

Profile of Asian Minded Man III

SHIRAKI TACHIBANA

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I

We may say that Shiraki Tachibana was one who searched out 'theoretical' principles and social basis of Asian solidarity in the traditional ideals and social structure of the Chinese nation, and made them the guiding principle of his own thought and action. Therein Tachibana was one of the most unique figures in the history of modern Japanese thought. What distinguishes Tachibana essentially from the traditional and emotional "Asia-nists" and ultra-nationalists in Japan is his method, the posture, of grasping the reality of what is Oriental by the rational and scientific way of thinking.

Tachibana placed the principles or values governing the development of Oriental society on a level with those of Western society, and would recognize no question of superiority and inferiority as between the two. This was because he believed that Occidental and Oriental society each brought forth their own historically unique values in separate geographical and social environments, and that each had developed its own culture down to the present day.

However, do the Oriental societies as a whole possess certain unifying principles or values, as Occidental society does? Or again, is it possible for them to possess such principles or values? Tenshin Okakura's (1863-1913) poetic sense was able to perceive intuitively that "Asia is one," but it was unable to explain the variety and disparity among races of the present-day East. Tachibana's effort was made to find the fundamental principle running throughout the Oriental societies and their social backgrounds. The fruits of this effort would have meaningfully brought him an effective indication or practical way of research for the basis for building a theory for the liberation of the Asian nations.

If we may state our conclusions in advance, what Tachibana arrived at was that the unifying principle or value in Oriental society was "The Royal Road," and that its theoretical principle was the concept of "Non-Existence." The Royal Road and Non-Existence are set in opposition to "Democracy" as the principle of Occidental society, and to "Existence," its theoretical principle. The Royal Road is the political ideology of the Chinese nation dating from antique times, and in so far as this is so it is the inherent ideal of

the Chinese nation, but Tachibana interpreted this as being the narrow sense of the term Royal Road, and held that in the broad sense the Royal Road was a principle universally applicable to all the Oriental races. Consequently he thought that the Japanese "National Polity," the Indian doctrine of "selflessness" and the Royal Road of the Chinese were all particular manifestations of a universal Royal Road.

Next, the social basis for the unity of Oriental society is none other than the social basis of the Royal Road, and Tachibana finds this in the minute-scale small peasant form of agricultural production in the East, and in the existence of the autonomous, communal societies which come into being on the basis of it. The autonomous, communal society, is a concept corresponding to Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft*, but instead of developing from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, as Tönnies does, and thinking of *Gemeinschaft* as being the matrix of *Gesellschaft*, Tachibana regards it as being antithetical to *Gesellschaft* when considered as a value. That is to say, he maintains that while Occidental society essentially developed since antiquity as *Gesellschaft* under the principle of democracy and was advancing to its completion, Oriental society had since antiquity formed *Gemeinschaft* under the principle of the Royal Road, and in the future, too, should advance to the development and completion of *Gemeinschaft*.

Tachibana's way of thinking in regard to the concept of the Royal Road and his view that the Royal Road should be made the unifying ideal in Oriental society were concretely developed in a systematic manner from the time of the Manchurian Incident, but their first beginnings are found at least as early as around 1924. Since this point is of importance in understanding Tachibana's thought we shall take the trouble to introduce his ways of thinking about the Royal Road as set out in a piece written in 1925. The passage is an expression of his feelings regarding the concept of the Royal Road in a lecture delivered in Japan by Sun Yat-sen (1886-1926) on the 28th of November, 1924, under the title of "Great Asianism."

I am by no means one who disregards the Chinese ideology of the Royal Road, for in so far as we define its scope as being that of a political theory it is an astonishingly superior form of ideology to have been produced two thousand years ago, and in particular I recognize that it will not be obliterated as an old theory but it possesses the potentiality of being developed and also actual efficacy, in other words I believe that it will make available to the Chinese people of the present age a new and living form of political ideology. That is to say, in a manner directly opposite to those who advocate a utopian or metaphysical Royal Road, I do not regard government in accordance with the Royal Road as being a glorious fact in remote antiquity, but on the contrary I expect that as well as being realized in the future and bringing happiness into the political life of the Chinese people it may prove capable of providing much suggestion and stimulus to the deadlocked civilization of the West. [*Shina Kenkyū* (China Studies), Vol. I, No. 4, (March, 1925).]

As well as being a good expression of Tachibana's view of the concept of the Royal Road, these words presage his subsequent ideological develop-

ment, his excavation of the values of Oriental culture as opposed to Western civilization.

Tachibana spent the greater part of his life in China, and through his grasp of the reality of Chinese society and the Chinese people and his criticisms of Japan's China policy based upon it he strove to form a theory for the creation of the Oriental society which could be expected to come into being in the future, but events did not accord with his aspirations, and with feelings of resentment he died of illness in Mukden in October, 1945, shortly after Japan's defeat in war. The stages of development of his thought may be distinguished as follows.

Period I: 1906-1926. Extending from studies of the political phenomena of China after Russo-Japanese War to studies of Chinese society, religion, thought, etc.

Period II: 1926-September, 1931. From about the time of the beginning of the Northern Expedition (1925-1927) he advanced to studies of the Chinese nationalist movement and its historical, social and economic basis.

Period III: Stage 1. October, 1931-1938. On the occasion of the Manchurian Incident he changed his position to that of peasant democracy, and strove to establish the directing ideology of Manchukuo and to bring it to realization.

Period III: Stage 2. 1939-1945. On the occasion of the Sino-Japanese War he directed his last efforts to the solution of Sino-Japanese relations, and, as the basic line of advance for this, to construct a theory for the building of Oriental Society.

