

Profile of Asian Minded Man x

ŌKAWA SHŪMEI

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1. *Kita Ikki and Ōkawa Shūmei*

It is well-known that Japan experienced two *coups d'état* during the process of her descent into Fascism during the 1930's. We are, of course, referring to the May 15th Incident of 1932 and the February 26th Incident of 1936. The former took place a half year after the occupation of Manchuria, while the latter occurred a year and a half before the complete invasion of China. In both instances, active duty military personnel were the chief instigators of both the plot and the actual event, but private citizens too participated. In the decision handed down at the ensuing trials, the offense of the private citizens was weighed more heavily, unjustifiably, than that of the military. Ōkawa Shūmei, with whom we are here concerned, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for complicity in the 5: 15 Incident; and his one-time close friend and colleague, Kita Ikki (1883-1937), was sentenced to death for conspiring in the 2: 26 Incident. The fact is that neither of them was an active conspirator.

However, because Ōkawa participated to a certain extent in the two abortive coups during the year immediately preceding the 5: 15 Incident, it cannot be said that he was completely uninvolved. Again, however, there are some points which suggest doubt about his participation in the planning of the occupation of Manchuria by the Kwantung Army (Japan's advance forces in China). At the least, he was not opposed to this plan. He was able to come and go freely between China and Japan thanks to his work; and moreover he was a long-standing friend of many of the staff members who designed the occupation plans. It is certain that he had complete knowledge of the full state of affairs.

Ōkawa Shūmei and Kita Ikki are often cited together as thinkers who epitomize the eras of Fascism and war. And this is only natural; for in terms of intellectual ability the two were distinguished statisticians of the new

EDITOR'S NOTE: In this article, the surname is placed first in all Japanese names.

style seen in the age of imperialism, far above comparison with the multitude of minor thinkers. Because of their diametrically opposed personalities, they only worked harmoniously for an extremely short period of time; but even after they parted ways they never lost the sense of their mutual intimacy. When Ōkawa was in prison, Kita wrote to him to console him. And Ōkawa wrote a testimonial upon the occasion of the erection of a monument to Kita. The expression "the great man recognizes a great man" is appropriate here.

Kita and Ōkawa first met in 1919. At that time, Ōkawa thought that the reconstruction of Japanese society was necessary in order to meet Communist aggression; and emerging from the ivory tower in which he had lived up to then, he launched into activities for social enlightenment. However, he was inexperienced. When he searched for a colleague who would be his equal in intellectual ability but who would also be a man of action, he could find only Kita Ikki. After consulting with his friend Mitsukawa Kametaro, he personally journeyed to Shanghai to persuade Kita to join him in his endeavors. It was thus that they became acquainted.

Their meeting took place after Kita had already written *Shina kakumei gaishi* (An Unofficial History of the Chinese Revolution) and was then reworking his manuscript draft of *Nihon kokka kaizō hōan* (An Outline of the Legislation for the Reconstruction of the Japanese State), which became the scripture of Japanese Fascism. Kita embraced a vision in which the Chinese Revolution would learn from the example of the Meiji Restoration and would realize national independence at one stroke under a powerful autocratic government. The strength of this revolution would be a stimulus for decadent Japanese society, and would provide the energy for bringing back the spirit of the Restoration. The might of this revolution would bring the revival of Asia. However, the actual course of events of the Chinese Revolution dashed this vision. Thus it was inevitable that in the midst of his despair he divorce himself from the Revolution and consider the reconstruction of Japan's own state.

Ōkawa had no interest in the Chinese Revolution. Although this may seem surprising at first, it is not so if one takes into account the history of his thinking. He conceived of Chinese society only in terms of decadence and atrophy-up to and including the Revolutionary Movement. For an "Asianist" this was a fatal weakness, as he himself had to acknowledge during the course of the Second World War; but this shall be dealt with later. In any event, Kita drawn only disappointment from the course of the Chinese nationalist movement; and Ōkawa accepted both Kita's interpretation of the movement and his disappointment with it as representing the actual facts of the situation. Thus, he sympathized with Kita's feelings. They concurred on the point that because the Chinese Revolution was not drawing to an end, they would consider the reconstruction of the Japanese State. Although we have spoken of the Chinese Revolution as Kita's lost vision, for him revolution itself was an entity. But Ōkawa was not concerned with this matter.

