

Christianity and the making of a modern worldview in Japan: International Thought of Tanaka Kotaro (1890-1974)¹

Atsushi SHIBASAKI*

Introduction

Tanaka Kotaro (1890-1974) was the professor of commercial law at the Tokyo Imperial University (today known as the University of Tokyo) and one of the most important intellectuals during the first half of the twentieth century in Japan. His uniqueness lies in the three following points: First, he was devoted to Catholicism² soon after being ‘expelled’ from Unimura Kanzo, who was the most influential protestant and the leader of the Nonchurch Movement (*Mukyokai-syugi*)³. Second, he wrote numerous and various kinds of books and articles on Catholicism, philosophy of law (especially World Law = *Sekai Ho*), education, culture, classical music as well as commercial law⁴. Third, at the same time he had served in many important positions during his life time such as the dean of the faculty of law of the university (1937-39), a minister of education (1946-47), a member of House of Peers (1946-47), House of Councilors (1947-50), a chief justice of the Supreme Court (1950-60) and a judge of the International Court of Justice (1960-70)⁵.

Tanaka was also a significant figure for his involvement in international cultural relations.

Though a great deal of research has been conducted on many aspects of Tanaka’s life and thought⁶, his commitment to international cultural relations has been ignored and forgotten. This article examines how he thought and behaved when faced with the discourse on, and the reality of international culture from the early 1930s to just after the Pacific War and tries to show how his thought and behavior were based on his understanding of Catholicism. The main focus is twofold; one is how he conceives the nature of the Westphalian sovereign state system. The other is how he tried to harmonize the relation between nationalism and internationalism without falling into extreme nationalism or internationalism. Then we examine why he developed such understanding and formation about international relations, pointing out a kind of utopian worldview taken from Catholicism that helped Tanaka to construct his harmony of nationalism and internationalism.

International Political Thought

This paper is the study of international thought, or international political philosophy. There are two ways of conducting the study of international thought. One is to explain one thinker’s thought on ‘**how**’ international relations work, or ‘**what**’ the

* Lecturer, Komazawa University, Faculty of Global Media Studies

¹ This paper was submitted to the Oxford Roundtable, March 29th, 2010, God in Politics and Literature, March 28th - April 2nd, Lincoln College, Oxford University. Historical analysis of Tanaka in this paper mainly derived from Shibasaki (1999a).

² In Japan, the number of Christian has never been over the 1% of the population. Japan is the only G8 country whose religious majority is not Christian. Majority of the people believe both Buddhism and Shinto almost indiscriminately. This syncretism stems from mixture of traditional belief towards gods traditionally in Japan and towards Buddha introduced from China. Today, the number of the Protestant and Catholic are almost the same. In the pre-war period the Catholic were far fewer than Protestant (the ratio was about 1:2).

³ Nonchurch Movement maintained that they don’t need to depend on church as an institution of Christianity. Instead they focus on the interpretation of the Bible. Uchimura Kanzo was influenced by W. S. Clark (a teacher in Sapporo Agriculture School and influenced many students through Christianity). His friend was Nitobe Inazo, who is also famous as an Undersecretary General of the League of Nations.

⁴ He published over 90 books and wrote over 700 articles.

⁵ On his life and career, see Suzuki (1977).

⁶ Hanzawa (1993[1976]), Mitani (1988 [1986]),

nature of international relations is (by using terms like realism/idealism/liberalism or Hobbesian/Grotian/Kantian image, etc.). The other focuses on ‘why’ international relations is international relations, which means that people of the world are divided into sovereign nation-states exclusively in principle and there seems to be no alternative (almost no possibility of forming a world government or world state) that completely transcends and overcomes the entire nation-state system.

This ‘why’ approach might seem to be strange and even absurd especially to the study of ‘how’. To study ‘how’ international relations work, the fact that this world is divided into nation-states is given presupposition, out-of-the-question condition for further analysis. However, especially for the intellectual of the non-western countries, they need to ask ‘why’, because the structure of modern international relations is strange to them especially the first time it is encountered (we call this experience *Western Impact*). They need to explain and understand ‘why’ in order to accept the world order of modern international relations and get included in it. They have to change their worldview in order to do this. This produces provocative interpretations on international relations and world politics in that process. Western Impact brought diverse international thoughts in non-western countries⁷. Tanaka’s thought is one of such interpretations.

