ("The Manchurian Question," in *Collected Works*, Vol. 2, p. 538.)

⁴ In addition to issuing various publications, the I. P. R. used to hold international conferences once in every few years in different parts of the Pacific region. As a result of these conferences, objective materials on the actual conditions in the Pacific region, and especially on the situation of the nationalist movements in Asia, were made available to the research workers concerned. But after the war the I. P. R. dissolved itself in 1961, because of McCarthyism.

Yanaihara boldly said that the "Manchurian Incident" was nothing but a historically necessary struggle between Japanese imperialism which had been making an advance for the complete colonization of the North-East District of China, and the people of the North-East District who had been opposing it. Further, he already foresaw that as the resistance of the people of the North-East District had been undertaken as an integral part of all the nationalist movements in China, the development of this situation would lead to a confrontation between Japanese imperialism and the entire Chinese nation. However, although Yanaihara correctly pointed out that at this stage Chinese resistance was based on the movement for national unification, he made no clear statement as to what social class was promoting this movement.

As Yanaihara expected, the influence of the "Manchurian Incident" spread to the whole of China. It is now a matter of common knowledge in the modern history of China that in 1935 the "August 1st" declaration was published as a call from the Chinese Communist Party for the formation of an Anti-Japanese National United Front, and that in the following year the "Sian Incident" took place and a United Front between the Kuomintang and the Communists came into being under the influence of the "August 1st" declaration, which strengthened anti-Japanese national unity. How did Yanaihara interpret the "Sian Incident," which was used as an opportunity for developing this national unity?

"The Sian Incident (in 1936) gave expression to the rebellion, by the former North-East Army and the Communist Army, against this pressure by Chiang Kai-shek (for a centralized authoritarian rule governing a united China); it aimed at inflaming anti-Japanese spirits, at involving the Nanking government in difficulties, thereby gaining increased national strength, and, if possible, at going so far as to bring about centralized authoritarian rule. This shows some resemblance to the situation before the Meiji Restoration when the anti-Shogunate party was the fiercest exponent of anti-foreign doctrines.

However, in the case of China the body which occupies the social position corresponding to that of the Meiji government was the Nanking government, and not the feudal forces represented by the former North-East Army nor the Communist Army, advocating socialist policies. In short, the Sian Incident had not checked the cause of unifying China into a national state, nor had it caused any instability in the position of the Nanking government as the promoter of this cause. On the contrary, by its successful measures, the Nanking government demonstrated the strength of its political, military, and financial foundations." (*Collected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 328.)

In reality, however, as later history shows, the "Sian Incident" strengthened the position of the Communist Party of China as the leader of the Anti-Japanese National United Front, in which the Kuomintang found itself

being forced to participate, while the "political, military, and financial foundations of the Nanking government" were weakened, and its mandarin monopoly capitalists went more and more towards the policy of dependence on America. The "Sian Incident" was also made an opportunity for the Chiang Kai-shek régime to lose more and more the initiative for a national unification. Consequently, Yanaihara was completely mistaken in his view of future developments when he compared the "Sian Incident" with the formation of a national state in Japan at the time of the Meiji Restoration.

In judging the "Manchurian Incident," Yanaihara was correct in regarding the true nature of the Sino-Japanese War as the confrontation between Japanese imperialism and the right of the Chinese people to national self-determination. In spite of this, what was the reason for his making an error in the interpretation of the "Sian Incident"? Rather than attributing it to lack of information, the fundamental reason for it must be sought in his theory on colonies and nations.

With regard to the problems of nations there are three historical stages: (1) problems of nations in the period of the elimination of feudalism and absolutism, which constitute an integral element in the bourgeois revolution, (2) problems of nations in the period of the appearance of imperialism and its colonial policies, which constitute an element of the movement to criticize imperialism, and (3) problems of nations in the stage of the general crisis of capitalism, which constitute an element of the socialist change. It is necessary to clarify the distinction between these three historical stages in dealing with the problems of nations.