Ōkawa preceded Kita to Japan, and the two upon Kita's return, together

with Mitsukawa, formed the society known as the Yūzonsha. But their collaboration was broken up within three years. Kita had a charismatic personality and gradually came to believe that his own visionary ideals were reality. He was indifferent to the real world around him, and frequently was even antisocial in his behavior; while on the other hand, Ōkawa was an upright man, ethically fastidious, and strict about having cash on his person. Moreover, both the implications and the form of expression of their thinking differed. In terms of sentence structure, for example, Kita's prose has a sense of giving free rein to his imagination, while Ōkawa's prose is completely structured, built of finely detailed logic. In brief, the two were antithetical in every way, and it was evident that at some point there would be a break between them.

Later, Kita became increasingly charismatic, and for the rest of his life, became more and more enigmatic. Ōkawa became more and more of a firm enlightenment thinker, and was always starting new societies, educating students, and issuing magazines. The road between the two thus was constantly widening, but as stated above, they recognized in each other a companion.

During the period after the defeat in 1945 in which massive social reform was promoted, there was a trend towards a rejection of all who had been connected with Fascism in the past. Both Kita and Ōkawa, as thinkers, were left in oblivion. However, this mania died down and there has been a gradual restoration of rights until today, Kita's rightful position as an important figure in intellectual history has been restored. Ōkawa, in comparison, is still a forgotten man, and there is no visible sign that his position will be restored. This not only shows a lack of judicious treatment of Japan's intellectual heritage, but also is a negative factor in terms of the continuance of this heritage. Despite this, there are a number of reasons which account for why Kita's position has been restored while Ōkawa remains in obscurity. The major reason is probably the matter of popularity. It is in fact unreasonable to take Kita as the sole representative of Japanese Fascism. Speaking impartially, Ōkawa's actual role was no less than that of Kita; and thus it is natural that if recognition is given to Kita's rightful position, the same should be allowed Ōkawa.

2. *Life and Works*

Ōkawa Shūmei was born in 1886 in the province of Shōnai (the present Sakata City in Yamagata Prefecture). For successive generations his family had been doctors, and although they were not retainers of the Shōnai *Han*, still they were an illustrious family of that region. However, because Shūmei (the eldest son) refused to carry on the profession, his father was the last doctor in the family. In his later years, Ōkawa was to recall his mother frequently, but he remained silent on matters concerning his father. His father died of illness when Shūmei was 28.

The Shōnai *Han* sided with the *Bakufu* at the time of the Restorations uprisings, and was one of the rebellious *han* in the northeast district suppressed by government forces. However, the terms of surrender were generous. It has been rumored that the warm reception was due to the good offices of Saigō Takamori who was behind the expeditionary forces. This nurtured feelings of gratitude for Saigō in the hearts of the people of this region. When Saigō died in the unsuccessful uprising of 1884, the people of Shōnai grieved no less than those of Satsuma; and later they published the document entitled "Saigō ikun" (The Dying Injunctions of Saigō). The explanation for the feelings of what might be called a religious reverence which, in his later years, Ōkawa came to hold for Saigō may lie in this connection with his home town.

After attending the Shōnai middle school and the Kumamoto Fifth High School, Ōkawa graduated in 1911 from the literature faculty of Tokyo Imperial University. (This was at that time the most usual educational course for an intellectual young man.) While he was in middle school, he lodged at the home of a scholar of Chinese studies. It would seem that already he had accumulated the knowledge of the Chinese classics which was to be the root of his learning for his life. When he was in high school, he was able to act as a substitute teacher of *kanbun*,¹ and to give lectures to the students on the works of Wang Yang-ming.

When he was in high school, he read carefully in either English or German the works of the great Western philosophers, ranging from Plato and Aristotle to Kant and Hegel, concentrating in particular on those works related to religion. He thought that the highest form of human spiritual activity was religion and that while the essence of religion was not simply the intellect, it was possible to explain religion in intellectual terms. He himself embodied this message. He learned much from Schleiermacher.