II

As is well known, in the summer of 1905, the year in which the Russo-Japanese War ended, the Chinese Revolutionary League centred on Sun Yat-sen was formed in Tokyo, Japan, as a political association aiming at the overthrow of the Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty, and thereafter branches of this association were established in all the regions of China. This was the occasion for a sudden rise in revolutionary feeling in China. At this time Tachibana was in Hokkaidō as a member of the staff of the *Hokkai Times*, but in 1906, the year following the establishment of the Chinese Revolutionary League, he crossed over to the Continent. His motives are not clear, but in the light of his later reminiscences to the effect that at this time he was a great enthusiast for Sun Yat-sen we will probably not be mistaken if we suppose him to have been actuated by a strong desire to experience for himself the revolutionary atmosphere of China at this time. On crossing over to China he was active as a correspondent of the *Ryōtō Shimpō*, Talien. When the Chinese Revolution broke out in 1911 Tachibana at once went to Peking and interviewed Tuan Ch'i-jui (1864-1936). Shortly afterwards he moved his place of residence to Peking, and eagerly observed the political situation of the Republic. This was because he thought that the observation of political

phenomena was the way in which to acquire knowledge of China. However, by about 1914 he had already begun studies of Taoism, the religion of the Chinese people, in addition to his observations of political phenomena.

Tachibana kept eagerly observing developments in the political situation in the Peking after the failure of the Revolution, but when the political situation entered a new phase on the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai (1859-1916) he became deeply conscious of the meaninglessness of Chinese war-lord politics, and he directed his attention to the elucidation of the social basis of war-lordism. Hereupon he began a survey of the financial organization of the war-lords covering all the provinces of China and dealing particularly with the land tax and the salt tax, and by extension this inevitably involved the land question and the production question among the people at large, and led him on to an elucidation of the essential nature of the small local communities. In this way, he also came to spend a semi-scholarly life. This extended from the autumn of 1916 to the autumn of 1918, and as the conclusion of the studies conducted during this period he arrived at the belief that war-lord politics were an inevitable product of the social structure peculiar to China, and that consequently there was no way in which to modernize politics except that of reconstructing the social organization at its base. This arrival, which is thought to be the same as the formulary theory of the infra- and super-structure of society, proved that he could understand the living-relations between Chinese militaristic government and its socio-economic base through his experience of various surveys. This point illustrates well his theoretical and empirical approach of study. However, his studies at this time used all kinds of theory as their weapons, principally the theories of Western modern economics, sociology, political science and economic history, these trials show apparently that he desired the modernization of Chinese politics.

It was precisely about this time that the nationalist movement marked by the 5·4 Movement of 1919 developed with sudden impetus, developed first into the Cultural Revolution and then gradually into the Labour Movement, until at last Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang combined with the Communist Party and raised its head as a new force. This political force was a reforming force opposing war-lordism, but the great imperialist powers of this period were unable to perceive its essential nature and future prospects, and they adhered firmly to the policy of supporting one or other of the war-lords and protecting their own interests.

As a result of his studies of the essential nature of war-lordism Tachibana came to the conclusion that there was absolutely no prospect of China being united by the war-lords, and that consequently foreign powers should on no account give aid to any particular war-lord. That is to say, he thought that the unification of China could be brought about only by the newly arisen reforming forces outside the group of war-lords. Consequently the policy of giving aid to particular war-lords which Japan was pursuing at this time was decisively out of keeping with Tachibana's way of thinking, and we may say

that it made necessary Tachibana's propagandist activities in relation to Japan and the Japanese. Tachibana set up in Talien a China Study Group which had the mission of "making available academic studies of Chinese society and supplying common-sense knowledge of China to the Japanese," and in December, 1924, the first number of its monthly journal, *China Studies*, was published. At this very time Sun Yat-sen was on his way via Japan to Peking to be present at the preparatory conference of the National Congress as the representative of the national revolutionary forces in Canton.

In *China Studies* Tachibana energetically published the results of the studies of China which he had accumulated up to that time. The papers published at this time are still immature, but the subjects dealt with cover an extremely wide range, from the traditional thought and traditional society of China to the historical theory of revolution from antiquity onwards, and further to this, studies of the nationalist movement in modern China and similar matters. Again, he evaluates Sun Yat-sen very highly, and while he applies his own characteristic form of rational criticism to Sun Yat-sen's last efforts, his advocacy of a National Congress and the repudiation of the unequal treaties, he displays basically a feeling of accordance, and draws attention to points in regard to which the Japanese should carry out self-examination.

Tachibana's criticism of Japan's China policy explodes on the occasion of the 5-30 Incident in Shanghai in 1925. In *China Studies* he writes, "Much self-examination is also required of the Chinese, but we are obliged to say that the Japanese, who in the past have committed still more serious faults, have on this occasion must recognize their errors and to carry out firmly a decisive change in their attitude to China." [*China Studies*, Vol. II, No. 3 (August, 1925)]. The reasons for this advocacy were shown in regard to the Japanese government and the Japanese people respectively. To state only his conclusions, for the Japanese government he demands that it should take its stand on the firm realization that in contrast to the Western states' confrontation of China with prejudice and arbitrariness, Japan, continuing to hold fast to her egalitarian position, should maintain her harmonious relations with Western states. Again, to the Japanese people, he emphasizes that firm standards of morality are in force in Chinese society, and that even in the light of the rational attitude to life found in the people of the so-called "lower strata" of Chinese society there is much reason for respecting them, and no basis whatever for despising them.

III

After the death of Sun Yat-sen remarkable development took place in the revolutionary forces gathered in Canton, the 5-30 Incident being the turning-point, and in the summer of 1926 Northern Expedition was sent out. This period provided the occasion for Tachibana's interests being selectively directed to the development of the national revolutionary movement, and

with a commission from the Information Section newly established in the Research Division of the South Manchurian Railway Company in 1927 he carried out the elucidation of the basic directions of development of the revolutionary forces and their political line by means of an analysis of information from all parts of China. In this work he never relaxed his efforts, dissecting the Kuomintang government after the breach with the Communists, and following up the moves of the Chinese Communist Party. In addition to this, comprehensive studies embracing the actual state of the Chekiang financial clique and the Canton financial clique, as well as of the actual state of the peasants in the agricultural villages and the working class, all of which lay in the background of the phenomena of politics, made Tachibana's knowledge of China all the more penetrative and profound. We may perhaps say that his methods of study were armed with the social scientific methods of Marx contributed to this.

Of Tachibana's studies during this second period we may perhaps say that by developing original views through criticism of the theory of stage development in the society and economy of China and of the various academic theories which developed rapidly at this period, Tachibana's scientific appreciation of China more or less reached the realm of completion. We now propose to look into the question of where his basic interests lay, centring our attention on his theory of stage development in Chinese society.