Based on this premise, this paper concentrates on the latter, ‘why’ question. One of the unique qualities of modern Japan is that there is a great deal of thought by politicians, businessmen, journalists, intellectuals and academics on this ‘why’ issue, along with the issue of why Japan should be a member of international society as a ‘civilized’ nation which has the same entitlement as western nation states and has the stable and secure position (never expelled or dominated or annexed). They desperately needed to devise dialectics both to secure independence and to keep their membership in the international community at the same time. That was one of the most important problems for Japanese intellectuals. We are going to see how Tanaka found an answer.

⁷ One excellent example of the classical analysis of this aspect is Schwartz (1964).

This paper consists of four parts. Part I explores his first explicit discourse on international relations in criticizing extreme-nationalism by using the term ‘cultural imperialism’ in 1934. Part II continues to analyze his pre-war thought and behavior from 1935-1941. Part III briefly overviews his thought from just after the end of the pacific war to the end of his career as a public servant. Part IV elucidates the structure and the nature of his thought with the relation to Catholic thought.

I Pre-War Tanaka 1: The Critique of cultural imperialism

In the pre-war period his main adversary was fanatic extreme-nationalist (**ultra-nationalist**, *Chō-Kokka-shugi*)⁸. They criticized him endlessly for his thought as being too internationalistic and his religion as being against the Imperial Institution (*Tenno-sei*). They were so sensitive for the mere word of ‘world’ (*Sekai*) and ‘international’ (*Kokusai*) because praising world or international might lead to the disregard the Emperor. For example, Tanaka was heavily criticized by the extreme right wing and the military for being too internationalistic, when he published one of his most famous books, *the Theory of World Law (Sekai-ho no riron)* (1932-34)⁹. For Tanaka, in the pre-war field, the battle is between internationalism and ultra-nationalism.

He kept on rebutting these attacks and fiercely fought against more egoistic ideas on Japanese culture which were rapidly becoming dominant from the early 1930s. We can find a suggestive example in the debate on whether Japan should accept the metric system of measurement or keep Japanese traditional system of measurement (*Shakkan-ho*)¹⁰, he labeled these extreme defenders of Japanese culture as being ‘cultural imperialism’ (*bunka-teki teikoku-shugi*).

⁸ Maruyama (1963 [1946]).

⁹ Tanaka (1932-34). One of the favorite quote of Tanaka is “Ubi societas ibi ius” (“if there’s a society, law will be there”). He examined the naissance of commercial law as an accumulation of trade customs, which are preexist before positive law. He tried to explore the possibility of the universal world law learning from that process. To be sure the idea of Natural Law also helped Tanaka to tackle the World Law.

¹⁰ Shaku (尺) = 10/33 meter Kan (貫) = 3.75 kg. At present this system is still used in making shrines and temples.

In 1870, the government of Japan approved the law that adopts the Japanese traditional system of measurement (*Shakkan-ho*) as the official one. However the government gradually sought to adopt the metric system mainly for the sake of convenience and was preparing for the complete adaptation in 1934. Being afraid of losing Japanese traditional measurement, many politicians, business leaders and professors stood up and made the *Alliance to Preserve Traditional Measurement (Shakkan-ho Sonzoku Domei)* and started to assert the idea that introducing the metric system would damage Japanese traditional culture and ethos of the Japanese people¹¹. One leader of the alliance was Nagakage Okabe¹², who also argued that now was the time for Japan to export its 'great' culture towards all over the world by using the organizations like *Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai (KBS)*¹³, which was the first official institution of international cultural policy just established in 1934. Importing the metric system is against such an uprising trend of exporting Japanese 'superior' culture.

Tanaka countered with this movement and blamed Okabe by maintaining that the measurement system does not affect national identity. He pointed out as follows;

If you insist that the measurement system deeply affects the national spirit, we have to remember that we had already cut *chonmage* (hairstyle of samurai or sumo wrestler) and abandoned carrying swords long ago. We are now living in a tiny apartment, eating beefsteaks, wearing wool clothes from overseas, listening to the radio and enjoying golf. That has to mean that our spirit as Japanese has already completely been exterminated. (Tanaka 1934)

Then he for the first time introduced his initial

¹¹ Okabe et. al. (1933).