When he went to college, he became dissatisfied with Western subjects alone, and Buddhism as well as ancient Indian thought became the objects of his interest. His graduation thesis consisted of research on Nāgārjuna, who was the first to give a logical foundation to the doctrine of Mahayana Buddhism, and who has been likened to St. Augustine.

Ōkawa did not look for a job after he graduated, but secluded himself every day in the university library, reading. In later years he recalled that his ideal at that time was to immerse himself in the world of the Veda and to practice the life of a sage. Later he was to reach a turning point and to emerge from his life as a recluse into the real world; but even though he took up a life so tumultuous that he went to prison twice, he did not on that account lose his innate temperament. No matter how occupied he was, he never abandoned his reading and writing. He was essentially a reflective man, not a man of action.

It was Sir Henry Cotton's *New India* that brought Ōkawa to his turning

¹ *Kanbun* refers not only to works written in Chinese by Chinese but also to works written in Japanese according to the rules of Chinese grammar, as read by Japanese.

point. The book came unexpectedly into his hands in 1913. He was astonished at the enormous discrepancy between the India which he had idealized in his mind, and the real India as depicted in the book. This book was also a stimulus for him. He discarded his studies of the Indian classics, which had been his lifetime pursuit, and rushed into research, first on the state of affairs in India; then turning to an inquiry into what and who was responsible for bringing India to her present deplorable state; and then moving to the history and policies of European colonialism.

Because he himself has recalled this episode innumerable times, in fact it probably did occur in the fashion described; it is certainly characteristic of a reflective man. He was not the kind of thinker who starts from practical experience and proceeds to formulate problems. For him, truth resided more in books to be read than in things to be seen. This was the case not only with India but also, though more pronounced, with China. He travelled to China countless times, but the figures of the Chinese people did not enter his eye. For that reason, he was incapable of understanding the Nationalist Revolution. What drew Ōkawa's interest to the end was the abstract world of ordered thought; his interest was not aroused by the phenomena of chaos, corruption, or progress. In this respect he differed from Kita Ikki.

In 1916 Ōkawa published a slim volume entitled *Indo ni okeru kokumin undō no genjō oyobi sono jurai* (The Origins and Present State of the Nationalist Movement in India). Excluding translations this was his maiden work. His concern, which had burst into life upon reading of the conditions in India as described in *New India*, bore fruit in this book. This book was the first to introduce to Japan the movement of the Indian National Congress. Around this time he was becoming acquainted with exiled Indians; he also became intimate with the French Orientalist Paul Richard. He was already being treated as a person to be watched by government officials.

The First World War formed the background for this transition. At that time the reorganization of Japan's intellectual world was proceeding. Under the influence of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the power of the left was increasing at a fresh pace, and concomitantly, the strength of the right as a power of resistance was growing. Ōkawa came to stand among the ranks of the latter.

In 1919, at the age of 33, Ōkawa first sought employment. The South Manchurian Railway Company, Japan's greatest colonialist enterprise, had a research organ in the field. But apart from that, it also had facilities in Tokyo, the East Asian Economic Research Bureau (Tōa keizai chōsakyoku) which conducted wide-ranging research on general economic and social conditions, and gathered data. Ōkawa entered the Company as the head of the editorial section of the EAERB. A number of years later, when the EAERB became independent of the SMRC, Ōkawa was promoted to the top post of chairman of the board of directors. With the exception of the time when he was a defendant in the 5:15 Incident, he held this post from then until the dissolution of the bureau at the end of the War.

The EAERB possessed extensive documents relating to China and East Asia. Again, the monthly journal *Toa* (East Asia), issued by the bureau, as well as various other publications have received the highest academic acclaim. Ōkawa was the most appropriate person for managing this kind of prestigious, independent investigatory and research organ.

Toa presented research relating exclusively to China. Apart from this, the bureau also published the monthly journal *Shin Ajia* (New Asia) from August 1939. This journal presented materials not only on East Asia, but also on political, social and economic conditions in India and West Asia, and offered its readers accurate information. The publication of this new journal was due solely to Ōkawa's initiative, and he wrote the opening comments for each month's issue.