According to Tachibana the development of Chinese society has passed through the following stages. The Hsia and Yin periods were the period of the kinship community, and in the Chou period a dispersed feudal society based on the village community was established. This passes through the transition period consisting of the Ch'un-ch'iu and Chan-kuo periods to centralized feudal society. This transition to a centralized feudal society has as its mark the transition from an economy centred on labour rent in the Chou period to one centred on rent in kind from the Ch'in period to the T'ang period. Thereafter Chinese society passes through a period of great disorder in the Five Dynasties period, and develops into the stage of semi-feudal mercantile capital from the Sung period to the Ch'ing period. It was at this stage that the despotic bureaucratic organization based on the absorption of the surplus labour of the peasantry and the spectacular development of commerce and industry was established. We may add that Tachibana thinks that in the Ch'in to T'ang period, which is considered to be the period of centralized feudal society, the mode of production centred on serfdom was predominant, and that in the succeeding Sung to Ch'ing period, which is considered to be the period of a society of semi-feudal mercantile capital, a free peasantry constituted the main body in production.

In the above we have set out Tachibana's division of the stages of development only in a very rough manner, but considering the present state of affairs, in which academic circles have still not reached decisive conclusions in this matter, we may perhaps say that as a pioneering view Tachibana's division of stages contains much that can be assimilated on a critical basis.

According to Tachibana the Chinese society of semi-feudal mercantile capital extends from the Sung to the Ch'ing period, but it is thought that this stage reached its culmination towards the end of the Ming period and thereafter entered upon a process of disintegration. Tachibana poses the question of why, inspite of the beginning of spontaneous development of capitalist economic mechanisms (for example, the development of merchant manufacture and putting-out system) towards the end of the Ming period (about the middle of the 17th century), these exhibited no development thereafter. This is a very important question to raise, connected as it is with the question of what were the factors which, in the form of the non-development or frustration of modernization in China after the middle of the 17th century, produced a condition of stagnation covering the whole field of culture, thought, economy and society. This question is also connected with the controversy which arose after the war in the People's Republic over the question, "At what period are the beginnings of capitalism in China to be sought?" About 1930 Tachibana gave the following answer to this question. The reasons for Chinese society not advancing to capitalist society after the middle of the Ming period consist principally in the following three points. 1) The fact that in China agriculture occupied the main place in production while industry occupied a secondary place, in addition to which the mode of agricultural production was one of proprietors or tenants running holdings which were excessively small. 2) The fact that there was practically no development of mechanical power or machinery—that is to say, the non-development of the natural sciences. 3) The fact that the effects of political exploitation went far beyond those of economic exploitation. Regarding this third point Tachibana thinks that it originates from the smallness of scale of the mechanisms of economic exploitation and ignorance of the utilization of mechanical power or machinery. Basically these views coincide with those of present-day academic opinion. However Tachibana did not notice the aspect of the ways of thinking of the Chinese not having faced in the direction of the development of the natural sciences.

However we will do well to note that in his later years Tachibana said that it appeared to him that the semi-feudal period of rule by official class in China was, if anything, one step more advanced than the "typical" (Marx) feudal society of Japan in the Tokugawa period, and was of a piece with the period of absolutism and mercantilism in modern Western Europe. This view implies that the social productivity of China in the middle of the 17th century was at a higher level than that of Western Europe and Japan at the same period. Further, this view, together with the following, was at the same time a criticism of the doctrines of Asiatic stagnation or cyclical change as applied to Chinese society. Tachibana thinks it possible that Chinese society might have been fated to carry out a great change in the form of rule in the Chinese nationality, even without the impulse from the easterly migration of the power of the West. That is to say, internal development is possible, even without the external impulse. Taking this further we arrive at the view

that the impulse towards a change which would save Chinese society after it had entered upon the process of disintegration in the middle of the 17th century was inherent within Chinese society itself. As examples of such impulses Tachibana draws attention on the one hand to peasant movements aiming at bringing about equality in land-holdings and on the other to the development of a centralized credit-provision system and the development of industry of the "manufacture" type. ["Kan Minzoku no Seikaku to Sono Bunka (The Character of the Chinese and Their Culture)," *Manshū Hyōron*, 1940.] The former begins in the Peasants' War at the time of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, and, passing through Sun Yat-sen's Peasants' Movement, is the land reform continued in Mao Tse-tung's Peasants' Revolutionary War. This point was amply proved after Tachibana's death. The latter still requires looking into in many respects, but they would seem to be meaningful, at least within Tachibana's stage of semi-feudal mercantile capital.

Lastly, we must say something about Tachibana's view of the special nature of Chinese rural society, since it is one of the main elements in his understanding of China. According to Tachibana, the class structure of old Chinese society (particularly rural society) is composed out of the antithesis between the peasant producers on the one hand and the exploiting official class on the other. By the official class is meant serving civil or military officials together with officials who have retired from the service, that is, the Chinese gentry, and in particular it is the latter who are the actual occupants of land and capital. It is the existence of this large social class, the official class, which displays the special nature of Chinese society in the true sense. We noted above the point that in China the effects of political exploitation went far beyond those of economic exploitation, and we come to the view that this was due to the existence of an official class possessing the means of political exploitation, that the special stage constituted by the rule of this official class extended throughout Tachibana's stage of the society of semi-feudal mercantile capital dating from Sung times and throughout semi-colonial capitalist society, and characterized the society of old China. In as much as this view is an original view produced by Tachibana it is a point from which counter-arguments from the point of view of Marxist theory may be expected to arise.

At all events, at this time, when scholars all over the world were beginning to direct their attention to the scientific elucidation of a total image of Chinese society and its economy, Tachibana's understanding of China was outstanding for its concrete and positivistic character, supported by the backing peculiar to his writings. Further, it is to be noted that quite apart from their solution the problems which he dealt with still possess legitimacy as tasks to be undertaken at the present day.