¹² Nagakage Okabe was a son from a noble Samurai family and committed to foreign cultural policy towards China in the 1920s. He became a Minister of Education in 1943. After World War II, he became a president of KBS in 1953.

¹³ On the history of KBS from its creation to the Occupied era, see Shibasaki (1999b). In 1972, KBS was dissolved and instead Japan Foundation (<http://www.jpff.go.jp/>) was founded (most of KBS staff moved to Japan Foundation).

ideas about international culture. First, he started by suggesting that there are two meanings in the word 'international'. One meaning is '**conflict between nations**'; the other is '**cooperation between nations towards one common purpose**'. In his view international cultural policy has to be based on the second meaning of 'international' and the policy Okabe wanted to advance is self-centered propaganda towards other nations. He described such policy as nothing but a '*bunka-teki teikoku shugi (cultural imperialism)*'. This usage of 'cultural imperialism' was done in 1934, which could be one of the earliest uses in world history.

Tanaka and Okabe both attended the research committee of the government, and kept on debating this subject. One of Tanaka's unique remarks was: "There could never be inconvenient when you buy Japanese Sake by the liter and serve it in a *Tokkuri* (Japanese Sake Bottle made by the traditional measure)"¹⁴. Though we were not sure to what extent Tanaka's argument influenced the decision making process, but in the end, the government postponed the transition into the metric system until 1958, well after the World War II.

The significance of this debate is not only the emergence of the critique of 'cultural imperialism' in Japan. This debate symbolized the complicated relationship between accepting or rejecting a single global standard and preserving or destroying one's own individual culture. For Okabe, rejecting global standards is the best way of not only preserving but also presenting the 'excellence' of Japanese culture. On the other hand, for Tanaka, accepting global standards is the best way of cooperating in international cultural relations, as long as it has nothing to do with the essence of Japanese culture. Both of them thought this is the way to improve the status of Japan as a nation-state in the international community by completely different methods. In this sense, this debate has some important meaning to the present state of world affairs when we are seeking the balance of how to accept one global standard and yet preserve one's own national culture in this globalized world of today.

¹⁴ Tanaka (1937a).

II Pre-war Tanaka 2: dialectic of universal-particular in international cultural relations

Though Tanaka had already formed his thought on international culture in the late 1920s¹⁵, his argument was forged more concretely and firmly in the early 1930s as we saw in the previous section. He developed his idea further, especially when he was invited to Italy and other European countries and the United States (1935-36) and Latin American Countries (1939). He published many articles based on these experiences, and through such activities, he advanced his thought on international culture.

Visit to Italy and other European Countries (1935-36)

In 1935, he published the article called 'Worldview basis on cultural issues' (*Bunka Mondai No Sekaikan Teki Kiso*)¹⁶. In this essay, he confirms that if we can appreciate the value of our national culture, then that ability could be applied to other cultures. That is why a deep understanding of one national culture should lead to internationalistic appreciation of other cultures. He also suggested that there are two aspects of promoting international culture. The one is to accomplish the particular mission of one's own nation like a division of labor; the other is to contribute to build and develop one universal culture, which is common to all mankind. He added that concerning about the latter, cooperating in sciences and technologies are far easier in arts and literature because we can find the commonality much easier.

His schema of international culture is as follows: culture has *particular* aspects and *universal* aspects. On the particular aspects we can recognize and respect its distinctiveness in each other and develop such distinctiveness by division of labor. On the universal aspects we can deepen the commonality and develop world culture through cooperation. He uses a metaphor of 'flower garden' or 'orchestra' to describe this formation.

On this earth, there is a flower garden, which cultures of each nation as the fruit of each nation's history are gathered and co-exist in harmony. Or there is an orchestra who played one same symphony by each nation's culture

playing different melodies by different musical instruments. This perspective is not a fictional ideal but a living reality. (Tanaka 1935:19-21)

On December 19th, just after he wrote this paper, he set out for San Francisco in order to visit Italy as an exchange professor hosted by KBS. Including a short stay in the United States, he spent almost half a year in Europe, mainly in Italy and France, Belgium, Spain, Switzerland, Germany and the United Kingdom. He gave a lecture on commercial law and Japanese thought. He spoke Italian, French, German, and English fluently and did most of these lectures in each country's native language. He was welcomed all over the place, especially in Catholic countries¹⁷. This was the time period just before the formation of the 'axis' between Japan-Germany-Italy. In some part his Catholicism and internationalism was considered as a good 'tool' to make a good relationship between Japan and the Christian countries in the viewpoint of the Japanese government officials¹⁸ who sought to reestablish friendly relations after leaving the League of Nations in 1933.