The EAERB was dissolved in 1945 following Japan's defeat, and its enormous library became unaccounted for. At the Far East War Crimes Trials, Ōkawa was a Class A defendant, but was excused from the trials due to mental illness.

It may be assumed that by the time he entered the SMRR, Ōkawa's thought was almost fully systematized, because his major works were published one after the other around the time he entered the Company. His thinking did not change radically after this. Although he made various corrections to or supplements for his works, no new additions are to be seen except for matters relating to Islam.

We have already discussed the course of Ōkawa's education until his graduation from college. During the period after his graduation when he was commuting daily to the library, he found time to be able to read the Japanese classics at one fell swoop. Thus, after traversing China, the West and India, he at last reached Japan, and his world of reading was complete. In one sense, this was unfortunate for him. According to his later recollections, in his youth he was under the impression that "thought" (by which we here mean philosophy and morals) existed only in the West and not in Japan. This means, in other words, that he lived amidst the current of his times. But while most other scholars simply ended with a veneration of the West, Ōkawa, after reviewing the three great cultures of China, the West and India, returned to that of Japan. The subsequent result was, rather, a strengthening of his impressions of Japan's unique culture. His critical estimation of his own country became more lenient. And so, the position place this occupied in his system of thought was out of all proportion. This can be thought to have functioned as making even such a rational man as Ōkawa lean towards Japanism.

Ōkawa's voluminous works may be classified into the following categories: religion, the spritual history of Japan, European colonialism, the independence movements of various Asian countries, and miscellaneous. Among the last category may be included an interpretation of the Chinese classics, an autobiography, and a translation of the poems of P. Richard. A selection of the most typical works for each category would include: *Shūkyō genri kōwa*

(Lectures on the Principles of Religion), *Nihon bunmeishi* (The History of Japanese Civilization), *Tokkyo shokuminkaisha seido kenkyū* (Research on the System of Special-license Colonial Companies), *Fukkō Ajia no shomondai* (Various Problems in the Reconstruction of Asia), etc., all of which were published around 1920. (However, *Tokkyo...* was his L.L.D. dissertation and although it was completed around this time, it was not published until much later.)

Among the works cited above, *Nihon bunmeishi* was later rewritten as *Nihon nisen-roppyaku-nen shi* (A 2600 Year History of Japan), but there were no substantial changes; rather, it lost some of its force. The title of *Shūkyō genri kōwa* was changed to *Shūkyō ron* (Theories of Religion), and towards the end of his life he planned a supplement, but it remained incomplete at his death and there were no fundamental revisions.

However, we may assume that his first real research on the Islamic religion was undertaken after he entered the SMRR. Gradually, his interest deepened. He completed his famous work *Kaikyō gairon* (The Concepts of Islam) in 1942; and his complete translation of the Koran—his life's desire—at the time when he had recovered after having been dismissed from the Far East War Crimes Trials due to mental illness and had been hospitalized at Matsuzawa Hospital. He completed his next work, the massive *Life of Mohammed*, but died before seeing it published. He died in December 1957.

It is conceivable that the Islamic religion was a subject of greater interest to Ōkawa than either Christianity, Buddhism or Japan's indigenous religions. Ōkawa had an image of a sphere in which were united religion and politics, of a place which was the point of encounter between East and West; for him, Islam was the manifestation of this ideal. As his research progressed, he became more and more captivated by the Islamic religion. For that very reason his Islamic studies are outstanding, and even today are a valuable legacy.

As has been noted above, from around 1920 Ōkawa gradually emerged into the world of practical activity. This does not mean that he abandoned his studies, but there was indeed some influence; rather than commencing any new research, he became preoccupied with the practical application of those principles which he already held. In particular, when the war came, his name came into popular use and from an academic point of view he did not develop further. And then followed the defeat.