IV

With the Manchurian Incident of September, 1931, Tachibana's thought

enters the first stage of Period III. Tachibana's famous essay, "Manshū Jihen to Watakushi no Hōkō Tenkan (The Manchurian Incident and My Change of Attitude)" reveals the circumstances of this matter most strikingly. He confesses that until that time he had been a "radical anti-capitalist liberal." Such was an example of those liberals standing in the dilemma which forced most of them to choose alternatively the way towards socialism or fascism when they desired eagerly to find the exit from it under the social and political situation in Japan at that time. On the occasion of the Manchurian Incident Tachibana boldly made his escape from being a liberal filled with contradictions, but the way which he discovered for himself was neither socialism nor fascism. In the words which Tachibana himself used, it was "a new Workers' Democracy—and in particular, for the new state of Manchukuo, a Peasants' Democracy—which has cast off from both liberalism and capitalist democracy." In some senses this is consonant with socialism, and in others with fascism. However, Tachibana's basic posture was a third position which negated both. This fact is made clear by his thought as it developed during this period.

In the second half of 1931 Tachibana assumed editorial responsibilities on the beginning of publication of the *Manshū Hyōron* (on the 15th of August, 1931, at Talien), and in October, immediately after the Manchurian Incident, he had talks with Seishirō Itagaki (1885–1948), Kanji Ishihara (1889–1949) and other staff officers of the Kuantung Army at the Tōyō Takushoku Kaisha building in Mukden and learned that these officers intended to adopt an anti-capitalist attitude backed up by the Chinese peasant class and to establish an independent state covering the four Provinces of north-east China which seemed to them greatly important not only for the liberation of Asia but also for the reconstruction of Japan and the emancipation of the Japanese labourer class from the dictatorship and exploitation of the Japanese capitalist parties. The keynote of Tachibana's politics differed from the spirit of leadership among the army officers at this time, but had some expectations of them as trusty participants in the process of the realization of his own plans. The line of policy for the establishment of the state of Manchukuo put forward by Tachibana consisted of four points, 1) the necessity of establishing a new independent state for the purposes of preserving the frontiers and giving peace and security to the people, 2) a state in the form of a confederation of nationalities, organized by the citizens, 3) a decentralized local-autonomy state, and 4) the complete safeguards for the autonomy of the people. Among these the third point was thought of as being the form which the new state must necessarily take if as an agricultural state it were to be for ever spared from the evils of capitalism, and this was the reason for its being called "neo-physiocracy." Nevertheless, this agricultural state was to take steps to develop industry by means of large enterprises to be run under state or provincial management, and had a signification different from an agricultural country merely exporting raw materials to industrial countries.

Expressed in other language, the content of the new state which was to

be established consisted of concord among the nationalities and peasant autonomy, and Tachibana thought of peasant autonomy as being basic. This was his "peasant democracy," nothing other than peasant autonomy considered as the practice of the Royal Road. In the last analysis the Royal Road was a form of government safeguarding the life of the people, while autonomy safeguarded the life of the people by means of the power of their own organizations. In this way Tachibana sought the ideal for the establishment of the new state in the Royal Road, and this ideal of the Royal Road is none other than the society of Ta T'ung 大同 or Great Togetherness depicted in the Confucian *Book of Ritual* (*Li Chi, Li Yün P'ien*).

"When the Great Tao prevailed, the whole world was one Community (*thien hsia wei kung*). Men of talents and virtue were chosen (to lead the people); their words were sincere and they cultivated harmony. Men treated the parents of others as their own, and cherished the children of others as their own. Competent provision was made for the aged until their death, work for the able-bodied, and education for the young. Kindness and compassion was shown to widows, orphans, childless men and those disabled by disease, so that all were looked after. Each man had his allotted work, and every woman a home to go to. They disliked to throw valuable things away, but that did not mean that they treasured them up in private storehouses. They liked to exert their strength in labour, but that did not mean that they worked for private advantage. In this way selfish schemings were repressed and found no way to arise. Thieves, robbers and traitors did not show themselves, so the outer doors of the houses remained open and were never shut. This was the period of Great Togetherness." (The translation follows Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, London, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1956, Vol. II.)

This society in which the Royal Road is in force was understood by Tachibana as follows. Firstly, all the people have their livelihood safeguarded, secondly, wealth is opened up and is not allowed to pass into private ownership, and thirdly, labour is provided for the benefit of society. A society in which these three conditions are in force has attained to "the age of Ta T'ung." The methodology for the realization of this society of the Royal Road is theory on the economic policy of Mencius, the Ching T'ien 井田 system of land tenure and taxation. Tachibana thought of this economic policy of Mencius as being the element which should constitute the basic content of peasant autonomy in the new state. That is to say, he thought of the Royal Road not as a glorious fact in the past but as a generative idea to be understood as an ideal or useful method, as well as in his activities. Tachibana's effort was devoted to establish his ideal state through engaging in the Agricultural Labour Co-operative movement and other movements by locating his base camp in the Kyōwa Kai (Concord Association).

However, the subsequent development of the establishment of Manchukuo proceeded along a road which was at variance with Tachibana's ideal, for it degenerated into a colony of Japanese Imperialism and as an inevitable development from this provoked the China Incident in 1937. During this time, refusing to bow before the frustration of the realization of his ideal, Tachibana continued to observe events with calmness, and while examining

himself as to the weak-points of his ideal of physiocracy he never ceased from putting forward criticisms regarding the contradictions between the Chinese nationalist movement and Japan's continental policy, criticisms made from new angles of vision appropriate to the actual situations.

We may say that Tachibana's studies and criticisms regarding Japan's continental policy began in earnest in the process of the establishment of Manchukuo. These were undertaken in search of theoretical foundations for the solution of the relations of conflict and opposition between Japan and Manchuria and for the criticism of the bodies and organs of publication propagating the ideology of Asianism which were proliferating at this time. Tachibana's attitude to Great Asianism at this period shows that while, for example, he was extremely interested in *Shin Tōyō Kensetsu Ron* (the Programme for the Construction of a New Orient) written by Yasunobu Kuchida and put out by the Dai-Ajia Kensetsu Kyōkai (Association for the Construction of Great Asia) of Tokyo and other developments he occupied a position which was fundamentally incompatible with such proposals. We may suppose that the beginnings of Tachibana's later theory for the creation of an Oriental society were already being formed at this period, and his criticisms of the theory of the Great Asian school at this time were extremely rational and scientific, while in point of their consisting of arguments based on the actual state of society in Manchuria and China as significant points worthy of attention are to be found in numerous places throughout them. Since these studies are of too various a character we do not have time to look into them here.