In 1937, he published the essay named 'The Idea of International Cultural Movement' (*Kokusai Bunka Undo No Rinen*)¹⁹. He repeatedly sketched his basic idea on the dichotomy of two cultures (*exchanging the difference and cooperating for the common*) and the dichotomy of two international cultural policies (cultural imperialism based on extreme-nationalism and cultural cooperation based on sound internationalism).

However, he added one important point, which is about the effect of international cultural policy. As we saw, his visit to Italy was not genuinely international cooperation, in terms of the government's point of view that allowed Tanaka to go. He definitely noticed that aspect (actually he had a chance to watch the Berlin Olympics that Hitler presided over, which could be the example

¹⁵ Tanaka (1927).

¹⁶ Tanaka (1935).

¹⁷ These records are taken from Tanaka Archives in the University of Tokyo, the Faculty of Law.

¹⁸ At that time there are still internationalist diplomats who sought to international cooperation with European countries and USA. One of them was Ken Yanagisawa, who was the classmate of Tanaka and in charge of international cultural relations at that time, made a great effort to realize this visit.

¹⁹ Tanaka (1937b).

of using a culture (sport) as propaganda in some sense). In this article he basically denounced cultural imperialism as he always did, but he also pointed out that even the policy itself is deeply rooted in cultural imperialism; the actual exchange itself brings true understanding of each other's culture and that happens out of governmental control. No matter what the policymaker's intent is, there is always a room for promoting true mutual understanding. This somewhat paradoxical remark seemed to be stemmed from his actual experience of this tour.

Visit to Latin America (1939)

After two years of busy work as a dean of the faculty of law, he again had a chance to practice international cultural exchange in 1939²⁰. The main destination this time was Latin America. After arrival in the United States, he stayed in Brazil (6.22-8.20), Argentina (8.20-9.3), Chile (9.3-10), Peru (9.10-18) and had a short stay in Panama, Mexico and then he came back through the USA. His main role was to give a lecture on academic issues, but this time he intensively studied Spanish and Portuguese during the cruise to the Americas and did most of the lectures, interviews, and radio appearances in both languages. Needless to say he attended Catholic mass in each county. In order to save time, he even used airplane transportation. One Japanese diplomat described his strenuous activity as a 'penance'²¹.

The purpose of this tour was not only ordinary cultural exchange. In some countries of Latin America like Brazil and Peru, there were a lot of Japanese immigrants; most of them were poor peasants in coffee plantations. Tanaka went to see their lives and give them lectures. In one of the lectures titled "The spirit of patriotism and the spirit of internationalism" he did in Peru, he applied his schema of international cultural relations in order to show them the way to be a Peruvian and Japanese at the same time²². He even told them that the Japanese language is not dispensable in order to make a good Japanese. This reasoning comes from his judgment on Japanese traditional measurement system we have seen. However, Tanaka also told them you have

to read the Imperial Message of Education (*Kyoiku-chokugo*)²³ in order to be a true Japanese, for there contains both a moral for Japanese and a moral for all humanity. Reading the Imperial message leads them to become both a good Japanese and a good Peruvian. This contradictory position shows his way of understanding of the relationship between universalism and nationalism. He is not an ultra-nationalist but still a nationalist who always is aware of belonging to the universality through maintaining national values without violating the spirit of international cooperation.

One of the motives, which drove Tanaka into such assiduous activity, was that Latin American countries were the true example of his particular-universal formulation of international culture. Each country is independent and has particular cultures and they share Catholicism as a commonality. After the visit he even wrote two thick books on Latin America²⁴.

In 1941, two years after that, there was a plan by internationalist diplomats and KBS staff to send Tanaka to French Occupied Indochina in order to play the role he did in Italy and Latin America. However the plan was suspended because of the Military Institution's strong rejection. World War II had already started while Tanaka was visiting Latin American countries and the Asia-Pacific War was almost near. He had to remain almost silent during the war period.