Since the third stage dates from 1917, the case of China after the "Manchurian Incident" obviously belongs to this third stage. In contrast to the Western bourgeoisie, the Chinese bourgeoisie differentiated late in the Ching dynasty into the Mandarin capitalists and the national capitalists, each filling different political functions. The former grew into Mandarin monopoly capitalists, called the Chekiang *Zaibatsu* (financial group) after World War I, a group which strengthened its coalition with the American capitalists. It provided the social foundation of the Nanking régime. The latter consisted mainly of the medium and small capitalists who were not dependent on foreign capitalists but who wavered at some periods. When the Anti-Japanese United Front was formed, however, they took part in it and came to oppose the Nanking régime. The existence of these two opposing types within the Chinese bourgeoisie is one of the characteristics of the New Democratic Revolution, to use Mao Tse-tung's term.

Yanaihara failed to understand the political and economic differences within the bourgeoisie at the stage of the New Democratic Revolution, but comprehended the bourgeoisie as a unified social class, in which he found a key to settling the problem of nation. For this reason, he held that the Nanking régime had a political character essentially similar to that of the Meiji government of Japan.

Historically, the European bourgeoisie were able to form into nations by resisting feudal régimes, while in the case of China it was imperialism that the Chinese bourgeoisie resisted to achieve formation as a nation. The main constituent in this resistance against imperialism was the people of China organized in a united front, with the national bourgeoisie included but with the Nanking régime (Mandarin monopoly capitalists) excluded. This is the logic of nation building in China and the true nature of the New Democratic Revolution. The fact that Yanaihara expected to find a key to solving the national problem in the Nanking régime, which could not take the responsibility for nation building, is a result of his methodology, which regarded the Chinese (bourgeois) revolution as falling in the category of the classical bourgeois revolution.

Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that in those days under fascist rule in Japan, it was almost impossible to debate the Chinese problem openly as part of anti-imperialist arguments.

These views of Yanaihara have been held not only by Yanaihara himself but also by research workers on the same subject among the Allied powers, especially in America. These views, for example, appear in a report by R.H. Tawney, entitled *Land and Labour in China* (London, 1932), which was presented to the international conference of the I.P.R. at Shanghai in 1931. And they have still been influential as the basic view of American policy on China after the war.

Nevertheless, the fact that during the Sino-Japanese War Yanaihara criticized various fascist views on China and proved that Chinese resistance was based on their national right to self-determination has not lost the historical significance of his anti-fascism theory from the standpoint of bourgeois liberalism. It goes without saying that in Yanaihara's case this criticism was supported by his religious faith as a non-sectarian Christian. We can find this today in his many lectures on the Bible during the war. (*Collected Works*, Vols. 6-13.)

5. Conclusion

After the end of World War II Yanaihara returned to the University of Tokyo, and soon became the President of the University.⁵ At that time he was reported as stating that he was pleased at the independence of Korea and China which was brought about by the defeat of Japanese imperialism, and in particular, that as he realized the erroneous nature of his expectations regarding the problem of China, he would like to undertake a re-examination of his war-time studies. However, he was unable to carry through this task, since, as the President of the University of Tokyo, he was greatly involved

⁵ Tokyo Imperial University was transformed into the University of Tokyo along with the educational reform of after World War II with some reorganization and development of the academic body.

in the reconstruction of the University. However, he played an important role in post-war Japan both as an educator and as a Christian. He died in 1961 at the age of sixty-eight.

In sum, Yanaihara was the finest student and critic of Japanese colonialism, and a scholar who exerted great influence as a Christian.

His autobiography, *Watakushi no Ayundekita Michi* (The Way I Have Walked) (1958) closes with the words given below. We quote these words here because they are so fitting in one who was both a scholar of colonial policy and a staunch non-sectarian Christian.