Tachibana's plans for the reconstruction of Japan at this time were extremely radical and aroused much interest, but here we shall have to be content with touching on the main points of his theory of reconstruction as developed in his criticism of the proposals put forward by Manabu Sano (1894-1953) and Sadachika Nabeyama (1907-) after their change of attitude. Tachibana gives full approval to the class struggle in the process of reconstruction, but he advocates not the dictatorship of the proletariat but occupational co-operation. Consequently he considers the elements forming the nucleus of the reconstructing forces to be the peasants, the workers and the civil and military officials. That is to say, he sets occupational co-operation among all working people on a basis of equality in opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Next there is the question of minority nationalities, and in this matter Tachibana is opposed both to the Comintern's formula for state separatism for colonial nationalities and to the views of Sano and Nabeyama, who held that to strive to build socialism by combining the labouring masses of adjacent nationalities under one large state and amalgamating them as members of the class of the people was the direction indicated by actual world history. In concrete terms, while Japan at that time was composed of the Japanese, Taiwan and Korean nationalities, he proposed, not amalgamation or state separatism for these nationalities, but that they should be recognized as political and economic units and not merely as social

or cultural organizations, and that they should be afforded complete safeguards as *autonomous regions*.

The former of these, his argument against the dictatorship of the proletariat, may justly be said to be Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary formula, while the latter, the establishment of autonomous regions for minority nationalities within the country and the provision of complete safeguards for them, must be said to be a most enlightened view, as being the forerunner of the idea of "regional autonomy" in the Chinese People's Republic today.

V

In January, 1939, at a time when the war between Japan and China was spreading over an ever wider area, Tachibana made a tour of North China, and after doing so he fell ill and returned to Japan in the following year. His tour in North China and what he learned on returning to Japan after so many years gave a deeply disturbing shock to Tachibana's spirit. This was the occasion of his abandoning the standing of a spectator which he had occupied hitherto, and he stood up with the intention of setting up a practical theory for the solution of Sino-Japanese relations, and by extension for the liberation of all Asian nationalities. This is the second stage of Period III, and is the period of his life into which he poured his last efforts.

We have spoken of a shock which deeply disturbed his spirit, but what was that shock? In a word it was the astonishing moral degeneracy of the Japanese nation in North China and in Japan, and in addition to this the state of degeneracy covering the whole of politics, economics, and culture in Japan. Harboring the gravest doubts regarding this state of society he spent two anguished years from the spring of 1939 in his temporary lodging in Tokyo, and the result which he at last arrived at was "the creation of an Oriental society," a vision of the liberation of the nationalities of Asia. The fact that his starting point in this matter was the degeneracy of Japanese nation was the fundamental cause which made it necessary for him to posit the reconstruction of the Japanese nation as an important precondition for his theory for the construction of an Oriental society. Here for the first time Tachibana eagerly sought out the principles for the reconstruction of Japan, and arrived at the conclusion that in the last analysis these must be the principles of the traditional Japanese National Polity.

According to Tachibana every nation has a form of organization and an ideology which constitute the keynote of the existence and persistence of the nation, and it is these which are none other than the life of the nation. For example, there are such ideologies as the Chinese Royal Road, the Indian doctrine of selflessness, and in the West the ideology of Democracy, an ideology which stands above the national souls of the individual peoples and integrates them together. In such a sense as this the National Polity is the soul of the Japanese nation. This National Polity must be something which, like Democracy, can be accurately grasped intellectually, that is, historically,

and scientifically, and merely as an object apprehended emotionally by a certain section of the nation. For this reason, what may be called the laws of the development of the National Polity must be discovered. The basic laws of the development of the National Polity at which Tachibana arrived are comprised in the following points. 1) The law of the transcendence of class—the tendency towards the complete simplification of the organization of the nation within the framework of national life ('One Sovereign, a myriad people'). 2) The law of the harmonization of the totality and the individual, that is, the harmonization of control and freedom. 3) The law of national concord—this prescribes relations with alien nations, and whereas the West takes antithesis as its principle in this matter, the East takes fusion as its principle. Among these three laws 2) and 3) apply to all the nations of the Orient as well as to Japan. It was believed that only by becoming conscious of these laws would it be possible to bring about the reconstruction of the Japanese nation and the unity of the nations of the Orient.

Tachibana picked out the ideology of the National Polity as the ultimate value in the reconstruction of Japan as a part of the process of the creation of an Oriental society, and he thought that it was the basic ideology historically inherent in the Japanese people, comparable with the Chinese ideology of the Royal Road, the Indian doctrine of selflessness and the ideology of Democracy in Western society. This way of thinking is basically distinct from what is known as Japanese 'nationalist' or 'statist' ideology. We may say that Tachibana's view of the National Polity stands in a new dimension which of necessity includes nationalism and internationalism. As we shall see below, this is closely connected with his studies of the thought of Sun Yat-sen.

The questions to which Tachibana devoted most of his efforts at this time were the laying of the foundations for the ideological and actual basis for his theory for the creation of an Oriental society. A re-examination of the political doctrines of Sun Yat-sen played an intermediary role in this work. This, too, was precisely due to the fact that in the course of the war with China the Japanese had deepened their understanding of the Chinese nation and to the fact that, as an accompaniment to self-examination, a rational solution of the war with China had gradually come to be desired, and Tachibana, seizing upon a movement which had appeared in a certain section of the nation, considered that for the purposes of establishing a correct appreciation of the Chinese nationalist movement a deep appreciation of Sun Yat-sen's thought, the directing principle in it, was required, and at the same time thought that this would make it possible to put forward a theory for the liberation of the nationalities of the East. In as much as this was so, Tachibana's studies in Sun Yat-sen had a significance for political practice which went beyond merely academic studies.

As we have noted already Tachibana's interest in Sun Yat-sen dates from the time of the Chinese Revolutionary League, and albeit with variations of intensity this interest persisted throughout his life. However, his attitude to Sun Yat-sen's thought was at first comparatively critical (apart from the

Revolutionary League period), but he later confessed that by 1926 he had discovered in the background of the theoretical structure of Sun Yat-sen's San Min Chu Yi (Three Principles of the People) something of the emotions of the Orient which he could lay hold on and that he came to feel affection for the genius-like, free and unbridled personality of Sun Yat-sen, however shallow or inaccurate he might be as a thinker.