His understanding of international cultural relations in the pre-war period sharply reflected

²⁰ He also wrote about cultural treaties, which concluded between Japan and Hungary, Germany, Italy (Tanaka 1939a).

²¹ Telegram from Uchiyama Iwataro to Minister of Foreign affairs (1939)

²² Tanaka (1939b)

²³ *Kyoiku-Chokugo* was issued in 1890. One of the main message was: "Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters: as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth." And it declared "The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places."

²⁴ Tanaka (1940, 1949)

the way he sought to balance the harmony between Japanese nationalism and internationalism. His view could be explained like this: On the one hand, there is a **universal culture**, which every nation more or less has. On the other hand, there are **particular cultures**, which each nation has uniquely. As for a universal culture, every nation has to find it in each other and cooperate to improve and enrich it for the sake of the happiness of the human condition as a whole. As for particular cultures, each nation has to respect and appreciate such distinctiveness in each other and exchange these cultures without changing and destroying that uniqueness.

III Post-war Tanaka

In order to restore war-torn Japan, he wished to rebuild Japan as a cultural state (Kulturstaat), which conducts sound national cultural policy and international cultural policy following the schema of *'universal-cooperate, particular-exchange'*. He described how foreign cultural policy in the pre-war era was egoistic and fallen into some kind of propaganda²⁵. However there has been a trend of emerging international cultural policy, which fits his schema neatly. He regarded UNESCO as the ideal institution of promoting such policy. He re-published his books without any major corrections; most of them were neglected and discarded during the war period. This shows his thought on international cultural relations and internationalism remains unchanged.

After the Pacific war, the Ministry of Education employed him and soon he became a minister of Ministry of Education (1946-47). He conducted the drafting of the Basic Act on Education (**Kyoiku-Kihon-ho**, 1947, which was replaced by a new one in 2006). In the Act, he inserted the idea of *'universal-cooperate, particular-exchange'* position.

Basic Act on Education (Act number 25 of 1947)

Preamble

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend

fundamentally on the power of education.

We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace, while education which aims at the creation of culture general [creation of universal culture] and rich in individuality [enrichment of its uniqueness] shall be spread far and wide.

We hereby enact this Act, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, with a view to clarifying the aims of education and establishing the foundation of education for new Japan²⁶.

The underlined part of the second paragraph (translation by MEXT is not precise, my corrections are in []) reflects his formation of universality and particularity.

He also praised the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, which involves the same internationalistic/universal ideas especially in the preamble and assures freedom of religion. In the former pre-war constitution (The Constitution of the Empire Japan, 1890-1947), freedom of religion was limited as follows:

Article XXVIII Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief²⁷.

The government could use this limitation almost arbitrary and there happened many oppression towards religious groups. In the pre-war era, Shintoism was officially the national religion. Freedom of religion was allowed only unless they deny the official status of Shinto and the Imperial System.

In the new constitution (Constitution of Japan, 1947-), freedom of religion was more unlimited.

Article 20 Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. 2) No person shall be

²⁵ Tanaka (1946, 1948).

²⁶ MEXT website http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/kihon/data/07080117.htm

²⁷ http://www.jacar.go.jp/DAS/meta/listPhoto?IS_STYLE=default&ID=M2006090418125739577

compelled to take part in any religious acts, celebration, rite or practice. 3) The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity²⁸.

Since the defeat of the war, the extreme-nationalist dominated era has gone. However, after the war, his adversary in the post-war era was turned from extreme-nationalism to communism / socialism, which was rapidly becoming popular in the early occupational period (1945-52). For Tanaka, communism was harmful to both Japan as a nation-state and to Catholicism²⁹. In the context of the cold war, he had to defend the symbolic emperor system³⁰ and his belief against communism at the same time. He was considered as one of the most conservative and reactionary figure in post-war Japan.

Rest of his life as a chief justice of the Supreme Court and a judge of the ICJ was a devotion to rebuild Japan and to contribute international law and international exchange based on his thought as described³¹. As a public servant, he kept on engaging

²⁸ http://www.jicl.jp/kenpou_all/kenpou_english.html

²⁹ Tanaka (1950).