After his death, the publication of his complete works in seven volumes was planned by Kanō Toshi and his colleagues, and the first volume was issued in 1961. However, it was never completed, and publication ceased with volume five. While this is regrettable it was, in a certain sense unavoidable. The era in which his style and thought were persuasive had passed. However, it is both unjustifiable and a cultural loss that even his academic contributions should be obscured just on that account. Taking simply the example of his Islamic studies, to ignore his surviving contributions is to make progress in the field impossible. It is no mistake to say that Ōkawa Shūmei is one man whose contemporary rediscovery and re-evaluation

are necessary.

3. *Thought*

After he had been dismissed from the War Crimes Trials due to mental illness, and a half year after being hospitalized, one morning Ōkawa Shūmei suddenly came to himself. At that time, two books came into his possession. One volume was the Indian classic the *Bhagavad-gītā*; the other was *The Justification of the Good* by the late 19th century Russian mystic, Vladimir Sergejevich Solovjef. These two books became his spiritual nourishment for many years. As a result of perusing these books, he came to realize that he had not lost both his memory or his comprehension.

This episode appears in Ōkawa's spiritual autobiography *Anraku no mon* (The Gate to Peace of Mind),² written in his last years. Since he was quoting from his diary, there is no likelihood that the story is not true. It is an episode of great interest for understanding the formation of Ōkawa's thought.

As has already been stated, Ōkawa possessed great erudition extending over past and present, East and West. However, no matter how extensive one's learning, if there is no nucleus around which one's thinking forms, it is impossible to construct an individual system. What, then, was the nucleus of Ōkawa's thought? Probably the philosophy of Confucianism, steeped deeply in Japanese tradition.

In the Ōkawa family, study of the Chinese classics was a family tradition and from a very early age, Shūmei received training in *kanbun*. This not only affected his style, but also his thinking. In a Japan in which a grounding in the Chinese classics was already disappearing, it may be that Ōkawa's thinking differed from others of his age because he had voluntarily chosen to study Western philosophy after building a classical foundation. At the same time that he displayed a surprising ability to express the concepts and categories of Western philosophy in the language of Confucianism, he was also skilled at grasping the concepts and categories of Confucianism in Western terms.

Let us take as an example the concept of "Heaven, Earth and Man" which is often spoken of in Confucianism, especially that of the Sung Dynasty. There are instances in which this concept corresponds to the various forms of existence, and also instances in which it corresponds to the various patterns of human relationships. There are, in addition, instances in which it corresponds to various elements of "ethical oughtness" from the viewpoint of human activity. In a similar, Ōkawa used this concept in these multiple senses: according to his interpretations Heaven refers to the relationship with those who are superior to oneself; Earth refers to the relationship with those who are inferior to oneself; and Man refers to the relationship with one's peers. Thus, all human relationships are subsumed in this concept. Then he signed

² In the preface of this book, Ōkawa states that "'The Gate to Peace of Mind' refers to religion itself. This book is a retrospect of my religious life...."

to each of three aspects of this concept the spiritual activities of religion, morals and politics, respectively. Again, if we substitute the practical virtues, Heaven denotes reverence (or piety), Earth denotes sympathy (or pity), and Man denotes shame. He thought that the realization of the proper relationship vis-à-vis Heaven, Earth, and Man was the basis upon which man could recognize his existence, the "*Tao*" (the way) of confucianism.

This way of thinking may be found consistently throughout his works, from the very early period on, and never changed. For example, the first group he formed after breaking with Kita Ikki was the Kōchisha (Kōchi Society). The word "kōchi" comes from the expression *sokuten kōchi* (practice the way of Heaven on earth), in which, according to Ōkawa's explanation, *sokuten* (follow Heaven's way) is the ideal and *kōchi* (practice on Earth) is the action of aiming at the realization of this ideal. The meaning of ideal here is, first, freedom in spiritual life, second, equality in political life, and third, friendship in economic life, which is simply another way of expressing the previous example.

In the last words of Saigō Takamori, "Because the way is the way of heaven and earth, of nature, the way of the pursuit of knowledge strives for the veneration of heaven and the life of man. Let us therefore always order our lives through self-control." Ōkawa interpreted veneration of heaven, love of man, and self-control as corresponding to Heaven, Man and Earth (nature), respectively, and for just that reason, extolled Saigō as a perfect man.