One of the superior characteristics of Tachibana's appreciation of Sun Yat-sen is that he considered Sun Yat-sen's national liberation movement in the context of the traditional history of revolutionary movements in China extending back into the past. According to his *Shina Kakumeishi Ronkō* (A Discourse on the History of Revolution in China) (1924), there have been four "ages of disorder" in Chinese history, the first in the Ch'iu-Chan Kuo period (770-246 B.C.), the second in the Six Dynasties period (184-589 A.D.), the third in the Five Dynasties period (780-960), and the fourth that of the T'ai-p'ing T'ienkuo revolutionary movement (1850), and so up to Tachibana's age. Later he omits the Six Dynasties period and distinguishes three period of disorder, but there is no change in his thinking of Sun Yat-sen's revolution as being a continuation of the third social revolution in Chinese history, the starting point of which is the T'ai-p'ing T'ienkuo revolutionary movement. Here Sun Yat-sen's revolution includes the whole period after Sun Yat-sen's death up to the war between Japan and China and on to the time of the success of the revolution. Consequently, while being willing to recognize Mao Tse-tung (1895-) of the New Democracy period and thereafter as being the continuer of Sun Yat-sen's thought after Sun Yat-sen's death, Tachibana came to maintain that the Communist Party could not maintain the orthodox character of Sun Yat-sen's thought, both because of the limitations imposed by the objective situation at the time and because Mao Tse-tung was only a transitional device for making Sun Yat-sen's political doctrines into socialism.

We may perhaps say that as well as causing Tachibana's grasp of the political doctrines of Sun Yat-sen to reach a very high level, his recognition of the element of historical continuity in Sun Yat-sen's thought and Sun Yat-sen's revolution was the ground causing him to press hard upon a monumental grasp of the Chinese nationalist movement.

This being the case, let us take a glance at the question of what were the special characteristics other than the above which Tachibana discovered in the political doctrines of Sun Yat-sen in his later years. What he discovered was the principle of the Oriental peasants' revolutionary movement. According to Tachibana the liberation of Asia means, ultimately, the liberation of the peasantry, and the liberation of the Chinese nation must also presuppose the liberation of the peasantry. He adds the proviso that the form in which this is done must be an Oriental one. What, then is meant by Tachibana's "Oriental" liberation of the peasantry?

According to Tachibana, among the traditional methods for the liberation of the peasantry in China there are the Chün T'ien 均田 and Hsien T'ien

限田 systems, providing respectively for equality in land holding and an upper limit to land holdings. In the tradition of the Chün T'ien system there are some measures enforced by the dynastic regimes between the Six Dynasties period and the T'ang period, and another tradition of measures enforced by the free will of the peasants themselves which has its remote origin in the Yellow Turban rebels of the last years of the Later Han Dynasty and comes down through the T'ai'p'ings to the Chinese Communist Party. The fountainhead of the Hsien T'ien system is the Emperor Wu Ti (159-87 B. C.) of the Former Han Dynasty and the landlord ideology of Tung Chung-shu (176?-104? B. C.), and in more recent times it has developed in Sun Yat-sen's equality of rights over land and Hu Han-min's (1886-1936) "Chinese Land Law." However the ideology of *keng-che yu ch'i-t'ien* 耕者有其田 ("land to the tiller"), which appeared as a development of the equality of rights over land in Sun Yat-sen's later years, has an extremely unique significance. It is neither the ideology of class struggle accompanying liberation of the land under the Chün T'ien system by the peasant, nor is it the ideology of mutual accommodation accompanying the Hsien T'ien system. Tachibana emphasizes that it is the ideology of concord, which as a third position stands in antithesis to these other two traditions.

Where, then, are the ground for Tachibana's concordism? The ideology of Sun Yat-sen's "land to the tiller" programme had as its concrete background the Peasant Associations and the Peasant Self-Defence Forces, in addition to which the revolutionary government directed and protected them, so that the peasants contended for their legitimate rights and interests from a position of equality with the landlords and merchants. If, in social situations such as these the landlords and merchants refused to accept the legitimate demands of the peasants in regard to their legitimate rights and interests, especially rent, it was proposed that the landlords should have their land expropriated and distributed among the peasants. According to Tachibana this method is nothing other than a concrete manifestation of the Oriental ideology of social concord as opposed to the Western ideology of the class struggle. Consequently it is thought of as also being demarcated off from the ideology of class concord. Tachibana thinks that by promoting the Oriental peasants' revolutionary movement by this method the landlord class will be gradually eliminated and the society of Ta T'ung, in which *Gemeinschaft* will be more or less completed, will be attained, while on the other hand concord and integration with Western society, in which *Gesellschaft* will be more or less completed, will be achieved.

Such is the ideology of concordism which Tachibana found in the ideology of Sun Yat-sen. Although Sun Yat-sen may not have been clearly aware of this elements in his ideology, the fact is that Tachibana consciously picked it out as a principle in Sun Yat-sen's thought. Tachibana believes that it is this concept of concord which is the flower of the thought of the Chinese nation, nurtured for several thousands of years and consonant with the Indian doctrine of selflessness and the Japanese ideology of the

National Polity, and that it possesses the possibility of being raised, in due course of time, to be the guiding principle of a unified Oriental society. In this sense it would seem to be of the same nature as the method of the Royal Road which we have seen above.

VI

The greater part of Tachibana's life during the period of approximately 40 years between the end of the Meiji period and the end of the Second World War was spent on the continent with a deep and undying love for the Chinese nation, in carrying out scientific studies of the Chinese nation while maintaining close personal relations with the Chinese in their own country. In this sense we may say Tachibana is unusual as a Japanese student of China. However, he was not a mere perceiver. As an accompaniment to the transition simultaneous with the deepening of his knowledge of China he issued repeated criticisms and warnings regarding Japan's continental policy on the basis of his knowledge. Further, he caused his own thought to develop along with the development of historical events, and was a thinker who strove continually to discover, in the perspective of world history, the road which should be lived by Japan and China. Again, in that his mode of thinking was basically Chinese (or Sun Yat-sen-like) he possessed a peculiarity which distinguished him from contemporary Japanese thinkers, revolutionaries and commentators and which made unique his place in the history of Japanese thought. However, it is not easy to decide where to place Tachibana in the history of Japanese thought. Here we can do no more than to throw his thought and personality into relief in their relations of continuity with the thinkers of the Meiji period and thereafter, and to make clear his significance in a rather typological manner.