³⁰ After the war, The Emperor of Japan remained as the chief of state but its authority strictly restricted as formal and nominal. The Constitution of Japan declares “The Emperor shall be the symbol of the State and the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power.”(Article 1) and “The Emperor shall perform only such acts in matters of state as are provided for in this Constitution and he shall not have powers related to government. 2) The Emperor may delegate the performance of his acts in matters of state as may be provided for by law.”(Article 4).

³¹ The honors he received are as follows; Grand Ufficiale della Coranno D'Italia (1936, Italy), Magna Cruce Equitem Ordinis Sancti Silvestro Papa (1953, Vatican), Orden del Marito de Duart, Sanchez y Mella: Gran Place de Plata (1956, Dominica), Gra-Cruz da Ordem Nacional do Cruzeiro do Sul (1957, Brazil), Grand Cordon de l'Ordre Tharge (1958, Iran), Medaglia Doro per I Benemeriti della Cultura Italiana (1958, Italy), Grand Officier Legion d'honneur (1960, France), Gross Kreuz des Verdienstordens der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (1960, West Germany). He was a emeritus member of the Council of the Laity of Vatican (1970-74). After his death, he received Grand Cordon of the Supreme Order of the Chrysanthemum from Japanese government. This honor is only allowed to Emperor's family and ex-Prime Ministers until now. He is the only exception. This symbolizes how important he was

international cultural exchanges, visiting many countries and inviting many foreign representatives³².

IV International Thought and Catholicism in Tanaka

Throughout his life, Tanaka persistently developed his idea of international cultural relations as the *'universal-cooperate, particular-exchange'* premise and practiced his belief in his life mostly as a public servant. He devised a way of harmonizing both nationalism and internationalism. Based on this premise, he could criticize extreme self-centered nationalism for neglecting the need for international cooperation using the word 'cultural imperialism' and criticize communism for disregarding the nation state (and the church).

The influence of Catholicism to the thought of Tanaka lies in two aspects. The first one is the way he admits the existence of the universal value, which all mankind can appreciate and share, mainly in terms of Natural Law. The second aspect is the way of reasoning why this world is divided into nation states by defining the *raison d'être* of the state in terms of its relation to the Kingdom of God.

Natural Law and universality

As for a Catholic scholar of law, Tanaka was not satisfied with the legal positivism³³ that was predominant in pre-war Japan. He studied Natural Law by reading Thomas Aquinas and other neo-Thomism thinkers like Jacque Maritain. To him, Natural Law is a self-evident, moralistic principle of law that was given to humanity by God. Natural Law is a fundamental principle that indicates how to live a social life, directly and indirectly. It is the fact that the majority of people recognized it as sound common sense³⁴. Given this understanding, all mankind must have the ability to discern what

to Japanese government.

³² As a chief justice of the supreme court, he was invited to the United States (1950, 53, 56,60), Canada (1953), India, Dominica, Italy, France, Switzerland, West Germany (1956), Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico (1957), Argentina, Tunisia, Austria, Portuguese, Spain (1960). As a judge of ICJ, he spent most of a year in Hague.

³³ Legal positivism recognizes positive (written, approved and applied) law as the only law and they don't deal with another norm (like moral, religion and Natural Law). Hans Kelsen is the best example.

³⁴ Tanaka (1927), (1937b). I owe this analysis to Mitani (1988[1986]) and Hanzawa (1993[1976]).

is the universal and what is the particular by using common sense³⁵. Thus, this is the backbone of 'universal-cooperate, particular-exchange' schema.

According to the understanding of Natural Law as such, there is a universal value that everyone (in principle) has the ability to recognize. This logic is also convenient to defend the status of Japan and Japanese in international relations. By admitting such ability to everyone based on Natural Law, Japanese people and Japan as a nation state get entitled to participate in a harmony of 'flower garden' or 'orchestra'. In Tanaka's configuration, Catholic universalism played the role of assuring national independence of Japan and its contribution to international cooperation.

For Tanaka, Natural Law was a device to defend the independence of Japan. Tanaka presented why Japan, one of the rare non-western countries that survived without being colonized, should be one of the indispensable members of the international community and contributing through 'universal-cooperate, particular-exchange' ideas, based on Catholic thought which is not original in Japan. This would be one of the examples of 'antagonistic acculturation'³⁶, which means accepting western culture (religion in this case) and applying it to Japan, in order to secure Japan's state in the international relations. That was one of the reasons why pre-war and post-war Japanese government treated him as an important figure (except wartime when Military Institution dominated the whole country), especially in international cultural exchange programs.