“I do not believe that history repeats itself in exactly the same form, but is it not a fact that the old questions are always coming up again in a new form? As the years pass on after the war, the bitter lessons of war are forgotten, and such things as peace and freedom, the authority of learning or the truth are apt to be lost. In universities and among scholars there is a tendency to lose the strength and the spirit to remain loyal to the truth and not to fawn upon or yield to the power of the world, which I believe should be avoided at all costs. It is in this sense that I would wish the University of Tokyo to keep on maintaining its authority as a place of learning. This is what I keenly feel.” (*Complete Works*, Vol. 26.)

A Short Life History

- 1893 Born (Jan. 27), on the eve of Sino-Japanese War, as fourth son of a medical doctor in Ehime Prefecture.
- 1910 Entered to the First High School, Tokyo, headed by Inazō Nitobe. Famous writer Akutagawa was his classmate and Konoe (Prime Minister in the early stage of World War II) was in the senior class of the school.
- 1911 Participated in the Bible class of Dr. Uchimura.
- 1912 The first two-weeks tour to Manchuria and Korea with classmates.
- 1913 Entered to the Tokyo Imperial University (Department of Law).
- 1917 Graduated from the course of politics and worked at Sumitomo Business Combines: moved to Besshi City. Married Miss Aiko Nishinaga.
- 1920 Assistant Professor of Tokyo Imperial University; in charge of Colonial Policy, as a successor to Dr. Nitobe. Studied abroad: America, Britain, and Germany.
- 1923 Returned home. Death of Mrs. Yanaihara. Promoted Professor.
- 1924 Remarried Miss Keiko Hori. The first research tour to Korea and Manchuria.
- 1925 Establishment of “Bible Class of Tokyo Imperial University.” Yanaihara was a founding member.
- 1927 A research tour to Taiwan for five weeks.
- 1928 A research tour to Sakhalin and Hokkaidō, about four weeks.
- 1929 Began missionary work at his own home.
- 1930 Several memorial lectures were delivered on the occasion of Dr. Uchimura’s death and after.
- 1932 Commissioned research works of the I.P.R. on the South-Pacific Mandate. A

- missionary magazine *Tsūshin* (Correspondence) began.
- 1933 The first research tour to the South-Pacific Mandate about ten weeks. The second tour about five weeks (1934).
- 1937 Accused as a Pacificist, enemy of the Imperial House, and anti-colonialist by his colleague, Professor Kyōki Minota, an ideologue of fascism. *Tsūshin* prohibited by police authority and his missionary activities oppressed. Forced to leave Tokyo Imperial University.
- 1938 His works *Nation and State* and *Nation and Peace* banned. The publisher arrested. The publication of other two books *Taiwan under Imperialism* and *The Manchurian Problem* suppressed. Centring his activity on missionary work, wrote and issued *Kashin* (The Good News) as the successor to *Tsūshin*.
- 1940 A missionary tour to Korea, about three weeks. Gave lectures on the Bible.
- 1942 A commissioned research tour of about five weeks to Manchuria and North China.
- 1944 *Kashin* banned. But "Kashin Kaihō," a pamphlet, published.
- 1945 *Kashin* re-issued after decline of Military fascism. Returned to the University of Tokyo with other fascist-proscribed professors; H. Ōuchi, H. Arisawa, T. Tsuchiya, Y. Wakimura, M. Yamada.
- 1946 Reconstruction of the "Bible Class of the University of Tokyo." Began his lecture course of "International Economies." (Suicide of Professor Kyōki Minota.)
- 1947 Doctor of Economics, Member of the Science Council of Japan. His activities were extended to every field of socio-cultural problems.
- 1948 Director in the Department of Economics.
- 1949 Director in the Department of Culture and Humanities.
- 1950 Tour to U. S. A.
- 1951 President of the University of Tokyo. Delivered a lecture on Christmas Eve under the title of "War and Peace." Giving lectures and addresses throughout Japan on Democracy, War and Peace, the Education Problem, etc.
- 1955 Second term as President of the University of Tokyo.
- 1957 Tour to Okinawa Islands. Retired from the University.
- 1958 Professor Emeritus of the University of Tokyo. Speeches and lectures on occasion on the problem of religion, etc.
- 1961 Died (Dec. 25).