The thinking of Solovjef is analogous to that of Ōkawa in that he recognizes the fountainhead of morals to be the three innate human feelings of shame, pity and reverence. However, this is not to say that Ōkawa was directly influenced by Solovjef. It is probable Ōkawa had already arrived at this concept before he learned of Solovjef. It may be that upon reading Solovjef, he was overjoyed at the coincidence of learning that there was another person who thought as he did.

However, it cannot be said that Ōkawa was not at all uninfluenced by Solovjef. Part of his view of history clearly derives from Solovjef. That is the idea that confrontation and struggle between East and West is a basic principle in the development of history. In the case of Solovjef, however, pessimism about the weakening of the world of Christianity motivated him to hold this view of history; while in the case of Ōkawa, such pessimism did not exist. In fact, Ōkawa derived from this scheme of East-West confrontation hope for the reconstruction of Asia. As has been stated above, Ōkawa could not completely understand Kita Ikki, who, disappointed with the revolution in Japan, threw himself into the Chinese Revolution and, disappointed in turn with this, returned again to Japan. The same situation—a lack of complete understanding—pertains to the relationship between Ōkawa and Solovjef. The sole point upon which Ōkawa was in agreement with Solovjef was the confrontation between East and West. It is, therefore, difficult for us to perceive how thorough Ōkawa's comprehension of Solovjef was. Each of them was a different type of thinker. As is clear from the above discus-

sion, as a thinker Ōkawa may be considered as the type of man who prefers order to chaos. He liked clarity and precision of thought rather than the obscurity of mysticism. Order and clarity pervade his writing. His work demonstrated well his outstanding talent for synthesizing various fragmented elements into an orderly system. Ōkawa was not, I believe, a genius, but an academician endowed with great talent.

The same quality of a rational, orderly approach characterizes his attitude toward religion. While he always continued to have a great yearning for religious experience, his religious emotions were slight indeed. Although he preached in words that religion was cognizant of the source of life and that it comprehended the universal existence of God, his reasoning was too rational and logical, and he seemed to be unable to find his way to the discovery of God. In this sense, he was a scholar of religion but not a religious man. This distinguishes Ōkawa from Kita and Solovjef.

For that reason, the view of history as a confrontation between East and West was detached from its dark emotional roots and, in Ōkawa's hands, became a schematic diagram. He thought that the driving force of the history was wars between East and West beginning with the Trojan War, and probably would be hereafter. This is very close to the Nazi philosophy that war is the mother of culture. Again, this is also close to the view of war held by Ishihara Kanji, who was from the same town as Ōkawa and a leader in the occupation of Manchuria.

Just from this point we may see that from the start Ōkawa was potentially directed toward Fascism; but there is one other factor contributing to this tendency; namely, his view of the State. Ōkawa, who as far as human nature was concerned, was an adherent of Mencius' doctrine of the essential good of man, likewise believed the same of the State. He thought that just as, originally, man was incapable of evil, so was the State incapable of evil. This was because as moral actors, Man and the State were identical. Because the establishment of a moral actor was important for both man and the State, practical effort was necessary for the achievement of this aim. Therefore, he recognized the necessity for reconstruction in order to rescue the State from decadence, but did not recognize abolition of the State.

The derivation of this view of the State in terms of human nature is not clear. It has been thought that it is related to his Confucian upbringing. In any event, for Ōkawa this way of thinking was extremely powerful and therefore he was naturally opposed to the Marxist view of the State. Moreover, his opinion also diverged from Kita Ikki's, which in a certain sense approached the organ theory of the State.

The period when Ōkawa first began his political activities corresponded to the time when the Russian Revolution was shaking the existing view of the State even in Japan. For that reason, in his early period Ōkawa regarded passively the theory which rejected the State. His argument at that time was that denial of the State has to be recognized only as the motivating power of the creation of the State (he thought that the process of creation

was ceaseless with the State as with the individual). He even evaluated the Russian Revolution in terms of this vitality of spiritual creation, following the same line of argument. However, as the power of the opposition receded under political suppression, Ōkawa took a more rigidly argumentative position and finally progressed to thinking of the State and Man as an indissoluble entity, with the State as omnipotent. But it was not until the very end that he became a slave to the fanatic view of the Japanese State. For that reason he was subjected to attacks from the ultra right.