However, there are some unsolved difficulties in Tanaka's formation. The first one is why present

nation states are qualified as a most appropriate unit who represents particularity and participates in cooperation. At present we know there are no nation-state who has only one particular culture. We all are living in a multicultural world. The Second is who has the right to distinguish what is particular and what is universal and what is the best standard to judge it and who has the right to judge. Almost all of us can say what is particular and what is universal judged by each other's own criteria, but there seems to be no common ground to decide what kind of distinction is most appropriate.

In fact, it seems that nobody has had any clear answer to these two questions until now. Tanaka's argument shows us one of the most challenging problems of international relations.

The Kingdom of God and the society of nations

Tanaka had the answer about why this divide is appropriate. His formation of a worldview is as follows: The nation state is not a mere existence defined by positive law. It is also based on Natural Law derived from God. Every man, every nation is in the long term, in the process of realizing the Kingdom of God. Nation state is 'the educational institution of the preparation for the Kingdom of God' and they consist of the part of the moral world order along with church³⁷.

Nation states have the fundamental foundation from Natural Law (he denies theories of social contract and popular sovereignty in this respect). They have the obligation to cooperate in the universality (this is the reason why internationalism is fundamental) and to respect each other's uniqueness (the reason why extreme-nationalism is rejected).

This explanation seems coherent in itself, but it is not convincing for everyone except a Catholic or at least a Christian. This cannot explain why nation states like Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia should be divided or new nation state like East Timor and Kosovo should be independent and become a member of international society. Tanaka's formulation is rather static and stable and cannot explain these secession and integration of states.

His position deeply reflected his nationalism.

³⁵ One of the reasons why Tanaka parted Uchimura Kanzo was on this issue. Tanaka once devoted the teachings of Uchimura and admired him when he was a university student. However Tanaka started to doubt that the way of believing God by Protestants like Uchimura was too subjective and individualistic (though Uchimura himself was a respectful thinker, most of believers of the Nonchurch movement tended to adore Uchimura as a only one guru). He sought to have a belief more fundamental and immovable, then turned to Catholicism. On this conflict about his belief, see Tanaka and Yanagisawa (1950).

³⁶ See Hirano (2000). This concept comes from Devereux and Loeb (1943-44).

³⁷ Tanaka (1937c), (1947).

During his lifetime, Japan as a nation-state almost always had been suffering from the fear of being lost the economic, political, and military competition against western great powers. Japanese politicians and intellectuals had to put their top-priority on the survival of Japan herself, including Tanaka. Tanaka's formulation was one of the valid explanations why Japan as a nation-state should be regarded as one stable and sovereign actor, which is basically, equal to other nation-states and not be extinguished or annexed in terms of the realistic power politics. That is why they are in principle static.

To be sure, we can point out the 'limit' of Tanaka very easily. However, when asked what is the appropriate structure of this divide, or how the society of nation states should be integrated or separated into how many parts, no one has the definite answer or suggest the principle to decide. Tanaka's international thought again tells us another difficult issue in world politics.

Conclusion

Tanaka's conversion from Nonchurch Movement to Catholicism directly came from the conflict with Uchimura. He criticized that Protestantism tended to be too individualistic and subjective on the interpretation of the Bible. What attracted Tanaka was universality and tradition of Catholicism, which advocates absolute, subjective, eternal truth. Accepting this universality, he could construct his worldview as we explored.

To him, Catholicism was not only the final answer to his individual belief, but also a strong foundation on his thought on international relations. The formulation of 'particular-exchange, universal-cooperate' was tightly connected to the intellectual struggle with how to secure Japan's status in international community. This formation still has relevance to today's world, though there remain a few flaws that no one has even clearly resolved.

However, we can regard these flaws not as a weakness as a starting point to realize a true global standard of *what is the particular and what is universal*, by discussing internationally, interdisciplinary, interculturality and inter-religiously just like we are going to do during this week here in Oxford.