Fundamentally, I think of Tachibana's personality and thought as being descended from Chōmin Nakae (1847-1901), the theoretician of the Liberty and Popular Rights Movement in Meiji Japan. As for my reasons for doing so, in the first place it would seem that Chōmin Nakae and Shiraki Tachibana belonged to the same type as regards their natural endowment as human individuals. As well as being journalists and prophets at heart, both Nakae and Tachibana, although trained in the rational modes of thought of Western science, nurtured the springs of their energies with the morality of the Orient. It is of course true that neither was merely a journalist, for each had much of the politician and the scholar in him, and in this sense they are neither politicians nor scholars, but belong to the category of thinkers.

The next point is that although it is natural that the content of the thought of Nakae and Tachibana should differ as a result of differences in the ages in which they lived, they belong to the same type as regards their methods of thinking and the methods they employed in their attempts to bring about the realization of their ideals. It is a fact known to all that

Nakae's thought, acting principally through the intermediacy of French materialism and French revolutionary thought, directed the Japanese Liberty and Popular Rights Movement, but at the base of his personal culture there was a flowing spring of the morality of Confucianism and the states of mind characteristic of Zen Buddhism, with the result that a strong practical desire to cause his literal translations of French thought to take root in Japanese soil operated within him. In contrast, through the intermediacy of ancient Chinese thought and the thought of Sun Yat-sen in the Chinese nationalist revolution, Tachibana devoted his passion to the reconstruction of Japan and at the same time to the creation of an Oriental society, but as in the case of Nakae Tachibana had Confucian morality at the base of his thought, and through the intermediacy of imported Western thought he attempted to settle it permanently in Japan for the purposes of the reconstruction of Japan and of China. This may provide a key to the understanding of the self-regulating quality and fierce individuality which characterizes the mode of thinking of these two personalities.

Finally I wish to make clear the social and historical positions of Nakae and Tachibana from the point of view of the human relations surrounding them. Neither Nakae nor Tachibana founded a school or academic clique attached to himself, but both had contacts and acquaintance with an extremely large number of persons of all sorts and kinds. Here we must confine ourselves to the personalities who may be considered representative, and in the case of Nakae we find that he had, apart from his elders in his native place, such close friends as Kimmochi Saionji (1849-1940) and Mitsuru Tōyama (1855-1944), and at the same time had as his pupil Shūsui Kōtoku (1871-1911), who became a famous anarchist. In Tachibana's case there were many friends, Fumio Gotō (1884-), Kanji Ishihara and others, and in addition to these there were numbered among those who were regarded as his pupils the Marxists Daishirō Satō (1909-1943), Suehiro Ōgami (1903-1944), Mizuo Matsuoka (1905-1954) and others, while Hozumi Ozaki (1901-1944) of the Sorge Case was also a trusted friend. As regards such friends among their social equal as we have mentioned above, there were many in the cases of both Nakae and Tachibana who had something in common with them in matters of feeling, but the greater part of their pupils and juniors rose above their master's ideological position and embarked on practical activities in the cause of social change. This fact shows most vividly that both Nakae and Tachibana were thinkers who bestrode East and West, and who, while keeping the morality of the Orient at the root of their minds, were the possessors of outstandingly critical and analytical processes of thought. To express it in other words, we may say that by being intermediaries between the right wing and the left wing in politics both were self-regulating individuals in the highest degree, individuals of the kind who are said to belong neither to right nor left.

However, the ages in which Nakae and Tachibana lived were completely opposed to one another. Nakae was active during the period of Japan's

development along the road of modernization, while Tachibana was active during the period of the expansion and fall of Japanese imperialism. In spite of this each held fast to his own ideal in his own age and while resisting against the forces of authority continued his efforts to discover, within the conditions imposed by the realities of society, ways in which his ideal might be realized. It is probably because he spent the greater part of his life on the continent that Tachibana's name is not so well known among Japanese as that of Nakae. Yet we may say that it was Tachibana who took over the aspirations espoused by Nakae, that it was Tachibana who was the outstanding thinker who developed Nakae's ideal on a larger scale. We may expect that as Japanese thinkers both Nakae and Tachibana will in future exert an increasing influence on the generations who follow them.

A Short Life History

- 1881 Born on October 14 in Ōita Prefecture, the son of a junior high school teacher.
- 1901 Entered the Fifth National High School (in Kumamoto).
- 1902 Left the High School (in July) and entered Waseda University (in September).
- 1903 Left Waseda University. Went to Sapporo, Hokkaidō, to join the *Hokkai Times*.
- 1906 Crossed over to Manchuria in April and joined the *Ryōtō Shimpō* (Liaotung Press) in Talien.
- 1911 Chinese Revolution broke out. Went to Peking and met Tuan Ch'í-jui. Married Miss Sumi Matsumaru.
- 1913 Moved to Peking. Chief editor of the *Nikka Kōron* (Japan-China Review).
- 1914 Visited Kōkan Nakano. His conversation about studies in Taoism led Tachibana to enter the study of it.
- 1916 Started semi-scholarly life, studying the essential nature of the Chinese military cliques by elucidating the Chinese social structure.
- 1918 Inspection tour to Changsha through Hank'ou. The *Keishin Nichinichi Shimbun* (Peking-Tientsin Daily) was founded in July, with Tachibana as chief editor. Stricken with apoplexy at Chita in Siberia when joining the Siberian expedition as a war correspondent and paralyzed on the right side thereafter.
- 1919 Returned to Peking.
- 1920 Moved to Chinan. Chief editor of the *Sainan Nippō* (Chinan Daily).
- 1922 Reappointed as chief editor of the *Keishin Nichinichi Shimbun*. Moved to Tientsin.
- 1923 Moved to Lushun. Published *Dohi* (The Bandits).
- 1924 Began to write a series for the *Man-Mō* (Manchuria and Mongolia: a monthly journal of the Chū-Nichi Bunka Kyōkai [China-Japan Cultural Association] at Talien). Shina Kenkyū Kai (Society for Research on China) was established in October with Yatakichi Kōno as managing editor and Tachibana as chief editor. The *Shina Kenkyū* (China Studies, Monthly), the journal of the Society, was founded in December with the aim of promoting scientific research on Chinese society and supplying common-sense knowledge of China to the Japanese.
- 1925 *Dōkyō* (Taoism) was published. Joined the Mantetsu Chōsa-ka (Research Section of the South Manchurian Railway Company) as a non-regular staff member.
- 1926 Again began to write vigorously for the *Man-Mō* and the *Mantetsu Chōsa Jihō* (Re-