Ōkawa suffered deeply when the war with China became mired in a stalemate. According to his reasoning, the exercise of justice by the moral Japanese State should naturally be accepted by the opposition; but the opposition did not cease its resistance. Moreover, he had to acknowledge the fact that the morality of the Japanese State itself was regressing. Protest against Japanese aggression developed not only among the West, but also was heard from the Indian sage, Gandhi, whom Ōkawa never ceased to honor. He was unavoidably put on a painful defensive. Thus was Ōkawa's thesis of a revolutionary Europe and a renascent Asia bankrupted. Japan was isolated in the midst of Asia.

Although according to Ōkawa's argument, Japan should make preparations for the war which should come between East and West under the driving force of history, facts were far different. In order to demonstrate his own theory, he had somehow to bring the war with China to an end. To this end he put forward any number of peace plans at that time, but none was successful.

At last the long-awaited war between Japan and America broke out. But the war was not between East and West, as Ōkawa had conceived; nor again the war among imperialist nations set forth by Communist theory in which Ōkawa's friends were pitted against his foes. Rather it was a war between freedom and tyranny, democracy and totalitarianism. In the decisions of the military trials conducted by the victor nations, this had in fact been a war between civilization and barbarism, and had resulted in a victory for civilization.

If Ōkawa had not had a nervous breakdown and had continued to occupy the defendant's chair in the Trials, it is an interesting problem to hypothesize what would have happened had he been allowed to speak as a witness. Would he have acknowledged the bankruptcy of his own reasoning? Or would he have denounced the civilization which was his accuser?

Considering only the period of the war with China, Ōkawa's reasoning was clearly impoverished. This was due to the fact that he was incapable of understanding the National Revolution in China; and he was incapable of understanding the National Revolution because given his idealized image of China, he could only grasp actual circumstances as being corrupt.

This is the case if one is speaking only of the war with China. But if one considers the over-all framework of the Second World War, how different does the situation become? At the present day, as the danger of a Third

World War draws ever nearer, another look at Ōkawa's argument is entirely feasible.

At the time when the Chinese Communist Army swept over the continent in 1949, Ōkawa wrote as follows:

Today's devotees of Communism closely resemble the early Muslims. In both cases, they are groups which are at once religious and political. And both struggle on for the conversion of all mankind. The communization of China should be compared at all points to the subjugation of Spain by the Muslims. If in the future the Communists were to accelerate the pace of their advance, they would cross the Pyrenees and a second Battle of Tours-Poitiers would be inevitable. (*Anraku no mon*)

This is a profoundly interesting prophecy. And in the long run of history, we cannot say that the day of this prophecy will not come. We cannot conclude that some day, thus, the believers in the civilization which judged Ōkawa will not themselves be judged by him. How this historical paradox is interpreted depends upon the judgment of each individual thinker.

A Short Life History

- 1886 Born December 6 in the province of Shōnai (present Sakata City, Yamagata Prefecture). Father's name was Shūkei. Family were doctors for successive generations.
- 1904 After graduating from Shōnai Middle School, entered the Fifth High School in Kumamoto, Kyūshū.
- 1907 Entered Tokyo Imperial University and majored in Indian Philosophy.
- 1911 Graduated after one year's delay due to illness. Commuted daily to the university library even after graduation. Around this time, in order to earn his living, he did translations of German materials in compliance with the request of the General Staff Office, and editorial work for a religious magazine *Michi* (The Way), the editor of which was Matsumura Kaiseki.
- 1913 Read *New India* by Sir H. Cotton, and changed his subject from ancient India to contemporary India.
- 1914 Father died.
- 1916 Published maiden work, *Indo ni okeru kokumin undō no genjō oyobi sono yurai*, marking the beginning of his literary life.
- 1918 Employed by the South Manchurian Railway Company. Appointed the head of the editorial section of the East Asian Economic Research Bureau (Tōa keizai chōsakyoku), and later promoted to head of the research section.
- 1919 Visited to Shanghai in order to meet Kita Ikki and persuade him to join in forming a society. Established Yūzonsha with him and Mitsukawa.
- 1920 Appointed to post of professor at Takushoku University. His lectures on the history and policies of colonialization which were give at the university were published serially.
- 1924 Broke with Kita. Organized "Kōchisha" and published a journal *Gekkan Nippon* (Japan Monthly).
- 1926 Obtained Ph. D. degree from Tokyo Imperial University; dissertation entitled "Tokkyo shokumin kaisha seido no kenkyū."
- 1928 Appointed head of the East Asian Economic Research Bureau. Reorganized the