References

- George Devereux and Edwin M. Loeb (1943-44) "Antagonistic Acculturation", *American Sociological Review*, pp. 133-48.
- Takamaro Hanzawa (1993 [1976]) *Kindai Nihon To Catholicism (Catholicism and Modern Japan)*, Misuzu Shobo.
- Kenichiro Hirano (2000) *Kokusai Bunka Ron (International Cultural Relations)*, University of Tokyo Press.
- Masao Maruyama (1963[1946]) "Theory and Psychology of Ultra-Nationalism" (Translated by in Maruyama, edited by Ivan Morris, *Thought and Behaviour in Modern Japanese Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 1-24.
- Okabe Nagakage et. al (1933) *Anthology of disapproval on the enforcement of metric system*.
- Benjamin Schwartz (1964) *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Atsushi Shibasaki (1999a) "Tanaka Kotaro no kokusai bunka ron (Tanaka Kotaro and the Discourse on International Cultural Relations: His Thought and Behavior as the Critic of 'Cultural Imperialism')", *Kokusai Kankeiron Kenkyu (Studies on International Relations)*, n. 13(March 1999), pp.39-70.
- Atsushi Shibasaki (1999b) *Kindai Nihon To Kokusai Bunka Koryu (International Cultural Relations and Modern Japan: History of Kokusai Bunka Shinko Kai 1934-45)*, Yushindo Kobunsha.
- Takeo Suzuki ed. (1977) *Tanaka Kotaro: Hito To Gyoseki (Tanaka Kotaro: his life and achievement)*, Yuhikaku.
- Mitani Taichiro (1988[1986]) "The Critique of Modernity by Tanaka Kotaro" in Mitani, *Futatsu No Sengo (Two 'Post-War era')*, Chikuma Shobo.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1932-34) *Sekaiho No Riron (The Theory of World Law)*, 3 vols., Iwanami Shoten.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1934) "Doryoko, Minzoku Seishin, and Kokusai Bunka: Bunka Teikoku Shugi No Hihan (Measure System, the National Spirit and International Culture: the Critique against Cultural Imperialism)", *Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*, 06/15-17/1934.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1937a) "The Draft for the fourth special committee on the measure system" in Tanaka Archives (in the University of Tokyo, the faculty of law).
- Kotaro Tanaka (1927) *Ho To Shukyo To Shakai Seikatsu (Law, Religion and Social Life)*, Iwanami Shoten.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1935) "Bunka Mondai No Sekaikan Teki Kiso (Wordview Basis on Cultural Issues)", *Chuo Koron* (August 1935), pp. 2-28.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1937b) "Kokusa Bunka Undo No Rinen (The Idea of International Cultural Movement)", *Kaizo* (January 1937), pp. 2-23.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1939a) "Bunka Kyotei To Bunka Kosaku (Cultural Treaty and Cultural Operation)" *Kaizo* (Jun 1939), pp. 4-19.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1939b) "Aikoku Shin to Kokusai Shin (The Spirit of Patriotism and the spirit of internationalism)"

- Lima Nippo (Lima Daily)* 09/18-22/1939 from Tanaka Archives.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1940) *Latin America Kiko (Travel in Latin America)*, Iwanami Shoten.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1949) *Latin America Shi Gaisetsu (Introduction to the history of Latin America)*, Iwanami Shoten.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1946) “Tennosei No Goriteki Kiso (Rational Foundation of the Imperial System)” in Tanaka et. al., *Tennosei No Kagakuteki Kenkyu (Scientific Research of the Imperial System)*, Tokei Shobo, pp. 1-11.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1948) “Shin Kenpo to Bunka (New Constitution of Japan and Culture) in Kenpo Fukyukai ed. *Shin Ken Po To Bunka and Shin Kenpo To Rodo*, Kunitachi Shoin.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1950) *Kyosan Shugi To Sekai Kan (Communism and Worldview)*, Shunjyu Sha.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1937c) *Kyoyo To Bunka No Kiso (Foundation of Liberal Arts and Culture)*, Iwanami Shoten.
- Kotaro Tanaka and Ken Yanagisawa (1950) *Ikite Kita Michi (Reflection on Life)*, Sekai No Nihon Sha.
- Kotaro Tanaka (1947) *Ho To Dotoku (Law and Moral)*, Shunjyusya.
- Telegram from Uchiyama Iwataro to Minister of Foreign affairs (1939) from Tanaka Archives.