A List of Selected Works

COMPLETE WORKS

Yanaihara Tadao Zenshū (The Complete Works of Tadao Yanaihara), twenty-nine volumes, Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1963-65.

ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

Shokumin Seisaku Kōgi-an (Lectures on Colonial Policy—A Draft), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1924.

Shokumin oyobi Shokumin Seisaku (Colonization and Colonial Policy), Tokyo, Yūhikaku, 1926.
I. [A Collection of Papers: Zionism. American Exclusion of Japanese Immigration. The Theory of Excess Population. Adam Smith's Theory of Colonies. The Plan for Increased Rice Production in Korea. The Line of Policy in the Government of Korea. The First British Labour Conference.]

- Jinkō Mondai* (The Population Problem), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1928. II.
- Teikokushugi-ka no Taiwan* (Taiwan under Imperialism), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1929. II.
[There are three Chinese translations and one Russian translation of this work.]
- Manshū Mondai* (The Manchuria Problem), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1934. II.
- Nanyō Guntō no Kenkyū* (A Study of South Sea Islands), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1935. III.
[English translation of this work: *Pacific Islands Under Japanese Mandate*, Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, 1939; London and New York, Oxford University Press, 1940.]
- * "Problem of Japanese Administration in Korea," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1938). XXIII.
- Teikokushugi-ka no Indo* (India under Imperialism), Tokyo, Daidō-shoin, 1937. III.
- Teikokushugi Kenkyū* (Studies in Imperialism), Tokyo, Hakuji-shoin, 1948. IV. [A Collection of Papers: The Population Problem. Capital Accumulation and Colonial Territories. The Theory of Super-Imperialism. The Mutual Relations between Militarism, Imperialism, and Capitalism. The Necessity and Efficacy of Immigration. The History of Colonization Considered as Part of the Process of Development of the World Economy. The Mandate from the Point of View of Colonial Policy. The Tendency to Declining Population in Primitive Native Populations.]
- "Introduction" to *Catalogue of Adam Smith's Library* (ed. by Yanaihara), Tokyo, Iwanami-shoten, 1951. V.
- "Kokusai Keizai-ron (Theory of International Economics)," in T. Yanaihara & K. Yanai, *Kokusai Keizai-ron* (Theory of International Economics), Volume 8 of *Kobun-dō Collection of Writings on Economics*, Tokyo, Kobun-dō, 1955. V.
- Marukusushugi to Kirisutokyō* (Marxism and Christianity), Tokyo, Ichiryū-sha, 1932. XIV.
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REMARKS

1. This list was originally made by Dr. Yanaihara himself, and published in his autobiography *Watakushi no Ayundekita Michi* (The Way I Have Walked) Tokyo, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppan-kai, 1955.
2. Materials bearing an asterisk are that of added by the editor of the Journal.
3. The Roman numerals indicate the volume number of the *Complete Works*.
4. Writings collected in *Ichō no Ochiba* were printed in volumes V, XV, XVII, XX, XXI, XXIV, XXV, and XXVI of the *Complete Works* under their subject.
5. Writings collected in the *Shuchō to Zuisō* were printed in volumes XI, XVI, XX, XXI, XXIII, XXV, and XXVI of the *Complete Works* under their subject.
6. All writings concerned with Takeshi Fujii were compiled in volume XXIV of the *Complete Works*.
7. All writings concerned with Inazō Nitobe were compiled in volume XXIV of the *Complete Works*.
8. Yanaihara's writings regarding Korea and Okinawa Problem are mostly collected in XXIII of the *Complete Works* under the title of "Manchuria, Korea, and Okinawa."