- search Reports of the South Manchurian Railway Company). Contributed to *Tōa* (East Asia) and the *Shin Tenchi* (New World).
- 1927 Transferred to the newly established Information Section of Mantetsu as a non-regular staff member.
- 1928 Contributed "Shō Kai-seki to Hyō Gyoku-shō (Chiang Kai-shek and Feng Yü-hsiang)" to the October issue of the *Chūō Kōron* (Central Review) in Tokyo. This contribution was recommended by Shinzō Koizumi and Tachibana first appeared in publicists' circles in Tokyo.
- 1929 Contributed "Chūgoku Kyōsantō no Riron oyobi Hōryaku (Theories and Programmes of the Chinese Communist Party)" to the September issue of *Kaizō* (Reconstruction) in Tokyo. As censorship was applied all over the article he discontinued contribution to Tokyo.
- 1931 Moved to Talien. The *Manshū Hyōron* (Manchurian Review, Weekly) was founded on August 15, and he undertook the responsibility of its editing. Had talks with Seishirō Itagaki and Kanji Ishihara in October, both Staff Officers of the Kuantung Army, and changed his stand-point from "Capitalist Democracy" to "Workers' Democracy" with those talks as turning-point. Tachibana (ed.), *Manshū to Nippon* (Manchuria and Japan) was published. Organized the "Kenkoku Sha" (a "thought organization" aiming at the foundation of Manchukuo) with Ranzō Noda. Wrote a draft of "Manshū Kenkoku Taikō Shian (Private Outline of Principles for Foundation of Manchukuo)."
- 1932 The "Kyōwa Kai" was organized and Tachibana became director. Endeavoured to establish the ideology of the "Kyōwa Kai." Made the acquaintance of Seigō Nakano.
- 1935 Held leader writer (non-regular staff) of the *Manshū Nichinichi Shimbum* (Manchurian Daily).
- 1936 Wrote a draft of "Kahoku Gōson Jichi Kensetsu ni kansuru Shian (Private Plan for Establishing Village Autonomy in North China)." Met Akira Kazami (later Chief Secretary of Prime Minister Konoe). *Shina Shakai Kenkyū* (Studies in Chinese Society) was published. *Shina Shisō Kenkyū* (Studies in Chinese Thought) was published. Went to Hsinching at the request of the "Kyōwa Kai" as leader of its Central Planning Bureau.
- 1937 Daishirō Satō, one of Tachibana's favourite pupils and then editor of the *Manshū Hyōron*, entered Suihua Hsien with the aim of establishing village autonomy, which succeeded, and intended to revive Tachibana's spirit.
- 1938 Inspection tour in North China. Gave various advice about Japanese world policy to Yōsuke Matsuoka (then President of the South Manchurian Railway Company). Denounced the outrage on the Manchurian people by the Kuantung Army.
- 1939 Again inspection tour in North China in January. Decided to abandon the onlooker viewpoint of the past but fell ill. Returned to Japan in February to receive treatment at the Kyūshū University Hospital (in Fukuoka). Moved to Tokyo in June.
- 1940 Joined in many discussion meetings held by review-magazines in which he acted as leader, and expressed his hope about Sino-Japanese problems and the future of the Orient.
- 1941 Made many contributions to famous review-magazines in Tokyo. Hozumi Ozaki, Tachibana's intimate acquaintance, was arrested (the so-called Sorge Case). Daishirō Satō and other were arrested by the Military Police of the Kuantung Army.

- 1942 *Shokuiki Hōkō Ron* (Serving One's Country through One's Occupation) was published. More than two hundred persons of Mantetsu were arrested (the so-called Bolshevization Case at the Research Division of the South Manchurian Railway Company). Resigned as non-regular staff member of Mantetsu, bearing responsibility for the Case. Inspection tour to Manchuria, North China and Central China from October to around the year-end. Drafted *Chūgoku Taisaku Kanzen* (My View on China Policy).
- 1943 Inspection tour in Manchuria and Korea in March, where visited Seishirō Itagaki (then Commander of the Japanese Army in Korea and Tadashi Katakura (then Staff Officer in the Kuantung Army). Returned to China in September and visited Ch'en Kung-po in Nanking. Received treatment in a hospital in Peking and temporarily fell into a dangerous condition.
- 1944 *Shina Kensetsu Ron* (On the Building of China) was published in Shanghai. *Kita-Shina Kyōdo Kensetsu Shigi* (My View on the Building of Villages in North China) was published in Shanghai and this was his last publication. Suffered from acute pneumonia at Hsūchou and fell temporarily into a critical condition.
- 1945 Went to Harbin in August where he saw far into the future, and advanced south to Mukden. Became ill and died at Mukden at the age of sixty four.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this list are as follows.

KMS=*Shina Kakumei-shi Ron* (Study of the History of Revolution in China), Tokyo, Nihon Hyōron-sha, 1950. *MCJ*=*Mantetsu Chōsa Jihō* (Research Reports of the South Manchurian Railway Company), monthly, published in Talien, in Japanese. *MH*=*Manshū Hyōron* (Manchurian Review), weekly, published in Talien, in Japanese. *MM*=*Man-Mō* (Manchuria and Mongolia), monthly, published in Talien, in Japanese. *SK*=*Shina Kenkyū* (China Studies), monthly, published in Talien, in Japanese. *SKK*=*Shina Shakai Kenkyū* (Studies in Chinese Society). *SSK*=*Shina Shisō Kenkyū* (Studies in Chinese Thought). *TSC*=*Tachibana Shiraki Chosaku-shū* (Selected Works of Shiraki Tachibana), 3 vols.