- EAERB into an independent organ of the SMRC and became the chairman of the board of directors.
- 1932 Dissolved Kōchisha and established Jimmukai (Jimmu Society) by himself. Arrested on June 15 being implicated in the 5: 15 Incident and held in detention. (Released on bail, September 11, 1934)
- 1935 Sent to prison on a sentence of five-years imprisonment by the Highest Court. (Released on parole, October 1937) In prison, completed his research on colonial history, a part of which was published after his release under the title of *Kinsei Yōroppa shokumin shi*. He disorganized Jimmukai before his release.
- 1938 Reinstated in the EAERB. Established an affiliated agency of the SMRC for carrying on Asian studies and devoted his efforts to cultivating men of Asian studies.
- 1939 Reorganized the EAERB again into an organ affiliated with the SMRC and became head of advisors. Began publication of a journal *Shin Ajia* (New Asia).
- 1941 With the beginning of the Pacific War, his activities in journalism became vigorous. Devoted efforts to bringing an end to the war with China, but with no results.
- 1945 Dissolution of the SMRC with the defeat. The EAERB also disappeared. On December 12 he was interned in the Sugamo Prison for as an A-Degree suspect for the Far East War Crimes Trials.
- 1946 Hospitalized due to mental illness. His mother died.
- 1947 Completely recovered from mental illness but he continued to stay in hospital. Complete translation of Koran was accomplished.
- 1948 Discharged from imprisonment because he was acquitted as War Crimes suspect. Returned to his own home at Nakatsu Village in Kanagawa Prefecture. Little by little began to take up his former activities of writing and lecturing.
- 1957 Died on December 24 at his own house of cardiac asthma. He was seventy-one years old. He was survived by only his wife; he had no children.

A List of Principal Works

- Nihon bummeishi* (The History of Japanese Civilization), Tokyo, Daitōkaku, 1921.
- Fukkō Ajia no shomondai* (Various Problems in the Reconstruction of Asia), Tokyo, Daitōkaku, 1922.
- Nihon seishin kenkyū* (Study of the Japanese Spirit), Tokyo, Bunrokusha, 1927.
- Tokkyo shokumin kaisha seido kenkyū* (Research on the System of Special-license Colonial Companies), Tokyo, Hōbunkan, 1927.
- Ajia kensetsu sha* (Builders of Asia), Tokyo, Daiichi-shobō, 1940.
- Kinsei Yōroppa shokumin shi* (Modern History of Colonization by European Countries), Vol. 1, Tokyo, Keiō-shobō, 1941.
- Kaikyō gairon* (The Concepts of Islam), Tokyo, Keiō-shobō, 1942.
- Kōran*, translation, Tokyo, Iwasaki-shoten, 1950.
- Anraku no mon* (The Gate to Peace of Mind: A Spiritual Autobiography), Tokyo, Izumo-shobō, 1961. (Supposedly, written around 1950.)
- Mahometto den* (The Life of Mohammed). (Written after the end of the War, and published for the first time in *Ōkawa Shūmei zenshū*, Volume 3)
- Ōkawa Shūmei zenshū* (Complete Works of Ōkawa Shūmei), 7 vols., Tokyo, Ōkawa Shūmei zenshū kankō kai (Committee for Publishing the Complete Works of Ōkawa Shūmei), 1961-63. (The last two volumes have not yet been published.)